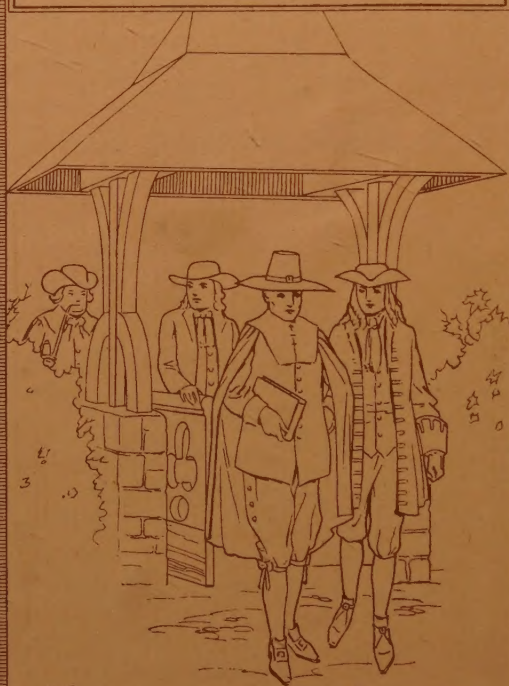


Edmund Jayne Gates



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Ex libris Edmund Jayne Gates.

Edmund Jayne Gates.

Deacon.

His Book - June 29th - 1920.

"Sperandum est!"

CORNELL STUDIES IN ENGLISH

EDITED BY

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ITALIAN SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE
LITERATURES OF EUROPE

BY

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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY WIFE

SARAH FAY TOURTELLOT

WHOSE UNSELFISH DEVOTION DURING FORTY YEARS OF MARRIED
LIFE MADE POSSIBLE THIS AND ALL MY OTHER SCHOLARLY
LABORS, THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED IN PROFOUND
GRATITUDE AND ENDURING GRIEF

PREFACE.

In order to explain the form and matter of the present work it is necessary to say something of its inception and the manner in which it has been carried out.

The first idea of the subject came to me while gathering materials for a textbook, *La Société française au dix-septième Siècle*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889. At that time I became greatly interested in Mademoiselle de Scudéry and the *Précieuses* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet and collected many books dealing with that phase of seventeenth century society in France. I soon became aware that it was impossible to understand French society of that period without a knowledge of Italian society of the previous century. From 1889 I began a careful study of Italian society of the sixteenth century, and gradually planned my work, collecting such materials as I could in this country. In 1892, 1894, and 1897 I visited Europe and was able to add largely to my materials by study in the libraries of France, Italy, and England.

At the time of my journey to Europe in 1897 I had written a considerable part of the work, and was able in August of that year to show the table of contents to Professor Vittorio Cian at Ceres, near Turin. The plan of the book was fully settled at that time, and Professor Cian was most kind in his praise of the novelty and extent of the design. During this visit to Italy I was fortunate enough to find many valuable and scarce works relating to my subject, and to visit the places most important for my work, among them Venice, Asolo, Urbino, Ferrara, Mantua, etc.

The summer of 1900 was spent in Paris collecting materials for my edition of Boileau's dialogue, *Les Héros de Roman*, published by Ginn and Co. of Boston in 1902. In the Introduction to that work I used some of my Italian materials and announced my *Italian Society in the Sixteenth Century* as "forthcoming."

Unfortunately I allowed myself to be diverted from my book by the preparation of two plays of Jean Rotrou, in whom I

had become interested from my studies in French society and literature of the seventeenth century. The labor involved in this book was considerable, and I was occupied with it from 1903 until its publication by Ginn and Co. of Boston in 1907. Meanwhile my Italian work made little progress, and when I retired from active service in 1909 it still lacked the thirteenth and last chapter on the influence of Italy on Spanish society in the seventeenth century. From time to time, however, as new books appeared or as I happened to discover older materials which had escaped my notice, I revised my work and made extensive additions to my notes.

In 1912 I was recalled for a year to active service, and at the same time had the irreparable misfortune to lose the companionship and sympathy of my wife after forty years of happy married life. It was not until 1915 that I was able to resume methodical literary work, and it was not until 1917 that I completed the thirteenth and last chapter of my book. For this I could fortunately use the Ticknor Collection at Boston and the Library of the Hispanic Society at New York.

However, in spite of many deficiencies, the book as it now stands is tolerably complete, and, I venture to think, will be useful to scholars as the first general view of a curious and extensive field of study. When it was undertaken some twenty-five years ago, there was no general article or book on the subject, and I was obliged to collect my materials and explore the extensive field without a guide. A glance at the notes will show how much has been done in this field within the last eighteen years, after my book was substantially completed. The only portion newly written within that period is the thirteenth and last chapter, on the influence of Italy on Spain. I have endeavored to incorporate into my work all the important materials produced in the last eighteen years. At least all will be found mentioned in the notes. None of this new material served as a guide, for I had previously explored the whole field myself. Such illuminating articles as P. Rajna's "L'Episodio delle questioni d'amore nel *Filocolo*," in *Romania*, Vol. XXXI (1902), and G. Zonta's "Rileggendo Andrea Cappellano," and "Arbitrati reali o questioni giocose?" in *Studi medievali*, 1908 and 1911, have afforded me additional references but have not obliged me to change conclusions which I had reached independently.

Even at this present writing there are still large portions of my work dealing with matters which have not yet been treated elsewhere by anyone, and there are still no books or articles which embrace the whole scope of my work.

The title which I originally gave to my proposed book, *Italian Society in the Sixteenth Century*, is misleading, and I have felt obliged, with some reluctance, to exchange it for one which expresses more definitely the scope of the work. It does not deal with polite society in general, but with the origin, development, and influence of certain social diversions which deeply modified the outward forms of society in Italy, France, England, and Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and of which a few survivals have reached the present day.

While it is true that most of the illustrations in this book are taken from literary and fictitious sources, I do not doubt that these works represent faithfully enough the actual social observances of their period. This belief is confirmed by the occasional glimpses of these observances which we catch also in more serious works. It is impossible that social customs which recur continually in books purporting to describe contemporary manners should not have a basis of fact. I have, therefore, accepted these works of fiction as trustworthy witnesses to actual occurrences. The fact that the reader of the numerous works which have appeared in recent years dealing with Italian society will find scarcely a reference to the subject treated in this volume shows only that the authors of those works consulted so-called historical documents in which the social customs of the day were considered too trivial for mention. Notwithstanding this, it is remarkable that so extensive and interesting a field should have been almost totally neglected outside of Italy, and have received there only fragmentary treatment.

It was inevitable that in a work executed at different times during so long a period there should be discrepancies of method and treatment. For these I must crave the indulgence of the reader. That the style is as uniform as it is must be attributed to the care of the editors of the series in which this work appears. That the work is printed at all is due solely to Professor J. Q. Adams and Professor C. S. Northup, who have richly repaid the debt they kindly think they owed their former teacher. For their aid in seeing the book through the press and for their

personal encouragement and sympathy I am most profoundly grateful.

I should indeed be ungrateful if I did not here express my appreciation of Mr. Andrew Carnegie's bounty. For ten years I have been his grateful pensioner, and it is a source of great satisfaction to me that I was able during his lifetime to express to him personally my gratitude for the scholarly leisure which I owed to his great benefaction.

T. F. CRANE.

ITHACA, N. Y.,
September 9, 1919.

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ITALIAN SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

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Polite society in the modern acceptation of the term—the association of the sexes on a footing of equality—is generally supposed to have had its origin in France during the first half of the seventeenth century, and to have been first cultivated in the salon of the Marquise de Rambouillet. While it is true that the famous “chambre bleue” of Arthénice exerted a powerful influence upon French society, and indirectly upon the society of the rest of Europe, it is a significant fact that the Marquise herself was, through her mother, of Italian descent, and flourished precisely at the time when Italy still exerted a great influence on

France. It will appear clearly in the course of the following pages that French society in the seventeenth century was based upon the Italian society of the preceding century, and imitated closely its forms and methods.

In order to understand the society of Italy during that period it will be necessary to trace it back to the beginning of the Renaissance. We shall find that in turn Italian society was deeply influenced by French society (both Provençal and Northern French), and shall be led to the conclusion that the polite society of Europe is of French origin, but profoundly modified by Italy. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin our researches with an inquiry into the society of mediæval Europe and especially of France.

Society, in the sense in which we are now considering it, did not exist in the ancient world but made its first appearance in the South of France about the twelfth century, and is intimately connected with the history of Feudalism and Chivalry. The early appearance of social refinement and literary culture in Provence is due to many causes, not the least important of which is the influence exerted by Greece through her colonies along the Mediterranean, notably Marseilles, founded six hundred years before Christ.¹ This important city in turn sent out many colonies and was a center of commercial activity as well as of Greek culture for many centuries.² Until the second Punic war (B.C. 219) the city led an absolutely independent existence. It then became the ally of Rome against Carthage and henceforth its fate was more or less involved with that of the Imperial city, which it called to its aid at various times to repulse the aggressions of its neighbors, the Ligurians, who had attacked and captured its colonies on the east (Antibes and Nice). The territory which the Romans acquired in these wars was organized into the province of Narbonne,³ and gradually the dominion of Rome was extended over the whole of Gaul, and Marseilles lost her

¹ The Greeks had been preceded by the Phœnicians; see E. Desjardins, *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine*, II, pp. 125-140.

² For the Greeks in Gaul, and the geography of Marseilles as state and city, see Desjardins, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 140-186.

³ *Provincia Narbonensis*; see Desjardins, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260, *et seq.* This province was such a favorite in the empire that it was called *Provincia*, par excellence; hence the name Provence, Provençal, etc. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, III, cited by Jung, *Die roman. Land.*, p. 198, note 2, says: "Agrorum cultu, virorumque dignatione, amplitudine opum nulli provinciarum postferenda, breviterque Italia verius quam provincia."

long independence in B.C. 49, by taking the part of the Senate against Caesar.⁴

During her long association with Rome, and even after the loss of her importance as a state, Marseilles remained Greek.⁵ While it is not likely that Greek culture was disseminated to any great distance from Marseilles and her colonies on the coast, still the long intercourse between the city and the rest of Gaul must have exerted a refining influence and certainly prepared the country for the reception of Roman civilization. The Romanization of Gaul proceeded of course more rapidly after the conquest by Caesar and the settlement by Roman colonists. The Romans introduced their matchless system of provincial administration, with its road-making and engineering achievements, and later its schools and literature.⁶

Henceforth the culture of the south of France is Roman, modified profoundly, it is true, by the Hellenic culture previously existing there. So completely was the country Romanized that the three barbarian invasions of the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks in the fifth century, and the final conquest and settlement of the country by the last named tribes, failed to destroy or even to change materially the Gallo-Roman civilization.⁷ The German invasions did nevertheless ultimately produce the most profound modifications in Gaul, the greatest being the division of the country into two nationalities, the French in the north and the Provençal in the south, a consequence of the more thorough Romanization of the south and the slighter influence of the Germans.⁸

⁴ Rather her importance as a state. Marseilles remained ostensibly a free city still; see Mommsen, *History of Rome*, trans. by W. P. Dickson, *The Provinces from Caesar to Diocletian*, Lond., 1886, Vol. I, p. 79. For the Roman conquest see Desjardins, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 259-356, 589-725.

⁵ For the Greek culture of Marseilles see C. Fauriel, *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*, Paris, 1877, Vol. I, pp. 66-85, and C. Lenthéric, *La Grèce et l'Orient en Provence*, Paris, 1878.

⁶ For the Romanization of Gaul see Mommsen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 110; Budinszky, *Die Ausbreitung der lateinischen Sprache über Italien und die Provinzen des römischen Reiches*, Berlin, 1881, pp. 82 et seq.; and Jung, *Die romanischen Landschaften des römischen Reiches*, Innsbruck, 1881, pp. 190 et seq. For Roman administration, etc., see Desjardins, *op. cit.*, Vol. III.

⁷ For the Barbarian invasions see Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule méridionale sous la domination des conquérants germaniques*, Paris, 1836, 4 vols. The results of the invasion are summed up in Fustel de Coulanges, *Hist. des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, Paris, 1891; *L'invasion germanique et la fin de l'Empire*; see also the same author's *La Monarchie franque*, Paris, 1888.

⁸ See G. Körting, *Encyklopaedie und Methodologie der romanischen Philologie*, Heilbronn, 1886, Vol. III, p. 18.

The Franks obtained complete possession of the country about A.D. 530, and it remained a part of the Merovingian and Carolingian kingdoms until 855, when Lothaire, son of Louis le Débonnaire, a few days before his death divided his empire between his sons and gave to one of them, Charles, Provence, which he erected into a kingdom. At his death in 863, his two brothers, Louis and Lothaire, divided his states; but Provence again became a kingdom when Boson had himself proclaimed king in 879. The new kingdom came to an end in 947 with the second successor of Boson, Hugues, who, in 933, made a treaty with Rodolphe II, King of Transjurane Burgundy, by which he ceded to him his kingdom, reserving, however, the usufruct. The union of the two states formed the kingdom of Arles, which became involved in the fate of the empire when Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, elected emperor after the death of Henry V (1106), claimed that the kingdom was a part of the empire and created Conrad, Duke of Zehringen, hereditary governor. It was afterwards assigned to the son of the emperor who did not himself become emperor. The claim of Lothaire was revived by subsequent emperors; but their authority was only nominal and the country was really governed by counts until its final annexation to the French crown in 1486.

The early Greek culture of the province, its thorough Romanization, and the comparatively few changes wrought by the Germanic conquest, all contributed to make this favored territory the spot where the new spirit of literary and social culture first manifested itself. The rise under the feudal system of a large number of flourishing principalities afforded the patronage and encouragement which the new art of poetry so much needed and gave a great impetus to the development of social life. This poetry and society were the expression of the feudal life of the time and are intimately connected with chivalry. Both chivalry and the feudal system reached their most perfect development in France, and some knowledge of them is necessary to understand the new forms of literature and social life with which we have to deal in the remainder of this work.

In the Greek and Roman civilizations (and in the later Italian) the city was the centre of social life, and the villa, or country residence, was but a temporary refuge from the turmoil of the town. With the German conquest of the Roman provinces an

entirely different mode of life arose. The distribution of enormous estates among the great vassals of the conquerors, and the further subdivision of these estates among the minor retainers led to the establishment of fortified residences from which the owner could protect his own property, and defy his sovereign lord in case of need. These castles, built upon an eminence, or in some other position easy of defence, became later the nucleus of towns, which consisted at first of the peasants' huts grouped for protection under the walls of the fortress. The castle was frequently a town in itself, containing not only the family of the owner and a host of servants and retainers, but in case of need receiving into its capacious precincts the inhabitants of the surrounding country and protecting them during a prolonged siege.

It was in these abodes, often far distant from neighbors or cities, that the polite society of Europe is to be sought for many centuries. With the military character of the castle,⁹ so admirably described by the great French architect, Viollet-le-Duc, we have nothing to do; but shall consider it only as the home of the mediæval lords and ladies in whose social life we are now interested.¹⁰ The scene of this life was in the "salle," a large hall occupying a separate rectangular building known as the "palais."¹¹ Here the lord received the homage of his vassals, listened to the minstrels, played chess, and dined. When the lord and his wife did not sleep there, their chamber was in the second story, and they lodged their children or their guests in the third.¹²

A garden (*verger*) was planted without the walls and served not only for pleasure but also for state ceremonies, as the meeting place for the council of the king or his barons, etc.¹³

⁹ The mediæval castle considered exclusively as a fortress is the subject of two monographs by Viollet-le-Duc: *An Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages*. Translated by M. Macdermott, Oxford and London, 1860; and, *Annals of a Fortress*. Translated by B. Bucknall, Boston, 1876.

¹⁰ Materials for the castle as residence will be found in A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1889, 2 vols., I, pp. 7-119, and L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, Paris, nouvelle édition, pp. 457-530.

¹¹ See Gautier, *op. cit.*, p. 508; Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Originally the family occupied the lower story of the keep; see Gautier, p. 508.

¹² See Gautier, p. 508. In Germany the "salle" seems to have occupied a separate building by itself, and the dwelling and sleeping rooms of the family were in a separate edifice; see Schultz, I, p. 95, 101. The furnishing of the above mentioned rooms is described by Schultz, *ut sup.*

¹³ See Gautier, p. 526. Schultz, I, p. 49, says that when practicable the gardens were within the fortifications.

In these localities then was manifested what social life existed at that time. At first it was necessarily of a very narrow character. The life of the lord was passed largely in war and the chase, and the châtelaine was occupied in those domestic cares which are similar in all ages. Education was extremely limited and did not extend much beyond a knowledge of reading and writing; even that was by no means universal.¹⁴ The little leisure time left from the serious occupations of life was spent in paying and receiving visits, in playing chess or draughts,¹⁵ in music and conversation, and in listening to the recitations of the wandering minstrels.¹⁶

At first the sexes were separated as in earlier times; but it can easily be seen that castle-life necessarily brought them more together.¹⁷ This was also aided by the custom of educating with the children of the lord the sons and daughters of minor vassals, who were thus taught the duties and accomplishments of courtly life.¹⁸

The most important factor, however, in the changed relations of the sexes upon which modern society rests was the spirit of chivalry. This spirit was the result of the old German veneration for woman¹⁹ modified by Christianity,²⁰ and applied to

¹⁴ Gautier, p. 143, *et seq.*, Schultz, I, p. 160.

¹⁵ Gautier, p. 124.

¹⁶ Gautier, p. 656.

¹⁷ K. Bartsch., *Gesammelte Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Freiburg, 1883 (contains, pp. 221-249, "Die Formen des geselligen Lebens im Mittelalter"), p. 233.

¹⁸ Schultz, I, p. 170, 197.

¹⁹ See K. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, Vienna, 1882, 2 vols., I, p. 237; J. Falke, *Die ritterliche Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Frauencultus*, Berlin, p. 49. A pleasant article on the education of a noble young lady by Helene Jacobius will be found in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Beihefte XVI, 1908, "Die Erziehung des Edelfräuleins im alten Frankreich nach Dichtungen des XII. XIII. und XIV. Jahrhunderts." The writer discusses the education of the noble lady in regard to behavior and good manners, domestic occupations, needle-work, medical art, culture, games and sports, and the ideal education of women. There is little of special interest for our purpose. On p. 72 the writer gives a brief description of the amusements of polite society: "War eine grössere Gesellschaft beisammen, und hatte man keine Lust zum Tanzen oder zu Bewegungsspiele so vertrieb man sich gern die Zeit mit Geschichtenerzählen. Im *Ménagier de Paris*, hören wir von einer Schar vornehmer Frauen, die nach gemeinsam eingenommener Abendmahlzeit zur gegenseitigen Unterhaltung Lieder und Fabeln aufsagen, Geschichten erzählen und getheilte Spiele (*jeux-partis*) anregen. Diese letzteren, die im ersten Drittel des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts aufkamen, waren besonders bei den Provenzalen beliebt. Es waren Streitfragen, meist über das Wesen der Liebe, die mitunter auch von den Damen entschieden wurden."

²⁰ That is, the worship of the Virgin Mary; see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Mary the Virgin; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XV, pp. 459-464; Virgin Mary, Devotion to the Blessed. There is an admirable general article "Zur Geschichte der Marienverehrung" by K. Benrath in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1886, pp. 1-94; 197-267.

Feudal society. It is also probable that the relations of lord and vassal with the accompanying duties of loyalty and protection were influential in forming the new ideal of the relation of the sexes and the elaborate codes of gallantry which we shall have to consider later. The lover regarded his mistress partly with the adoration lavished upon the Virgin, and partly with feelings similar to those evoked by his complicated duties to his lord. It must also be borne in mind that marriage was generally a matter of arrangement between the two families, in which the bride had no voice.²¹ This fact is of the greatest importance, and explains some of the singular notions in regard to love which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages.²² Before marriage the life of a maiden was largely spent in the retirement of home, and it was only after marriage that she enjoyed greater liberty.²³

These new relations of the sexes gave rise to mediæval love or gallantry, which may best be studied in the poetry of the troubadours, in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, and in the special codes devoted to this subject.²⁴ This new form of love spread

²¹ See Weinhold, I, p. 303; Gautier, p. 341, and Fauriel, *Histoire de la Poésie provençale*, Vol. I, p. 497.

²² As for example, that there could be no love between husband and wife; see Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore libri tres*, recensuit E. Trojel, Havniae, 1892, pp. 141, 310.

²³ Schultz, I, p. 197.

²⁴ The only essay upon the subject with which I am acquainted is the one on "Mediæval Love" by Vernon Lee in her *Euphorion*, 2d ed., London, 1885, pp. 337-431. The best general treatise is by J. Falke, cited above. Otherwise materials must be sought in Weinhold, Schultz, Gautier, etc. Chrétien de Troyes has been made the subject of two essays: W. Heidsiek, *Die ritterliche Gesellschaft in den Dichtungen des Chrétien de Troyes*, Greifswald, 1883; and, C. Krick, *Les données sur la vie sociale et privée des Français au XIIe siècle contenues dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, Kreuznach, 1885. See also an important article by G. Paris, "Le conte de la charette," in the *Romania*, XII, p. 459, in which is given an admirable characterization of chivalric love. A valuable essay on "Die Theorie der Minne in den ältesten Minneromanen Frankreichs" by Karl Heyl, may be found in *Marburger Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie*, Heft IV (1911). The author states briefly, p. 8, his thesis: "Im höfischen Epos sind zwei Kulturen zusammengestossen, die ritterliche des Nordens und die höfisch-frauenhafte des Südens, es hat eine eigentümliche Synthese stattgefunden." The most important code of love is the work of Andreas Capellanus, now accessible in the excellent edition of Trojel cited above. Important materials of this class may also be found in the early translations of Ovid; see G. Paris, *Chrétien Legouvais et autres traducteurs ou imitateurs d'Ovide*, and Kuhne and Stengel, *Maître Elie's Uebersetzung der ältesten franz. Uebersetzung von Ovid's Ars amatoria* (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen, XLVII).

A very convenient collection of the principal commonplaces in the love poetry of the Troubadours may be found in F. Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours, zweite vermehrte Auflage* von K. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 122 et seq., and in A. Gaspary, *Die Sicilianische Dichterschule des dreizehnten Jahrhun-*

with chivalry and poetry over the whole civilized world and became the one absorbing theme of the poet and the chief topic of conversation in cultivated society. This preeminence of Love was largely due to the poetry of the Troubadours, which enjoyed an enormous popularity in its day, partly from the novelty and perfection of its forms, and partly from the fact that it was the expression of the cultivated society in which it flourished. One of the forms of this poetry had such momentous results for the future of polite society that it must be examined in considerable detail.

The subject of love constituted, as has been said, the principal topic of Provençal poetry, and may be studied in the various lyrical forms of that literature; but in one of them it was cultivated in a peculiar and interesting manner. The custom of two or more persons engaging in a poetical strife and singing the alternate strophes of a lyrical composition is extremely old and still survives in Italy.²⁵ It made its appearance early in Proderis, Berlin, 1878, pp. 39 *et seq.*, or in the Italian translation by Friedman, Livorno, 1882, pp. 52 *et seq.*

There is an admirable article by Eduard Wechssler in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, Bd. XXIV, pp. 158-190. "Frauendienst und Vassalität." The writer shows by copious extracts from the Provençal poets the close relation between the contents of their lyrics and the forms of Feudalism. This of course has always been apparent to the reader versed in mediæval history, but no one has put the matter so clearly and conveniently. Although, as the author himself says, his extracts could easily be multiplied, his examples illustrate sufficiently almost every phase of Feudalism, faithfully reflected in the poetry of the Troubadours. At the end of his article the author considers the question which naturally arises as to the reality of the relations depicted in the poems. The writer does not give a general answer and says each case must be examined by itself, but, he adds, it will be well to keep in view always the actual inferences from the lives and art, at least of the professional poets. He closes with some valuable and sensible reflections on the influence of the Troubadours on the rest of Europe, especially on Italy. This question is treated at the beginning of the third chapter of the present work. The most valuable work on the subject with which I am now dealing is also by the author just quoted: *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs. Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Renaissance* von Eduard Wechssler. Band I. *Minnesang und Christentum*. Halle a. S., 1909.

²⁵ For the origin of the Tenzon in its *joc-partit* form, see Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 187; L. Selbach, *Das Streitgedicht in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik und sein Verhältniss zu ähnlichen Dichtungen anderer Literaturen*, Marburg, 1886 (in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, LVII), pp. 20-35; and R. Zenker, *Die provenzalische Tenzone*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 88 *et seq.* W. Wackernagel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Basel, 1879, I, p. 329, and G. G. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 145, connect the German Tenzon with the Riddle. See also M. Stein-schneider's article cited in Note 102.

A concise idea of the Provençal theory of love may also be found in Fauriel's *Histoire de la poésie provençale*, Vol. I, Chap. XV, "De la chevalrie dans ses rapports avec la poésie provençale." See also résumé of Provençal

vençal literature where it gave rise to the large and important class of Tenzons.²⁶ As the name²⁷ indicates, it is a contention or strife, generally between two poets,²⁸ in which the form given to the first strophe by the first singer is strictly preserved by the second in his reply. The strife which forms the subject of the Tenzon may be either a personal one, consisting of an attack by the one poet upon the other,²⁹ or it may be the discussion of some topic proposed by the first poet. In the former case it is known as Tenzon, in the latter, as *Partimen* or *Joc-partit*.³⁰ In the *jocs-partitz*, the subject of debate is usually a

doctrine of Love in Jeanroy's *De nostratibus mediæ ævi poetis qui primum lyrica Aquitaniae carmina imitati sint*, Paris, 1889, pp. 25-56. To these may be added an article by L. Clédât, "Les Troubadours et l'amour courtois en France aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles" in *Revue de philologie française et provençale*, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 81-128. The work by L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love studied as an introduction to the Vita Nuova of Dante*, Boston, 1896, gives an account of courtly love in the Troubadours, pp. 82-108. The question of mediæval love in Germany has been treated by Dr. Reinhold Becker, *Der mittelalterliche Minnedienst in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1895, in which the author attempts to prove that the gallantry of the Middle Ages in Germany was addressed to unmarried women, and that the general condition which prevailed in the rest of Europe on this point did not obtain in Germany. I have been unable to see G. Fioretti's *L'Amore nella vita e nella lirica italiana dei primi secoli dopo il mille*, Padova, 1881.

Another special work devoted to the Provençal Tenzon is H. Knobloch, *Die Streitgedichte im Provenzalischen und Altfranzösischen*, Inaug. Diss., Breslau, 1886. An admirable article by Jeanroy reviewing the German special works just cited may be found in *Annales du Midi*, Vol. II, pp. 281-304; 441-462.

The most recent and satisfactory statement as to the origin of the Tenzon in its *Partimen* form is given by Jeanroy in an article, "La Tenzon Provençale" in *Annales du Midi*, Vol. II, pp. 281-304; 441-462. The writer says, p. 457: "Tout le monde admet aujourd'hui que sa source est dans une sorte de jeu de société consistant à agiter diverses questions relatives à l'amour, cette forme préexistait au partimen versifié et lui survécut tant au Nord qu'au Midi: le témoignage célèbre de Guillaume IX prouve que cette coutume était connue au Midi des les premières années du douzième siècle; un passage curieux d'Amanieu de Sescas (Bartsch, *Chrest.* 329, cité par Zenker, 92) montre qu'elle était encore pratiquée à la fin du treizième. Pour le Nord, nous trouvons la preuve du même fait dans des recueils de questions et de réponses évidemment issus de ce divertissement." Jeanroy refers here to a collection published in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1872, 1st series, Vol. III, p. 311.

²⁶ For age of Tenzon, see Selbach, p. 13; Zenker, p. 71, 93; and Stimming, *Provenzalische Litteratur in Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, p. 24.

²⁷ For name Tenzon, see Selbach, p. 1, and Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1887, p. 687. For the various names applied to this class of poetry, see Selbach, p. 8 *et seq.*, and Zenker, pp. 10 *et seq.*

²⁸ There are Tenzons in which more than two poets took part, and for which the name *Torneyamen*, tournament, has been proposed; see Selbach, p. 80.

²⁹ For subjects of this class, see Selbach, pp. 53-65; Knobloch, pp. 13-22.

³⁰ See Knobloch, p. 5; Selbach, p. 1. Zenker, pp. 11, *et seq.*, shows that at the time of the Troubadours only the word *tenso* or *contenso* was applied to all classes of the poem with which we are now dealing. For convenience, however, I shall preserve the designation *joc-partit* for the second class mentioned above.

question concerning love, and the first poet generally challenges the second to take whichever side he will and defend it.³¹ In order to give both sides a fairly even chance, the question was carefully chosen to offer some subtle point of argument.³² A somewhat full list of these questions will illustrate this and also afford some idea of mediæval love.³³

1. Which are the greater, the joys or the sorrows of Love? (*Gr.* 16, 16.) 2. Two husbands have, one a very homely, the other a very beautiful, wife; both guard them with equal care—which is the least to blame? (*Gr.* 167, 47.) 3. Must a lady do for her lover as much as he for her? (*Gr.* 295, 1.) 4. Which is preferable, to be asked for your love by a noble, beautiful lady, who has never loved, or to be obliged to ask her for her love? (*Gr.* 449, 1.) 5. Which is the most in love, the one who cannot resist the impulse to speak of his lady everywhere, or the one who remembers her in silence? (*Gr.* 52, 4.) 6. A noble knight loves a lady who returns his love, but he has delayed so long to visit her that he is certain she will reject him when he does. Shall he continue in this condition, or shall he see her again only to lose her? (*Gr.* 449, 4.) 7. Shall a lover who is favored by his lady prefer to be her lover or her husband? (*Gr.* 194, 2.) 8. A husband learns that his wife has a lover; the wife and lover perceive it—which of the three is in the greatest strait? (*Gr.* 283, 2.) 9. Which is preferable, to be in secret relations with a noble lady, or to have her without reason proclaim herself your mistress to show you honor? (*Gr.* 97, 4.) 10. Do the eyes or the heart contribute more to preserve love in a faithful lover? (*Gr.* 249, 2.) 11. Which are the greater, the joys or the sorrows of love? (*Gr.* 16, 16.) 12. Which is better, to hate when loved, or to love when hated? (*Gr.* 248, 20.) 13. Which is better, a mistress' death or her faithless life? (*Gr.* 194, 18.) 14. Is the love of a young or of an elderly lady preferable? (*Gr.* 75, 3.) 15. Is a lady to be forsaken on account of her age?

³¹The different ways in which the question might be put are described in Selbach, p. 70.

³²See Selbach, p. 70.

³³Lists of subjects of the *jocs-partitz* may be found in Diez, p. 192; Selbach, pp. 73 *et seq.*; and Knobloch, pp. 26 *et seq.*, 39 *et seq.* For convenience of reference I have indicated by *Gr.* where the tenzons in question may be found in the alphabetical list of lyrical poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries given in K. Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur*, Elberfeld, 1872, pp. 99–203.

(*Gr.* 1, 1.) 16. Which lover shall a lady take, one who confesses his love or one who does not dare to? (*Gr.* 392, 29.) 17. Which lady is more to be praised, one whom the power of love compels to give a kiss, or one who does not dare to carry out her intention and weeps? (*Gr.* 167, 42.) 18. To which does a lady show the greater love, to one to whom she gives or to one from whom she takes?³⁴ (*Gr.* 229, 1.) 19. Which is better, the jealousy of the husband or of the wife? (*Gr.* 226, 5.) 20. Is it better to marry or to remain a maiden? (*Gr.* 12, 1.) 21. Is it better to be lover or husband? (*Gr.* 194, 2.) 22. Is it better to be wife or mistress? (*Gr.* 359, 1.) 23. Which lover shall a married woman choose, one who is the deadly enemy of her husband or one who is his bosom friend? (*Gr.* 167, 8.) 24. Which is preferable, to please your lady in all you say and to displease others, or *vice versâ*? (*Gr.* 248, 39.) 25. Which of two ladies shall one love, the one who has a beautiful form and a plain face, or *vice versâ*? (*Gr.* 58, 1.) 26. Shall a lady bestow her love upon a lover of high birth but of bad character, or upon a lover of low birth but of noble character? (*Gr.* 370, 11.) 27. A knight who has long wooed a lady in vain is on the point of bestowing his love upon another who has promised to reward it upon a certain day. Meanwhile he receives a message from the first lady giving him a rendezvous on the same day. Which of the two shall the knight see? (*Gr.* 432, 3.) 28. Two knights on a journey to their ladies meet other knights in distress. One of the two, in honor of his lady, turns from his way to help them. The other continues his way with no other thought than to reach his lady. Which has acted the more becomingly? (*Gr.* 282, 14.) 29. Which of two ladies shall one love, the one whose love is obtained with difficulty and brings with it only sorrow, or the one whose love is easily won and brings only joy? (*Gr.* 366, 30.) 30. A lady has three suitors and likes them equally well. All three once appeared before her at the same time and she gave each a token of her love: to one a loving glance, to the second a pressure of the hand, while she trod gently and with a smile on the foot of the third. To which of these three lovers is she most inclined?³⁵ (*Gr.* 167, 26.) 31. A knight is shut up

³⁴ This resembles the first question in *Filocolo*, Florence, 1829, Vol. II, p. 35, which will be examined later. The preceding question, No. 17, is also like the sixth in *Filocolo*.

³⁵ Another Italian question similar to the above, in *Canzonette antiche*, Alla Libreria Dante in Firenze, 1884, p. 43, will be discussed later.

for a year in a tower with the most beautiful woman in the world. Which would be preferable for him, to love the lady and to have her hate him, or *vice versâ*? (Gr. 248, 20.) 32. Which is preferable, secret love rewarded by the lady's favor, or open, honorable love which is unrewarded? (Gr. 261, 1; 97, 4; 97, 9; Suchier, *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, Halle, 1883, I., p. 333.) 33. Is a knight more bound to love and goodness before or after his love has been rewarded by the lady's favor? (Gr. 119, 2; 16, 4; 248, 41.) 34. Should one love a lady who has another lover, or is about to take one? (Gr. 25, 2; 167, 44; 136, 4.) 35. Can a lover abandon his lady because she does not respond to his love?³⁶ (Gr. 185, 2; 77, 1.) 36. Does a true lover have the same power over his beloved as she does over him? (Gr. 295, 1.) 37. Is it preferable for the lover to know his beloved's heart, or for her to know his? (Gr. 225, 14.) 38. Which is preferable, to win a lady by great learning or by boldness? (Gr. 436, 1.) 39. Is it better to die with one's beloved, or to survive her in sorrow? (Gr. 236, 12.) 40. Is it easier to win a wife jealously guarded by her husband, or one left to herself? (Gr. 461, 16.)

An interesting Tenzon between Blacatz and Guillem de Saint Gregori (Gr. 233, 5) is on the following "question": "Senher Blacatz, from a noble lady, fair and pleasing, without fickle heart, of high degree and amiable, you will have all fine pleasures of love without the last one; or her maid will withhold you from such great honor, kissing you as her lover. And one otherwise does not excel the other, and I wish you to choose as you wish." Blacatz chooses the first alternative and Guillem de Saint Gregori the second. Each disputant refers the question for judgment, Guillem to 'N Reforsat, and Blacatz to la Bella Capa.

This Tenzon resembles the subject of Raimon Vidal's *Novella*, *So fo e'l temps c'om era iays*, in which the question submitted to the judge is, which of two ladies has the greater claim on a young knight, the one, who, after a service of seven years, rejects him and later repents her act and renews her claim, or the one who accepts the rejected lover and compensates him for his loss. The judge decides in favor of the first lady.^{36a}

³⁶ Knobloch cites in a note, p. 45, the *nova* of Raimon Vidal of Bezuadun, in Mahn's *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Berlin, 1856, II, p. 23 (No. 341), in which a similar question occurs.

^{36a} Raimon Vidal's *Novella* has been edited by M. Cornicelius, Berlin, 1888, Inaug. Diss. See also A. Stimming, *Provenzalische Litteratur* in Gröber's *Grundriss*, Strassburg, 1893, p. 12.

The Tenzon spread from Provence to the North of France, where, under the name of *jeu-parti*, it constituted a large and flourishing class of poetry.³⁷ The French *jeu-parti* differed in no respect from the Provençal *joc-partit*; but as it is desirable for my purpose to give a somewhat full account of the subjects of this class of poetry, I shall supplement the above list of the Provençal *joc-partit* with the following from the French *jeux-partis*.³⁸ 41. Which is preferable, enjoyment which soon passes away, or hope alone? (*Hist. litt.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 520. Keller, *Romvart*, p. 383.) 42. Which lover should a lady prefer, one whose is insincere, but discreet, or one whose heart is true, but who cannot conceal his love from the eyes of others? (*Hist. litt.*, p. 524.) 43. Which would be less grievous, to see one's mistress in the possession of a rival, or one's wife granting a single kiss in defiance of her duty? (*Ibid.*, p. 533.) 44. Which is preferable for a lover, to obtain at once and for five or six years the favor of his mistress on condition of losing it afterwards forever, or to suffer for ten years with the assurance of obtaining after this time the lasting recompense of such constancy? (*Ibid.*, p. 537.) 45. Which is more difficult, for a lover to confess his passion, or for

³⁷ The name *jeu-parti* is applied to both classes of the Tenzon mentioned above (see Knobloch, p. 51); but I shall here again consider only the second. For the *jeu-parti* in the North of France, see, besides Knobloch just cited, Selbach, p. 4; G. Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1890, p. 183; and an article, by the same writer, in the *Journal des Savants*, Dec., 1888, p. 731, n. 1. The most useful work on the *jeu-parti* is by Franz Friset, *Das altfranzösische Jeu-Parti*, in *Romanische Forschungen*, XIX. Bd. (1905), pp. 407-544. The author treats at length all questions of form and contents. The latter are grouped in the following categories: The Wooing; Granting the Favors of Love; Unselfishness and Selfishness in Love; Faithfulness and Unfaithfulness; Jealousy; and Parting of the Lovers. In the fourth chapter is treated the conclusion of the contest and examples are given of poems in which judges are named, those in which no judges are named, and the judgments of the former. The writers of *jeux-partis* are then considered, and a catalogue is given of authors and judges. Finally a number of inedited *jeux-partis* are given from the Vatican MSS. 1490, and 1522, and a list of *jeux-partis* in Old French. The convenience and value of this work cannot be overestimated. B. Wechssler has edited an interesting collection of "questions" turning on love in *Philologische und Volkskundliche Arbeiten Karl Vollmöller zum 16. Oktober, 1908*, Erlangen, 1908, pp. 131-139, "Ein altfranzösischer Katechismus der Minne." See works by Hoepffner and Klein cited in note 106.

³⁸ In making this list I have used: Knobloch, cited above; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. XXIII, Paris, 1856; A. Keller, *Romvart*, Manheim, 1844; A. Dinaux, *Les Trouvères brabançons*, etc., Paris and Brussels, 1863; A. Scheler, *Trouvères belges du XIIe au XIVe siècle*, Brussels, 1876, and *Nouvelle série*, Louvain, 1879; G. Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris, 1884; as well as other works mentioned later. See especially Friset's article cited in note 37.

the lady to receive this declaration gracefully? (*Ibid.*, p. 545, *Romvart*, p. 385.) 46. William's mistress is wooed by two other lovers; one expresses his desires by word of mouth, the other cannot speak to her, but sends her presents which she accepts. Which is the more to be feared? (*Hist. litt.*, p. 594.) 47. Which should you hate the more, one who seeks in every way possible to make your mistress love him, or one whom she detests the most in the world? (*Ibid.*, p. 637.) 48. Is it better to be loved but a single day or to cherish for a whole life the vain hope of being the best loved? (*Ibid.*, p. 638.) 49. When one is loved by a fair and courteous lady, ought he to abandon her for another younger, fairer, and more courteous, who would consent to return his love? (*Ibid.*, p. 750.) 50. Ought a young girl to be loved for her beauty, or for her grace and discretion? (*Ibid.*, p. 789.) 51. Which is worse for a lover, the marriage or the death of his beloved? (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, V, 336.) 52. Which is better, for an old man to have a young mistress, or a young man to have an old mistress? (*Ibid.*, p. 316.) 53. Which feels the greater pain, one who is jealous of his lady, but possesses her love, or one who is not jealous, but whose love is not returned? (*Romania*, VI, 592.) 54. Which loves the more, one who is jealous without reason, or one who allows himself to be deceived without suspecting it? (*Bib. de l'École des Chartes*, V, 20, III.) 55. Is it better for the beloved to be jealous of her lover, or *vice versâ*? (*Ibid.*, p. 471, I.)³⁹

Six *Jeux-partis* have recently been edited by A. Jeanroy in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, Vol. 40 (1897), pp. 350-367. They are, the editor says, the product, except one, of the bourgeois school of poetry which flourished in Arras in the second half of the thirteenth century. The subjects are as follows:—

Two lovers equal in merit pay their addresses to the same lady; one becomes blind, the other deaf and dumb: which loses the greater chance of success? The answer is: The blind man.

"If you were like me 'profès en dévotion' and called to associate with nuns and béguines, which would you prefer to make love to? Answer: To a béguine."

Which condition is the most to be preferred, that of a monk, of a married man, or of a bachelor? Answer: That of a bachelor.

³⁹ As is natural, a considerable number of topics are treated in both Provençal and French; some of these may be found in Knobloch, pp. 66, *et seq.*

Since Love is all powerful, why does it not make slanderers love, which would be a great relief for lovers?

"I cannot recover the favor of the one I love without beating her; would you advise me to do so? Answer: Do not hesitate."

Which would you prefer, to receive your lady's favors, or, remaining unhappy in love, to become king of Persia? The count to whom the question was addressed chose the first alternative.

The poem containing the last question was composed, according to the editor, at Paris, or in a city of the north, or in Provence where one of the authors, Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, was at the time (before 1265).

The influence of Provençal poetry was not confined to France, but spread to the neighboring countries, whose lyrical poetry it profoundly modified.⁴⁰ It made its way into Spain through Catalonia, which, from its vicinity, similarity of speech, and the marriage of Ramon Berenguer, Count of Barcelona, with Dulcia, daughter of the Viscount Gilbert of Milhau, Gevaudun, and Carlad, became a second home of the Troubadours.⁴¹ For two hundred years the poetical literature of Catalonia was a mere reflection of that of Provence, and until the end of the thirteenth century the language employed by Catalan poets was that of the Troubadours. The same forms of lyrical poetry were cultivated, among them the Tenzon, of the subjects of which it is impossible to give any list owing to the lack of published material.⁴²

From Catalonia the Provençal poetry spread to Aragon, with which province Catalonia was united in 1137,⁴³ and also to Castile.⁴⁴ In all of these provinces Provençal poets found patrons and hearers, and native poets imitated them in language and

⁴⁰ For the influence of Provençal poetry in general, see P. Meyer, "De l'influence des Troubadours sur la poésie des peuples romains," *Romania*, V, 257-268.

⁴¹ For Provençal influence in Catalonia, see Denk, *Einführung in die Geschichte der altcatalanischen Litteratur*, München, 1893, p. 193 *et seq.*; Mila y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, tomo segundo, "De los Trovadores en España," Barcelona, 1889, p. 49 *et seq.*, pp. 261 *et seq.*; and Morel-Fatio, *Katalanische Litteratur*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 2, 1, p. 75 *et seq.*

⁴² A "questio" by Bernat Fenollar, a Valencian poet, is given in Denk, p. 398. It is, however, of the sixteenth century. The subject of the question is, whether the sight, the desire, the understanding, or the will, has the greatest share in producing love.

⁴³ See Mila y Fontanals, pp. 63, 83, 133, 156, 246.

⁴⁴ See Mila y Fontanals, *passim*, especially p. 70, and Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, Berlin, 1859, pp. 187 *et seq.*

style. With these I am not now concerned, as the characteristics of Provençal poetry were everywhere the same. I am more interested in tracing the influence of this poetry upon the social life of the countries where it was introduced, and, at this moment, to follow more closely the fate of that form of the Tenzon in which questions, usually in regard to love, were debated.

While various princes of Castile, Aragon, and Barcelona were patrons of the Troubadours and even poets themselves, it was not until the reign of Don Juan II (1406-1454) that the social influence of Provence was conspicuous.⁴⁵ At that time the early Provençal literature was dead, largely in consequence of the cruel Albigensian crusade; and the remarkable revival of Provençal forms of thought and modes of expression in Castile must be ascribed either to the curious Provençal renaissance which resulted in the Floral Games of Toulouse and Barcelona,⁴⁶ or to the influence of Portugal.⁴⁷ It is possible that the tradition of the older Provençal poetry may have continued unbroken, and that the peculiar circumstances of the reign of Don Juan II may have led to the almost independent revival of a literature resembling the earlier Provençal because it was developed in a similar milieu.⁴⁸ However this may be, the court of Don Juan II presents most of the characteristics of the petty courts of Provence in the thirteenth, or of Italy in the sixteenth, century. An exaggerated spirit of chivalry manifested itself in the strange *Passo Honroso* of Suero de Quiñones, which reads like a page from *Don Quixote*: while the *Cancioneros* of this period breathe the same spirit of gallantry which inspired the Troubadours of Provence. Of the mass of poetry produced by the bards of Don Juan's court, much still lies buried in forgotten manuscripts;⁴⁹ I have now to do only with that class which corresponds

⁴⁵ For the court of Don Juan II, see Puymaigre, *La cour littéraire de Don Juan II, roi de Castille*, Paris, 1873, 2 vols., and Wolf, pp. 187 *et seq.*, as well as Pidal's introduction to the *Cancionero de Baena*, Leipzig, 1860.

⁴⁶ For the Floral Games of Toulouse, see Stimming, in *Grundriss*, p. 36, and the works there cited: Chabaneau, *Origine et établissement de l'académie des jeux floraux*, Toulouse, 1885, and Schwan, "Die Entstehung der Blumenspiele von Toulouse," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LIV, 457-467. There was also the influence of the North of France; see Puymaigre, I, p. 35 *et seq.*

⁴⁷ For the influence of Portugal, see Wolf, Pidal, and Puymaigre, cited above, and Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1865, Vol. VI, chapters VII-IX.

⁴⁸ See Puymaigre, I, p. 33.

⁴⁹ See Amador de los Rios, VI, pp. 527 *et seq.*

to the Provençal *joc-partit*.⁵⁰ There is nothing which corresponds exactly to the *joc-partit*, i.e., a poem in which a topic is proposed and debated in the same piece; but there is a large class of poems known as *preguntas* or *requestas* (questions), in which a question is formulated, which is answered in a separate poem known as *respuesta* (answer).⁵¹

An example of the contents of some of these may be given from the *Cancionero de Baena*. Which is better, to see one's beloved and never speak to her, or always to speak to her and never see her? (II, p. 83.) This question was submitted by Baena to Ferrant Manuel, who answered that by seeing her always, Baena's gracious and pretty talent might ultimately win her. Baena replies several times and so does Ferrant Manuel, and the dispute is at last referred to Fray Diego, of Valencia, who pronounces (II, 89) in favor of the sight.⁵² There are, however, few such questions, the majority containing the most abstruse theological discussions, e.g., whether the Trinity existed before the world was created and Jesus Christ was born; or mere riddles. It cannot be said that the Tenzon is well represented in Spanish literature.

Puymaigre, in his work *La Cour littéraire de Don Juan II, roi de Castile*, Paris, 18-73, Vol. II, p. 137, note, cites a poem in the *Cancionero general*, in which is debated^{52a} the question, whether it is better to serve a maid, married woman, widow, or nun.

More interesting in this respect is Portugal, where Provençal poetry also exerted a profound influence for over a hundred and fifty years.⁵³ Here again, the same forms are preserved as in Provençal, but the Tenzon was nowhere so popular as in the country of its origin; and of the 1698 Portuguese secular poems written between 1200 and 1385 in Portugal, Leon, and Castille, there are only thirty Tenzons, of which Vasconcellos and Braga

⁵⁰ See Puymaigre, I, pp. 123-124, and Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Boston, 1872, 3 vols., I, p. 468, II, pp. 3-6.

⁵¹ This is the form the Provençal *joc-partit* assumed in Italy, as we shall afterwards see, and it may possibly have influenced the Spanish.

⁵² See Puymaigre, I, p. 123, who cites the *Chansons de Thibaut IV, conte de Champagne, roi de Navarre*, Rheims, 1851, VI, p. 105.

^{52a} See Chapter II, p. 82, note 16 of the present work. This question was a favorite subject of discussion; see p. 21 and note 71.

⁵³ An elaborate discussion of the manner of introduction of Provençal influence into Portugal may be found in Vasconcellos and Braga, "Geschichte der portugiesischen Litteratur," pp. 167-177, in *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 2, 2.

say: "The strife often turns on problems of Love, oftener on the preeminence of the poets, and also on practical questions."⁵⁴ The few which contain love questions are: Joao Baveca asks Pedro Amigo of Seville which is more unreasonable, the base-born man who without expectation of recompense faithfully loves a noble lady, or the noble man who loves a baseborn woman who returns his love? (Vat. 826.) Pero da Ponte asks Dom Garcia Martiis to advise him about some one who loves a lady, but does not dare to tell her of it for fear of vexing her. Però asks, in case the person cannot endure this state of things longer: "Tell me, Dom Garcia, whether he should reveal his love to her, or what would you advise him to do?" (Vat. 1186.)

Just as in Spain we found a late growth of poetry written under Provençal influence, so in Portugal at the same time we find the same thing. This poetry is preserved in the *Cancioneiro de Resende*, which contains, perhaps, the most extensive question in existence, occupying one hundred and six pages in the reprint of the Stuttgart Vereins.⁵⁵ The question itself is neither long nor subtle, but is merely, Whether silent sorrow (*cuydar*) or audible sighs (*sospirar*) betray the deeper pain. This question is, however, argued with all the legal apparatus of the day; "procuradores" are chosen by both sides and the most interminable arguments are brought forward. Finally, sentence is given in favor of "sighs."⁵⁶ A few other *preguntas* may be found in the same collection: *Pregunta de jorge d'Aguyar ao coudel moor*, "I ask what shall he do, who, despairing, loves one whom he can never see or address, or communicate in writing his great grief, and who has no one to whom he dare reveal his secret, who can tell her it for him? What kind of life do you think should be led by such a despairing and luckless man?" (II, 10.) *Pregunta de Fernan da Sylueira ao coudel moor*, "She whom I most love commands me not to love or serve her. Her will is so firm and

⁵⁴ The Tenzons of this period are in Monaci, *Il Canzoniere Portugese della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Halle, 1875; and Molteni, *Il Canzoniere Portugese Colocci-Brancuti*, Halle, 1888.

⁵⁵ Stuttgart, 1846-1852, 3 vols., I, pp. 1-106. The *Cancioneiro de Resende* contains much that is of value for the social history of this period. See Bellermann, *Die alten Liederbücher der Portugiesen*, Berlin, 1840, pp. 32 et seq., Wolf, pp. 731-2, and Diez, *Ueber die erste portugiesische Kunst- und Hofpoesie*, Bonn, 1863.

⁵⁶ There is a continuation of this poem, pp. 80-106, in favor of "silent sorrow," in which the God of Love reconsiders the former sentence and finally pronounces in favor of "silent sorrow."

sincere that I shall have to give her up" (*que deysa-la ser m'aafero*). On the other hand, I so greatly desire to do what she commands me that I am overwhelmed with grief. I must choose one course, but each is worse than the other. In so unhappy a plight what shall I do? (*Ibid.*, p. 22.) *Do Conde de Tarouca a dom Joam de Meneses*. Two men are enamoured of one of whom I think much good. Both are treated by her worse than either deserves. Is there greater pleasure (*groria*) or grief when they both visit her for one to see the other speak with her or to speak with her himself (*ver huum ho outro falar, ou hyr falando co'ela*). (*Ibid.*, 65.) To these may be added a discussion which the Count of Vymyoso and Ayres Telez had in the presence of Dona Margarida de Sousa as to whether it was possible to love a great good without desiring it. (*Ibid.*, 110.)⁵⁷

It is now time to turn our attention to the Eastern neighbors of Provence and France and ask what influence was exerted upon them. Before considering Italy, it will be convenient to examine Germany, especially as it may be disposed of briefly.⁵⁸ Although French courtesy deeply affected the manners and habits of German mediæval society,⁵⁹ the subtle disquisitions on the nature of love, which were so dear to the Provençal poets, found little favor with the Germans.⁶⁰ The Tenson proper was, however, known, and the *Wartburgkrieg* may be regarded as a remarkable example of one.⁶¹ The *joc-partit* form is also found,⁶² and among the topics discussed were: Whether it is better for a woman to love or not to love;⁶³ Whether man's truth is better than woman's;⁶⁴ Whether love is better than "gesellschaft."⁶⁵

⁵⁷ This "question" occupies a prominent place in the later Platonic discussions, as we shall see when we reach Italian society in the sixteenth century.

⁵⁸ For Provençal influence on German literature, see Diez, *Poesie*, p. 255 *et seq.* See Dr. Anna Lüderitz, *Die Liebestheorie der Provenzalen bei den Minnesängern der Stauferzeit*, Berlin, 1904. *Literar-historische Forschungen*, No. 29.

⁵⁹ See Bartsch, *Gesammelte Vorträge*, p. 233; Weinhold, I, pp. 139, 251.

⁶⁰ See Gervinus, I, p. 545.

⁶¹ Gervinus, II, pp. 149-59. An unsatisfactory account of the German Tenson has been written by H. Jantzen, *Geschichte des deutschen Streitgedichte im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1896 (*Germanistische Abhandlungen*, XIII), of which a review may be found in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XLIII, *Anzeiger*, p. 155. Jeanroy in the article already cited on the Provençal Tenson explains the absence of the *jeu-parti* by the fact that that class of poetry was not yet developed in Provençal when the Germans became acquainted with the works of the Troubadours.

⁶² See Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, 1884, I, p. 267.

⁶³ See Goedeke, I, p. 267.

⁶⁴ See Goedeke, I, p. 268.

⁶⁵ See Goedeke, *ut supra*.

This class of Tenzon was also cultivated to some extent by the *Meistersänger*. Frauenlob and Regenbogen the Smith and the Saxon Raumland disputed as to which name was preferable, *wîp* or *fraue*.⁶⁶ It may however, be said that in the main this class of arguments was not a favorite in Germany.⁶⁷

In my rapid survey of the history of the Tenzon beyond Provence, I have left Italy to the last, although the influence which Provençal poetry exerted there was quite as profound as in the Iberian peninsula—fortunately it was not of so great duration.⁶⁸ As in the latter country, so in Italy, Provençal Troubadours were welcomed at the courts and cities of Northern Italy, where they continued their poetical labors and where Italian Troubadours imitated them in language and style. In the South, on the contrary, at the court of Frederick II, a native literature sprang up, which imitated the Provençal poetry in the Italian speech. Of the Provençal forms the *canzone* enjoyed the greatest popularity, and the Tenzon does not seem to have been cultivated, at least not in its Provençal form. There was, however, the same desire to discuss fine-spun questions of love, but this was done as in Spain by means of a question propounded in one poem and answered in a separate one (*pregunta* and *respuesta*). The form chosen by the Italians was the sonnet, a poetical form peculiar to that country. The question was propounded in one sonnet (*proposta*) and answered in another (*risposta*), which, like the various stanzas of the Provençal Tenzon, observes the rhyme scheme of the first.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ See Wackernagel, I, p. 329.

⁶⁷ See Falke, p. 88.

⁶⁸ For Provençal influence in Italy, see Diez, *Poesie*, p. 272; Gaspari; Cesareo, *La poesia sotto gli Svevi*, Catania, 1894; Thomas, *Francesco Barberino et la littérature provençale en Italie au moyen âge*, Paris, 1883; and Casini, "Geschichte der italienischen Litteratur," in *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 3, I, p. 15. Also two articles in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vol. 138, pp. 235, 458, F. Torraca, "La scuola poetica siciliana," and Vol. 139, p. 224, by same author, "Federico II e la poesia provenzale." For the Italian Troubadours, see Schultz, "Die Lebensverhältnisse der italienischen Troubadours" (Berlin, 1885) in *Zeitschrift für romanischen Philologie*, Vol. VII, pp. 177-235, reviewed, with valuable additions, by Casini in *Giornale storico*, vol. II, pp. 395-406. An interesting résumé may also be found in A. Graf, *Provenza e Italia*, Turin, 1877.

⁶⁹ Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, Milano, 1742, Vol. II, lib. II, p. 49, gives the following rules for the *risposta*: "The *risposta* should preserve the rhythm and rhyme scheme of the *proposta*, but not the same rhyme-words." Crescimbeni, *L'Istoria della volgar Poesia*, Venice, 1731, I, p. 191, mentions three kinds of the poem in question: those in which the same rhyme-words are kept, those in which they are only partly retained, and those

The following is a list of the Italian question-and-answer sonnets which I have been able to find, the subjects of which belong to the class under discussion.

1. To which lover should a lady give her love, to the one who speaks out boldly, or to the one who is timid and silent? (*Poeti del primo secolo della lingua italiana*, Florence, 1816, 2 vols., I, p. 535.)^{69a}
2. Two knights love a lady; one is courteous, learned and wise, liberal and pleasing, the other doughty and of great vassalage, fierce and bold, and feared of all people: which is the more worthy of the lady's love?⁷⁰ (*Canzonette antiche*, Libreria Dante, Florence, 1884, p. 42.)
3. Which is preferable, love for a married lady, or for a maiden?⁷¹ (*Poeti del primo secolo*, II, pp. 395, 526, 527.)
4. Three youths love a lady and demand a token of her preference. To one she gave the garland from her own head, took from the second his garland and put it upon her head, and, finally, gave the third a slight slap on the cheek. For which of the three did she express the most love?⁷² (*Canzonette antiche*, p. 43.)
5. Which is the more worthy, he who loves or he who does not? (*Poeti del primo secolo*, II, p. 406.)
6. Does Love first arise from the sight? (Trucchi, *Poesie italiane*, Prato, 1846, 4 vols., Vol. I, p. 140.)⁷³
7. In a Tenzon between

in which they are entirely disregarded. For the subject in general, see Quadrio and Crescimbeni, just cited, and Gaspary, *Geschichte der ital. Lit.*, I, pp. 80-81. The examples given in the first two writers mentioned belong, nearly all of them, to a later period than the one which I am now considering. A bibliography of the Italian "Question-and-Answer Sonnets" may be found in *Romanische Forschungen*, XV (1904), pp. 150-203, "Sei secoli di corrispondenza poetica. Sonetti di proposta e risposta. Saggio di bibliografia." By H. Vaganay. The article contains a list of Italian sonnets of the class we are now considering, without any remarks or arrangement according to topics. There is an article by Salvatore Santangelo, "Le Tenzoni poetiche nella letteratura italiana delle origini," in *La Rassegna*, anno XXVI, No. 2, Serie III, Vol. II, Florence, 1918, pp. 83-106. The article deals not with the contents of the *Tenzoni*, but with their manuscript tradition, their affiliation and rhythmic reconstruction. The whole subject is now fully treated by L. Biadene in "Morfologia del sonetto nei secoli XIII e XIV," pp. 96 *et seq.*, in *Studi di filologia romanza* IV (1889), pp. 1-234.

^{69a} This question occurs in Tirso de Molina's *Deleytar Aprovechando*; see Chapter XIII of this work.

⁷⁰ See Knobloch, p. 68. This is the same "question" which is found in Provençal (*Gr.* 116, 1), and in French, Coussemaker, *Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle*, Paris, 1872, p. 189. A similar "question" is in *Gr.* 436, 1, already cited in the text, p. 12.

⁷¹ See Knobloch, p. 68.

⁷² This resembles the first of the Filocolo "questions," which will be treated later. I have included this question, although not in the form of a sonnet, with other ones of similar contents.

⁷³ A considerable number of Tenzons of various kinds may be found in the Italian collections, as well as in *Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo*, Florence, 1828,

Jacopo Mostacci, Pier della Vigna, and Giacomo da Lentino (Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, p. 59) is discussed the question, whether love has a separate being or is only a state or condition.

Such are some of the subjects discussed in the Tenzon, and such was its influence in the various countries of Europe. How popular it was as a mode of social diversion will appear later; but before I refer to that, it will be necessary to consider how the Tenzon was able to exercise this great influence on society, and become, as we shall see later, a favorite form of amusement. It did this through the questions, which were not only discussed by the poets in the Tenzons, but were submitted to others for judgment.

The Tenzon was of no fixed length but varied from two to eight strophes, seldom more.⁷⁴ In the first strophe one poet challenged the other to defend whichever side he wished of a question then propounded. The challenged poet replied in the second strophe, and the challenger then gives his own views, which are refuted in a fourth strophe. The challenger may at will end the contest by a *tornada*,⁷⁵ in which he submits the question to the judgment of a person therein named. The other debater may, in a second *tornada*, declare himself satisfied with the choice of a judge, or name a second one himself.⁷⁶ From the list of judges given by Selbach, p. 86, it appears that in twenty-five cases one judge, in twenty-two, two, and in four, three, were chosen, and the tribunal consisted either of men or women, or of both together. It will be seen that of the whole number of Tenzons, only about half were submitted to judges.⁷⁷ This has been explained in various ways.⁷⁸ The *tornada*, in which the Tenzon was submitted for judgment, is wanting in many cases, and its loss is accounted for on the ground that the decision was of interest only at the time it was rendered, and when the poems were collected later these decisions were omitted as no longer of

Casini, *Le Rime dei Poeti Bolognesi del secolo XIII*. Bologna, 1881, et cet., but they are either tenzons proper, or discuss other questions than those of love.

⁷⁴ See Selbach, p. 97.

⁷⁵ Literally "turning," because in it the poet turns from the subject of the poem to address a person, either a patron or friend, the lady of his heart or the minstrel, or he addresses the poem itself. See Bartsch, *Grundriss*, p. 71.

⁷⁶ See Selbach, p. 85; Zenker, p. 58; Knobloch, p. 48.

⁷⁷ See Zenker, p. 65.

⁷⁸ See Zenker, pp. 65-66.

value. In case the *tornada* is preserved without mention of judges, it is possible that they may have been appointed previously. That the judges chosen in the Tenzons really pronounced sentence is probable.⁷⁹ The Tenzon was a social diversion and the judgment was a necessary part of it, as we shall see when we reach the use of questions in society of a later date. It is, therefore, very strange that only three judgments have been preserved: two of them are of comparatively late date (Guiraut Riquier, 1250-1294), and one is of somewhat dubious character in that it cannot contain the words of the judge himself, but must be a later addition by some one embodying the substance of his sentence.

The three judgments are as follows: 1. In a Tenzon of Guiraut Riquier with Guillem de Mur (*Gr.* 248, 42), this question is propounded: Of two mighty barons, one enriches his own vassals and companions, but neglects, however, strangers; the other gives all to strangers, and does nothing for his own people. Which of the two is more worthy of praise? The judge is "young count Henry" (*coms joves Enrix*),⁸⁰ who is summoned to deliver his judgment "en chantan." He does so in a complete strophe with *tornada*, agreeing in rhythm and rhyme with the Tenzon itself.⁸¹ In the strophe he recapitulates the question and the sides maintained by the two disputants, and in the *tornada* he decides that while it is praiseworthy to do good to all, it is more praiseworthy to do it to one's friends. 2. In a Tenzon (*torney-amen*) between Guiraut Riquier, Enric,⁸² and Marques (*Gr.* 248, 75), the question is: Which is preferable, military prowess, learning, or liberality? The decision is left to Peire d'Estanh, who renders it, in a strophe corresponding in rhyme and rhythm with the original Tenzon, in favor of liberality. 3. In a Tenzon between Guilhem Augier and Guilhem (*Gr.* 205, 4), the question discussed is, whether wealth or learning is preferable. The

⁷⁹ P. Meyer, *Les derniers Troubadours de la Provence*, Paris, 1872, p. 695, thinks that very often the *tornada* of a Tenzon was nothing more than an expression of homage of no more importance than the *envoi* of a *chanson*. He also asks how a sentence could be depended on when two judges were chosen, one by each side. Zenker, p. 64, answers these objections, I think, in a very satisfactory manner. See also, P. Rajna, *Le Corti d'Amore*, Milan, 1890, p. 71 (note 39).

⁸⁰ According to Selbach, p. 88, Henry II, Count of Rodez.

⁸¹ Cited by Diez in *Poesie*, p. 168, ed. of Bartsch. It is also in Mahn, *Werke der Troubadours*, Berlin, 1853, IV, p. 250.

⁸² According to Selbach, p. 88, the same Henry as mentioned above.

judge, En Romeus, decides as follows: "En Romeus says in judgment that learning is worth more than riches, but to himself he says he would take wealth." This decision is expressed in a *tornada*, the fourth to this Tenzon.

There has been much discussion as to how the Tenzons were composed, whether improvised or not, and how the judgment was pronounced.⁸³ From a misunderstanding of the true character of the Tenzon and its function as a social diversion, has arisen the unfounded belief in the existence of Courts of Love, to which were submitted all disputed questions of love as well as the subjects debated in the Tenzons. It will be necessary to examine this matter at some length as it has an important bearing upon a later portion of this work.⁸⁴

It has already been seen that in a certain number of cases the questions debated in the Tenzons were submitted to the judgment of one or more persons named in the conclusion of the poem. A list of these judges is given by Selbach, p. 86, and it includes the names of many well-known persons, patrons and

⁸³ See Diez, *Poesie*, p. 166; Zenker, pp. 50, 88 *et seq.*; and Selbach, pp. 89 *et seq.* - See also the article by Jeanroy in the *Annales du Midi*, Vol. II, already cited, at end of the second part, where the author discusses the question of the manner of rendering judgment in the Tenzons.

⁸⁴ The extensive literature on the subject of the Courts of Love may best be consulted in E. Trojel, *Middelalderens Elskovshoffer*, Copenhagen, 1888, pp. 1-25; 72-89. More accessible is P. Rajna, *Le Corti d'Amore*, Milan, 1890, and V. Crescini, *Per la questione delle Corti d'Amore*, Padova, 1892. An important review of Trojel's book is in the *Journal des Savants*, Nov. and Dec., 1888. It is unnecessary to cite the older works here, although it should not be forgotten that it was Diez in his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der romantischen Poesie, Erstes Heft, Ueber die Minnehöfe*, Berlin, 1825, who first treated the question in a critical manner, and reached conclusions which have not been materially changed since then. The article by Crescini is found in the work *Per gli studi romanzi*, Padova, 1892, pp. 81-120. For a later article by Crescini see Note 101a. Another very important review of Trojel's work may be found in the *Giornale storico*, XIII, 371, by Renier. The subject of the Courts of Love has recently been treated in English by W. A. Neilson, "The Origin and Sources of the Court of Love," Boston, 1899, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VI, a very convenient and complete compend of the question. The most recent, and one of the most valuable, contributions to the general subject of "Questions" turning on love and their relation to the supposed Courts of Love is to be found in *Marburger Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie*, Heft, I (1911), "Die Altfranzösischen Minnefragen" by Alexander Klein. The author prints a number of texts containing collections of "questions" and follows these by a detailed examination of the origin of the *genre* and its relation to the vexed question of the Courts of Love. The author agrees in the main with Diez and Gaston Paris, but holds that occasionally the Courts of Love which sprang from "questions" relating to love are to be regarded as a sort of Court of Honor. Klein's work is most valuable and I regret that my book was substantially completed when it appeared.

friends of the poets. In no case is reference made to any formal and permanent court before which the questions discussed in the Tenzons were to be laid for judgment. The first to assert that such formal and permanent courts existed was Jehan de Nostredame, a *procureur* of the Parlement of Aix, who published in 1575, at Lyons, the "lives of the most famous and ancient Provençal poets, who flourished in the time of the counts of Provence."⁸⁵ In the introduction to his work, while discussing the various classes of poetry cultivated by the Troubadours, he says, p. 9: "The Tenzons were disputes on the subject of love, which took place between knights and ladies, who were fond of poetry, speaking together of some fine and subtle question of love; and when they could not agree, they had recourse for its decision to the illustrious ladies, presidents of the Court of Love, which was held at Signe, Pierrefeu, Romanin, and elsewhere, whose sentences were called 'arrêts d'amour.'" In other passages, pp. 13, 28, 49, and 89, Nostredame mentions various questions which were transmitted to these courts, and gives the names of the ladies, and ladies only, who composed these tribunals. These statements of Nostredame, the incorrectness of which has been abundantly shown, were repeated after him by succeeding writers until the belief in these formal and permanent courts for the judgment of the questions raised in the Tenzons became so widespread and deeply rooted that the clearest evidence of its incorrectness has failed to remove it.⁸⁶

It is probable that Nostredame misunderstood the judgments of the Provençal Tenzons, and also that he was influenced to some extent by the work of Martial d'Auvergne published some fifty years earlier.⁸⁷ The author was, like Nostredame, a *procureur*, but of the Parlement of Paris, at the close of the fifteenth century.⁸⁸ His work was entitled: *Les cinquante et ung arrestz*

⁸⁵ I have used Crescimbeni's translation in the second volume of the *Istoria della volgar poesia* cited above.

⁸⁶ The most recent instance of this is J. F. Rowbotham's *The Troubadours and Courts of Love*, London, 1895 (*Social England Series*).

⁸⁷ For editions see Trojel, p. 44. My edition, with Benoît le Court's comment, is Lyons, 1546.

⁸⁸ For Martial d'Auvergne, see Rajna and Trojel cited above, and Montaignon's introduction to *L'Amant rendu Cordelier* in the *Société des anciens textes français*. I have not been able to see W. Söderhjelm, *Anteckningar om Martial d'Auvergne och hans Kärleksdomnar*, Helsingfors, 1889, a notice of which by G. Paris may be found in the *Romania*, XVIII, 512-14. An excellent appreciation of Martial d'Auvergne's work and its relation to the class of literature now under consideration, may be found in Gaston Paris's review of Trojel in the *Journal des Savants*, Dec., 1888, p. 734.

d'Amours, and contained, as the title indicates, fifty-one sentences pronounced in "the noble parlement of Love." The book begins, in a way which recalls the mediæval allegories, with a poetical introduction, stating that the author, towards the end of September, when violets and flowers fade, found himself in the "grand'chambre" of the noble parlement of Love just as the last sentences were about to be pronounced and the clerk was summoned to begin the cases. Many were there to present their cases and to receive sentence. In the midst of these the author sat down and describes in detail the dress of the President. Besides him there were there the goddesses in great triumph and honor, all "légistes et clergesses" who knew the code by heart. They were dressed in green, with plush linings and with their necks bared. Their garments smelled of cypress and musk, so that one could not be near them without sneezing. The floor of the court was covered with rosemary and lavender. There were lovers from divers places, and behind the benches were those listening to the sentences, whose hearts were so delighted that they did not know where they were. Some gnashed with their teeth in fear; others trembled like leaves. None was so wise and perfect that he was not disturbed when he was judged. The author says he will not dwell on this subject as he cares little for it, but will relate how the President spoke and how he pronounced the sentences. He adds that he has written them down in the form which the reader shall hear, without adding or taking anything away, and all were pronounced in prose. Then follow the fifty-one cases, which are treated with the most elaborate legal forms and phraseology. The parlement is, in many cases, a court of appeal, which reviews the proceedings of the lower courts and confirms or reverses their sentences. These lower courts are, with one exception, presided over by men, who are evidently allegorical figures, *e.g.*, "par devant le Prevost de dueil se assist de pieça un proces (p. 15); par devant le Ballif de Joye (p. 35); par devant le Viguier (vicar) d'Amours en la provence de beaulté (p. 39); devant le Maire de boys verdz (p. 49); par devant le conservateur des haultz privileges d'Amours (p. 50); par devant le Marquis des fleurs et violettes d'Amours (p. 110); devant le Prevost d'Aulbespine (p. 146); par devant le seneschal des Ayglantiers (p. 153)." The one exception mentioned above is the twelfth sentence, "par devant les dames

du conseil d'amours en la chambre de plaisance" (p. 131). The cases are not really "questions," but legal cases, and have little or nothing in common with the subjects of dispute in the Tenzons. They are tiresome in the extreme and present nothing of interest or value.

It is clear that the work of Martial d'Auvergne can not be considered as bearing valuable testimony to the existence of Courts of Love in the sense in which we are now considering them, and it is likely that the book was inspired by the many mediæval allegories of the Court of Love,⁸⁹ and was probably a mere *jeu d'esprit* of a lawyer, although Diez thinks it had a didactic tendency.⁹⁰

After the work was published it attracted the notice of a learned jurist, Benoît le Court, who made it the subject of a curiously learned commentary in Latin.⁹¹ That this was regarded by the author as a mere jest is clear from his concluding words, p. 404. "Sed jam satis juvenes lusimus, parce bone lector, et aequi bonique facias nostros primos labores, quae si te fecisse cognovero, majora andacius subsequenter."

I have left to the last the most important witness, and one whose work is of immense value for the whole question of mediæval love—I refer to Andreas Capellanus, whose book, *De Amore libri tres*, has already been mentioned. When Diez wrote, in 1825, his epoch-making work on the Courts of Love, little was known about Andreas, and in order to weaken the value of his testimony Diez attempted on the ground of various arguments to place him as late as possible, in fact, during the fourteenth century.⁹² The latest investigations, however, show that the work was written at the close of the twelfth century,

⁸⁹ See Rajna, pp. 3-26.

⁹⁰ Diez, p. 106: "I am inclined to believe that he had a moral aim, and meant to censure certain unseemly things in lovers, e.g., prodigality, mania for fashions, slander, misbehavior in social games, monks acting as messengers of love, and similar improprieties, which arose in connection with love." I cannot, for my part, see any such moral aim in the work and regard it as a mere *jeu d'esprit*.

⁹¹ Benoît Court, or le Court, or du Curtil, was born near the close of the fifteenth century at Saint-Symphorien-le-Château. G. Brunet, in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, Paris, 1866, thinks his work perfectly serious.

⁹² One of the arguments of Diez, p. 77, the relatively late translation of Andreas's book into the modern languages, has been disproved by the discovery that the work was known in Italy in the first half of the thirteenth century. See Rajna, p. 39; *Romania*, XII, p. 527; Trojel, p. 99; and especially, *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, V, pp. 193-272, "Tre studj per la storia del libro di Andrea Cappellano," by P. Rajna.

possibly before 1196.⁹³ He is termed in the manuscripts containing the author's name "chaplain of the King of France." No such person is mentioned as occupying this office between 1174 and 1220. A certain Andreas was, however, chaplain and chancellor of the Marie, Countess of Champagne, so often mentioned in the *Liber de Amore*, between 1185-1187. As he is always termed "royal chaplain," or "chaplain of the royal court," it is possible that after 1187 he passed into the service of the king.⁹⁴ Nothing certain is known of him, but it is probable that Andreas was his true name and that he was an ecclesiastic. The work is such an important document for the history of mediæval love that a somewhat full analysis of this little known book may not be out of place here.⁹⁵

The writer says in the preface that the work was undertaken at the request of Walter in order to inform him how among lovers the state of love may be maintained unbroken, and how those who are not loved may ward off the darts of Venus.

In the first book, the author considers what love is, whence it takes its name, what is its effect, between whom love can exist, and how it is acquired. In the second, he considers how love may be retained, increased, diminished, and ended; the idea of mutual love; and what one lover ought to do when the other breaks faith.

Love may be won in five ways: by beauty, probity, eloquence, wealth, and readiness to grant the favors of love. The last two should be banished from the Court of Love.

Eloquence often compels the hearts of those not loving to love. It is wont to sharpen the darts of Love, and to afford presumption of probity. How this is done is shown in a series of elaborate conversations between persons of different ranks: a plebeian, noble, and nobler woman; and a plebeian, noble, nobler, and most noble man. There is one rank more among men than among women, because there is a most noble man, viz., a clerk.

These conversations are really examples of love making and

⁹³ See Trojel's preface to his edition of Andreas's work, p. xxxix.

⁹⁴ See Trojel, p. xi.

⁹⁵ I have used Trojel's edition of Andreas Capellanus cited above in Note 22, in the preface to which, and in Trojel's *Middelalderens Elskovshoffer*, will be found all the necessary references to Andreas down to 1892.

are of great value for mediæval culture.⁹⁶ A curious episode occurs in the fifth conversation, in which is described the punishment prepared for women who have refused to love. It is in the form of a vision in which the narrator beholds three bands of women on horseback, some on fine horses carefully escorted by knights, others exposed to the importunate services of many men; and, finally, a third band dressed in mean dresses and riding lean and lame horses. These three classes are those who knew how to grant their love wisely, those who yielded themselves to the pleasure of every suitor, and those who, while they lived, closed the doors upon all who wished to enter the Palace of Love, and did not worship the God of Love. The first class is rewarded in an earthly Paradise called "Amœnitas," while the second and third classes are punished, one in a place called "Humilitas," where a cold stream overflowed the ground, and a hot sun beat down without any shade, the others, in a spot called "Siccitas," a hot and arid place. Before the narrator departs, the King of Love gives him the twelve principal precepts of love, among which are: Avoid avarice; Be true to your beloved; Be truthful; Have few confidants of your love; Obey your beloved; Let your love be ruled by modesty; Be not a slanderer; Do not betray the love of others; Be courteous and polite to all.

In the course of the seventh conversation occurs the discussion of the question whether love can exist between man and wife. The dispute arises from the fact that the lady to whom the conversation is addressed excuses herself from loving on the ground that she is married. The lover expresses his surprise since it is evident that love cannot exist between man and wife. One reason is that love is furtive; another, that jealousy cannot exist between the married, but should be cultivated by lovers. The lady finally proposes to submit the question to some upright man

⁹⁶ Similar conversations are found in Jacques d'Amiens, *L'Art d'Amors* and *Li Remedes d'Amors*, edited by G. Körting, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 15 *et seq.* The distinction of rank is not observed, except possibly in the second, where the lady addressed is "de vaillandise," and "de haut afaire." The three suits are addressed to two married ladies and a young maiden. They are followed by six replies on the part of ladies, and in four cases the answer of the suitor is given. The ladies who reply are: a married lady who does not wish to be false to her husband, a lady anxious about scandal, a lady who fears the falseness and disloyalty of men, a lady who is extremely virtuous and therefore indignant at being sued for her love, a sensible lady, and, finally, a timid lady. These conversations were undoubtedly written in imitation of those in Andreas, but the imitation is general only, and it is difficult to detect any particular passages borrowed from Andreas.

or woman, and proposes the Countess of Champagne. The question is submitted in a letter and answered in the same way. The Countess decides that love cannot exist between man and wife. Various reasons are given, among them the one just mentioned. The judgment of the Countess was approved by the council of many other ladies and might, therefore, be taken as "indubitable and invariable truth."

In the eighth conversation several questions are propounded by the lady to her lover, and *vice versâ*. They all relate to the real or apparent desertion of the beloved and its punishment.

The book concludes with a consideration of the love of several classes not mentioned above: clerks, nuns, rustics, harlots; of love bestowed for money; and of the too ready granting of love.

The second book treats of how love is retained, increased, diminished, and ended. To preserve love secrecy is necessary, compliance with the will of the beloved, and liberality. Love is increased by the difficulty and rareness of meeting, by jealousy, and by frequent thought of the beloved. Love is lessened by ease and frequency of meeting, by poverty, avarice, timidity, faithlessness, and falsehood. Love ends when faith is broken, when secrecy is not observed when new love springs up, and when marriage occurs.

A chapter is devoted to directions for ascertaining the mind of the beloved, and a longer one to the question of one lover breaking faith with the other. In the course of the latter chapter the important statement is made that love may be lawfully revealed to three persons: a confidant and *confidante*, and an "internuntius" to aid the lovers in concealing and carrying on their love.

In the seventh chapter of the second book occur the famous judgments of love, twenty-one in number, which, as they are practically questions, may be briefly stated here.⁹⁷

I. A lady made a suitor promise not to try to win her love or to praise her in the presence of others, under pain of her displeasure. He obeyed until he heard her traduced one day and then defended her. When the lady heard of this she said he should be deprived of her love on account of his disobedience.

The Countess of Champagne decided that the lady was too severe and had encouraged her lover by taking his promise.

⁹⁷ The judgments in the text were first printed in their entirety by Trojel in his *Middelalderens Elskovshoffer*, pp. 141-155. They are of course also in the same author's edition of Andreas, pp. 271-295.

II. A lover asked his beloved's leave to woo another lady. After a month he returned and said he had acted as he did only to test his beloved's constancy. She refused to accept him again, saying that to ask such leave was sufficient reason to deprive him of her love.

The judgment of Queen "Alinoria"⁹⁸ seems to contradict this. A lover, she says, often feigns a desire for a new love in order to prove the constancy of his beloved, who should not on this account reject him unless she knows clearly that he has broken faith with her.

III. Which is the preferable of two lovers equal in rank and manners, the one who is poor, or the one who is rich?⁹⁹

The judgment of the Countess of Champagne was that noble and seemly poverty is not to be subordinated to rude wealth, nor noble wealth to seemly poverty.

IV. Two suitors equal in all respects ask for the love of the same lady; which is to be preferred?

The same countess opines that he is to be preferred who is first in point of time. If their suits were proffered at the same time, then the one whom the lady most desires.

V. A certain knight deeply loves a lady who does not love him equally well, but will not allow him to withdraw from loving her.

The Countess replied that the intention of that woman was base who wished to be loved and refused herself to love.

VI. A youth who had not yet acquired worth and a knight who had, demanded the same lady's love. The youth claimed

⁹⁸ The ladies mentioned in the judgments as judges have been identified as follows: Queen "Alinoria" is Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France, afterwards married to Henry II of England, and who died in 1204; the Countess of Champagne is the daughter of Eleanor, Marie de France, Countess of Champagne in 1164, died in 1198; Mengarda of Narbonne is Ermenjard, Viscountess of Narbonne in 1142, died before 1197; the Countess of Flanders has been recognized by some as Marguerite, at first Countess of Hainaut, then Countess of Flanders in her own right in 1191, who died in 1194, by others as Elizabeth or Isabel of Vermandois, married to Philip of Flanders in 1156 and died in 1182. The queen mentioned without any qualification has sometimes been taken for the Queen Eleanor just mentioned; this is incorrect; she is the queen of France, Aeliz de Champagne, third wife of Louis VII in 1160, widow in 1180, and died in 1206. See Trojel and Paris, *Journal des Savants*, Nov., 1888, pp. 669, 672.

⁹⁹ Trojel, p. 160, cites a *jeu-parti* between a lady and "Rolan" on the same subject; see *Archives des missions scientifiques*, II. série, Vol. V, p. 233, also a *partimen* between Esteve and Jutge (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 145, 1), and a *partimen* between Guionet and Raimbaut (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 238, 2).

preference, for by the lady's love he might be made worthy, and that would be no slight praise for the lady.

Queen Alinoria replies that although this may be true, a woman acts foolishly in preferring an unworthy lover, for it is possible that he may not be made worthy by her love.

VII. A certain person unwittingly loves a relative; when he discovers the relationship he wishes to renounce his love. The lady objects on the ground that they are excused by their ignorance.

The same queen decides that the woman is wrong.

VIII. A lady who has a suitable lover marries and afterwards avoids her former lover and refuses him the usual favors.

Mengarda of Narbonne blames the lady, declaring that marriage does not exclude prior love, unless the lady be determined to renounce love for ever.

IX. The same lady when asked which love was greater, that of lovers or that of husband and wife, replied that the two things were different and had their origin in different impulses; and could not be compared.¹⁰⁰

X. A man seeks the love of his former wife, who was divorced from him.

The same lady decides that love between such is wicked.

XI. A good and prudent man sues for a lady's love, and afterwards a worthier man; which is to be preferred?

The same lady decides that it is a matter for the lady's decision.

XII. A certain man engaged in a suitable love seeks the love of another woman as if he were free. When he has obtained the favor of the second he returns to the first and shuns the second.

The Countess of Flanders decides that the man deserves to be deprived of the love of both.

XIII. A knight destitute of all worth loves a worthy lady, and is raised by her love to the utmost worthiness and uprightness. Another lady seeks his love and the knight responds, forgetful of the lady who had reformed him.

The Countess of Flanders decides that the first lady has the right to recall him from any other woman.

¹⁰⁰ Trojel, p. 160, cites a *jeu-parti* between Ferri and Robert (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, IV. série, Vol. V, p. 223-323), and a *partimen* between Gui d'Uisel and Elias d'Uisel (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 194, 2).

XIV. A lady whose lover is on a crusade, despairing of his return, seeks another lover. The confidant of the first lover complains of the lady's change of faith, and opposes the new love. The lady defends herself on the plea that a woman can seek a new lover two years after a former lover's death; much more than a woman who is the widow of a living lover and is left without news or letters when there is no lack of messengers.

The Countess of Champagne decides that the lady was wrong to relinquish her love on account of her lover's long absence unless she knew to her certain knowledge that he had first broken faith with her. The lack of letters should be ascribed to his prudence, since he was not at liberty to reveal his love to strangers, and messengers might prove faithless or die on the way and thus the secret be divulged.

XV. A lover while fighting bravely loses an eye, or is otherwise deformed, and then loses the favors of his beloved.

The lady of Narbonne declares that a woman is unworthy of honor who withdraws her love from her lover on account of some deformity likely to arise in war.

XVI. A certain knight chooses a confidant, who breaking his faith himself sued for the love of the lady and obtained it.

The knight laid the matter before the Countess of Champagne, who summoned sixty ladies and pronounced the following judgment: Let the deceitful lover, who has found a woman worthy of his merits and who does not blush to consent to such a wicked deed, enjoy, if he please, his ill-gotten love; and let her who is worthy of such a friend enjoy it likewise. Let them both be forever excluded from the love of every other person, and neither be summoned to the assemblies of ladies nor to the courts of soldiers."

XVII. A certain knight was bound by the love of a lady who was engaged to another lover. She encouraged the first to hope that she would be his if she could escape from the love by which she was engaged. Shortly after she married the second lover and when the first demanded the fruition of the hope which she had held out to him, she refused it, declaring that she had not escaped from the love of her co-lover.

The queen answered as follows: We dare not oppose the sentence of the Countess of Champagne, who in her judgment declared that love could not exist between the married, and, there-

fore, the above mentioned lady should grant the love she had promised.

XVIII. A certain knight revealed the secrets of his love, and was condemned by the court of ladies convoked in Gasconne to live deprived of all hope of love, and to be treated with contumely in every court of ladies or soldiers. If any woman dared to break this sentence by granting him her love, she should be subject to the same punishment, and be regarded as an enemy by all worthy women.

XIX. A certain knight sued for the love of a lady who refused to grant it. He afterwards sent her some gifts which she received with alacrity. Later she repeated her refusal, and the knight complained that the lady by the acceptance of his gifts had granted him some hope, of which she now, for no cause, endeavored to deprive him.

The queen answered that a woman should either refuse gifts offered with a view to love, or reward the giver by her love; otherwise she must patiently submit to be enumerated among harlots.

XX. The queen was asked which love was preferable, that of a youth, or of a man advanced in years.¹⁰¹

She answered that love was distinguished not by reason of age, but by knowledge, worth, and good manners. Young men naturally seek the love of older women; when they are older themselves they prefer young girls. Women whether old or young prefer the love of the young to that of the old.

XXI. The Countess of Champagne was asked what gifts lovers might receive from each other, and furnished the lists. All suspicion of avarice must be wanting. If letters are sent proper names are to be omitted, and they should be sealed with a secret seal. If lovers appeal to the judgment of ladies, the real persons should never be mentioned, but only designated by an indefinite reference.

The eighth chapter contains the famous rules of love and an interesting story to account for their origin. A certain knight of Britain, while passing through the royal forest on his way to see King Arthur, encountered a beautiful maiden on horseback

¹⁰¹ Trojel, p. 160, cites a *jeu-parti* between an unknown and Grieviler (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, IV. série, Vol. V, p. 33; see also Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 185, 2, and *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, IV. série, Vol. V, p. 339).

who said to him that he could not find what he was seeking without her aid. To test her, he asked her to tell him why he had come there. She answered that he was in love with a lady of Britain, who had declared that he could never enjoy her love unless he brought her the victorious hawk, which was said to rest upon a golden perch in Arthur's court. The knight confessed that this was true, and the maiden continued saying that he could not have the hawk unless he could prove by battle in Arthur's palace that he enjoyed the love of a fairer lady than any who dwelt there, and, further, that he could not enter the palace unless he could show to the guardian the hawk's glove, and the glove must be obtained by a double battle against two powerful knights. The knight implored her aid and it was granted provided he should prove bold enough to accomplish what she had said. She then gave him her horse, with the warning that after he had defeated the two guardians of the glove, he should not take the glove from them but take it himself from the golden column on which it hung.

The knight accomplished all the adventures which the maiden foretold, and seized the hawk, to whose perch a written scroll was fastened by a golden chain. When the knight inquired what it was, he was told that it was the scroll in which the rules of love were written, which the King of Love himself had uttered with his own lips for lovers. This scroll he was to carry away and reveal the rules to lovers if he wished to bear away the hawk peaceably. The knight took the scroll and withdrew. In the same wood he found the maiden who had helped him. She rejoiced at his victory and bade him return to Britain, saying he could always find her at that place. After kissing her many times, he departed and made known to lovers the rules found in the scroll.

These rules are the following:

THE RULES OF LOVE.

- I. Marriage is not a just excuse for not loving.
- II. He who is not jealous cannot love.
- III. No one can be bound by a double love.
- IV. Love always increases or diminishes.
- V. What the lover takes from his beloved against her will has no relish.

- VI. A man can love only when he has reached full manhood.
- VII. A dead lover must be mourned by the survivor for two years.
- VIII. No one should be deprived of love without abundant reason.
- IX. No one can love unless he is compelled to do so by the persuasion of love.
- X. Love is always wont to shun the abode of avarice.
- XI. It is unseemly to love those whom one would be ashamed to marry.
- XII. A true lover does not wish to enjoy the love of another than his beloved.
- XIII. Love seldom lasts after it is divulged.
- XIV. Love easily won becomes contemptible; love won with difficulty is held dear.
- XV. Every lover is wont to turn pale at the sight of his beloved.
- XVI. A lover's heart trembles at the sudden sight of his beloved.
- XVII. A new love drives away the old.
- XXVIII. Probity alone makes one worthy of love.
- XIX. If love diminishes it soon ends and rarely revives.
- XX. A lover is always timid.
- XXI. A lover's affection is always increased by true jealousy.
- XXII. A lover's zeal and affection are increased by suspicion of the beloved.
- XXIII. He eats and sleeps less whom the thought of love distresses.
- XXIV. Every act of the lover is bounded by the thought of the beloved.
- XXV. A true lover believes nothing good but what he thinks will please the beloved.
- XXVI. Love can refuse nothing to love.
- XXVII. A lover cannot tire of the favors of his beloved.
- XXVIII. A slight presumption forces the lover to suspect his beloved.
- XXIX. He is not wont to love who is tormented by lewdness.
- XXX. A true lover dwells in the uninterrupted contemplation of the beloved.
- XXXI. Nothing forbids a woman to be loved by two men, and a man by two women.

The remainder of Andreas's work (Book III) may be briefly dismissed. It consists of a condemnation of love, not divided into chapters, although certain topics are treated in detail, *e.g.*, for what reason love should be condemned, concerning the vices of women, etc. The writer states that he did not compose the first part of his work in order to encourage his friend to love, but only in compliance with his request. He then gives many reasons for not loving. Besides these he enumerates in great detail the faults usually ascribed to women in the Middle Ages. In the conclusion the author exhorts the friend at whose request the first part was written, to study carefully the second part and he will see that no one should waste his days in the pleasures of love. If he does not, the King of Heaven will always be propitious to him, and he will deserve to prosper in this world and will possess eternal life and glory in the world to come. Finally, Walter is reminded of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

Such is an inadequate outline of this remarkable work. It is an elaborate code of mediæval love, and as such a priceless document for the social culture of the period. For this reason I have given above an account of the whole work, although we are now chiefly interested in the subject of "questions." The work of Andreas was first cited by Crescimbeni in his translation of Nostredame's *Lives of the Provençal Poets* as a proof of the existence of the Courts of Love, and as we have already seen it has since remained one of the most important documents in the case.

It is clear, however, that most of the judgments cited by Andreas do not differ materially from the questions discussed in the Tenzons. A few (XIII, XVI, XVIII, XIX) have been claimed by the latest advocate of the existence of Courts of Love, Trojel, as belonging to a different class and being actual cases really submitted to courts of love. These will not, however, bear serious examination, and must be classed with all the others as additional proof of the vogue of "questions" as a means of social diversion.^{101a}

^{101a} This conclusion which was reached by me many years ago is confirmed by an admirable article by Giuseppe Zonta, "Rileggendo Andrea Cappellano," in *Studi Medievali*, Vol. III (1908-1911), pp. 49-68. The author starts with four of the judgments, XIV, XVI, XVIII, and XIX, and demonstrates their unreality and essential sameness with the subjects of the *Tenzons* and *jeux-*

It seems evident, therefore, that the courts or tribunals mentioned above, whether composed of one individual or of many, were not permanent institutions rendering serious judgments on real cases submitted in good faith to their jurisdiction, but were merely forms of social diversion, and the questions decided were such as ordinarily constituted the subjects of the *jeux-partis*. I have thus far considered this class of questions alone, and it now remains, in conclusion, to consider briefly the use of questions outside of the Tenzons or *jeux-partis*.

I have already referred to the origin of the Tenzon, which has been ascribed by some to the venerable custom of asking

partis. He cites, p. 63, Rajna, *Le Corti d'Amore*, p. 94—"Nuovi i 'judicia' non sono nient'affatto. Esistono, secondo si disse e ridisse, come una specie di passatempo e di uso elegante. Nuova è solo l'applicazione a casi reali che qui viene a farsene. Che cotale applicazione sia nella mente di Andrea è cosa da doversi ammettere." Zonta adds: "Meglio di così non si potrebbe dire," and continues: "Poichè anche nel secolo XIII (come in tutti i tempi e ammettiamo pure in Francia anche più sovente che in altri siti) ci sarà bene il costume di sottomettere al giudizio di una o più persone, senza segretezze, senza regole sottili, senza definiti formulari, la risoluzione di questioni e di controversie d'indole privata, e poichè esisteva nella società elegante l'uso di arbitrati circa casi d'amore discussi per passatempo, Andrea si industriò di incanalare il rivolo delle questioni reali dentro del fiume delle questioni fittizie, distillando una regola categorica, assoluta, sicura, e dimostrando che anche tutte le questioni reali potevano senza ledere le legge dell'amore cavalleresco, venire risolte seguendo il procedimento che si usava nei dubbi d'amore, discussi e risolti per gioco, e che dentro di questi potevano essere quindi inquadrati; egli cercò precisamente di applicare ai casi reali i giudizi di uso elegante." He concludes, p. 66: "Una ragione poi di grande valore contro la realtà delle cosiddette 'corti d'amore,' anche di quelle minuscole proposte dal Trojel, a me sembra fornita dal fatto che nessuno altro esempio di simile consuetudine, fuori della Francia del XII e XIII secolo, ci sarebbe offerto dalla storia dei costumi; laddove per il contrario tutti quei periodi storici-letterari che si possono raffrontare coll'epoca che produsse l'amor cavalleresco occitanico, ci presentano, come loro peculiare portato, tutti, sempre e concordamente, la questione d'amore, cioè una discussione giocosa o accademicamente scientifica intorno ad un argomento riguardante l'amore deliberatamente proposto e svolto."

Zonta, p. 67, note 1, says that the recurrence of "questioni d'amore" has not been studied by any one, and calls attention to their use in French polite society. The reader will see this is substantially the aim of the present work. Two years after the publication of the above mentioned article on Andrea Capellano, Zonta printed in the same journal, pp. 603-637, another valuable paper "Arbitrati reali o questioni giucose?" The cause of the second article was a lecture by Professor V. Crescini in the R. Istituto Veneto, in which he attempted to show that the "judicia" were "dei veri e propri arbitrati reali." In his invaluable answer Zonta accumulates proofs in addition to those given in his first article and extends his investigation over the whole subject of the use of "questions" as a social custom. He cites all the most important literature of the subject and refers at greater length to the use of "questions" in French society. This part of the article could, as the reader of the present work will see, be easily extended. Still, the two articles by Zonta form the most valuable general contribution to the subject which has been made to the present time.

riddles, by others, to an imitation of Virgil's *Eclogues*, or of the Latin debates (*conflictus*), which left such a profound impression upon mediæval literature.¹⁰² The oldest of such debates turning upon a question of love appears to be the *Council of Love*, published in 1849 by Waitz from a manuscript of the eleventh or twelfth century.^{102a} The subject of the poem is the question: Which is preferable, the love of a clerk or of a knight? This question is debated by the nuns of the abbey of Remiremont assembled in their chapter-house with a profane parody of the services usual at solemn meetings of the chapter. A female cardinal (*cardinalis domina*) sent by the God of Love decides that clerks alone are worthy of love, and that the nuns who have granted their favors to knights must do penance, if they do not wish to be expelled from the monastery.

The same question is the subject of another Latin poem, somewhat later than the one just mentioned, entitled *De Phyllide et Flora*.¹⁰³ In this poem two young girls who love respectively

¹⁰² For the origin of the debate form in modern poetry see A. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1889, Chap. II, *Le débat*, and the same writer's article in the *Annales du Midi* cited in Note 25. The same subject is treated in the special works on the Tenzon cited in note 25. See also W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, Boston, 1899, pp. 240 *et seq.*

A more recent general article on the subject, "Rangstreit-Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literatur-und Kulturgeschichte," by Moritz Steinschneider, may be found in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 155. Band, 4. Abhandlung., pp. 86. The author treats the Oriental sources and gives a useful list of the subjects of this class of poetry.

The relation of the Classical Eclogue and mediæval Debate is the subject of an article of that title by J. A. Hanford in *The Romanic Review*, II, 16-31; 129-143. The poems mentioned in the text and some additional versions: viz., *Concile de Remiremont*, *Phyllis and Flora*, *Le Jugement d'Amours*, *Hueline and Aiglantine*, *Blancheflor and Florence*, *Melior and Ydoine*, *Le Fabel du Dieu d'Amours*, and, in an analysis, *Vénus, la déesse d'amour*, have been published by Charles Oulmont in *Les Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier*, Paris, 1911. The introductory matter is of no great value and the whole work is unfavorably reviewed by E. Faral in *Romania*, XLI, 136-138. The last named writer has treated most thoroughly and satisfactorily the subject of the debate in question in *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge*, Paris, 1913, pp. 191-303, "Les débats du clerc et du chevalier dans la littérature des XIIe et XIIIe siècles." Faral prints in appendices a new edition of *Le Jugement d'amour ou Florence et Blancheflor*, and a Franco-Italian version found in one of the Ashburnham MSS., now in the Laurentian Library in Florence.

^{102a} Haupt's *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, VII, 160.

¹⁰³ *Carmina Burana*, Stuttgart, 1847, and Breslau, 1883, p. 155. A discussion of the metrical form and age of the Latin poem *De Phyllide et Flora* may be found in J. Schreiber, *Die Vaganten-Strophe der mittellateinischen Dichtung*, Strassburg, 1894, p. 68 *et seq.* The writer places the poem in the last quarter of the twelfth century and thinks it likely that the author was a

a clerk and a knight, extol the superiority of their lovers. Unable to agree, they resolve to submit their dispute to the Court of Love. The judges of the God decide in favor of the clerk.

There are four French poems on the same subject, which differ only in their details. In one, the two young girls are called Hueline and Eglantine, in the other, Florence and Blanchefleur.¹⁰⁴ In the former, the conclusion is incomplete; in the latter, the girls reach the abode of the God of Love, who summons his court, composed of birds. They cannot agree and the nightingale takes the part of the clerks and challenges whoever contradicts him. The parrot accepts the challenge and enters the lists. He is defeated, however, and the unfortunate Florence dies of grief and is buried under a stone, on which is written:

Ici est Florence enfoie,
Qui au chevalier fu amie.

The two other versions were written in England; in these the same question is discussed and decided in the same way by a duel between two birds.¹⁰⁵

Benedictine monk. See also *Romania*, XXII, 536, and Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 38. An English translation of the Latin poem has been reprinted several times: see Wright's edition of the *Poems of Walter Mapes*, 1841, pp. 258 and 363-364, and *Works of Chapman*, London, 1875, II, 43-49. I have seen the rare tract in the British Museum: *Phyllis and Flora. The sweete and ciuill contention of two amorous Ladyes*. Translated out of Latine by R. S. Esquire. Aut Marti vel Mercurio. Imprinted at London by W. W. for Richarde Iohnes. 1598, 4to. The Huth Catalogue says "a copy is in the British Museum, and another was in 'Bibl. Heber,' part IV, No. 2447, but no others are known." It begins:

In flowry season of the yeere,
And when the Firmament was cleere,
When Tellus Hierbales paynted were
With issue of disparent chere.

When th'usher to the morne did rise,
And drive the darkness from the skyes
Sleepe gave their visuale liberties
To Phillis and to Floras eyes.

The translation in full may be found in Mapes and Chapman cited above.

¹⁰⁴ For *Hueline and Eglantine* see Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes inédits*, Paris, 1823, I, p. 353. For *Florence and Blancheflor* see Barbazan and Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1808, IV, p. 354. See also Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes*, Paris, 1829, I, 306, where a combination of the two poems is given.

¹⁰⁵ Discovered by P. Meyer at Cambridge and Cheltenham, and not yet published. In one the young girls are called Melior and Idoine, in the other, Florence and Blancheflor. These poems I know only from the analysis given by Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1891, p. 14. For *Melior and Idoine* see also *Romania*, XV, p. 333.

More interesting as containing many questions is *Le Court d'Amours* by Mahius li Porriers, a French *trouvère* of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶ The commencement of the poem is lacking, and it begins with the author, who is present at the Court of Love, describing the complaint of a jealous husband against his wife. The Baillieu, who presides over the court, dismisses the complainant with angry words. Then follow thirty cases, which may be briefly mentioned here, although not all of them are of the class which I have thus far discussed.

I. A gentle squire complains of the God, who will neither leave him free, nor accept him as his own. II. A canon declares that he loves a maiden, who appears favorable to him, but to whom he does not dare to disclose his heart for fear of a refusal, so that he prefers to suffer. He asks meanwhile what he shall do, speak to her or write to her. He is advised to speak. III. A king confesses that he loves a country girl whom he has met while riding over the country. He was captivated by her singing and offered her his love, but received a refusal. The girl is summoned to the Court, where she declares that she has given her heart to an equal of hers, a gentle shepherd, whose praises she sings, and whom she will not forsake, even to become a queen. At these words the Baillieu begs the king to seek another friend. IV. A knight asks how a lover can know whether his lady will grant him her love or not, when he entreats her, her honor being safe. The Baillieu replies that the aspect of the lady can hardly lie, especially when one can read the eyes, which are the messengers of the heart. V. A squire asks which deserves the greater blame and does the greater wrong to love, the one who wishes to abandon love forever, or the lady who has determined not to love no matter

¹⁰⁶ "*Le Court d'Amours di Mahius li Porriers*" by E. Gorra, in *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Adolf Tobler zur Feier, etc.*, Halle, 1895, pp. 228-239. Some of the "questions" in the text resemble those already cited, e.g., IX is like 44, and 48, on pp. 13, 14; XXVII is like the sixteenth judgment of Andreas; see above p. 33, etc. This poem is the subject of an elaborate article by Gorra in *Fra Drammi e Poemi*, Milano, 1900, pp. 201-302, "*La Teorica dell'Amore e un antico poema francese inedito.*" In this connection may be mentioned A. Thomas, "*Chastel d'Amors, fragment d'un poème provençal,*" in *Annales du Midi*, I (1889), pp. 183-196. The *Chastel d'Amours* has since been edited by E. Hoepffner in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIII (1909), pp. 695-710, "*Frage- und Antwortspiel in der französischen Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts,*" and by A. Klein in work cited in note 84 of this chapter. Both are supplemented by an article by Walter Suchier, "*Zu den alt-französischen Minnefragen,*" in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXVI (1912), pp. 221-228.

how much she may be entreated. The former is pronounced the more guilty. VI. A wise cleric and of great nobility asks which is the more to be praised, the one who lives joyful in love, or the one who lives in fear and anger. The Baillieu decides in favor of the former. VII. A bachelor asks whether it is possible to love loyally against one's will. The Baillieu replied that it is impossible; since the will is the beginning of love, it is that which moves lovers, and against it no true heart can ever love. VIII. The question is asked if there was ever seen a heart so desirous of love and so true as to persevere in the passion, which tortures it with all kinds of griefs and hard trials? Love, answers the Baillieu, affords such great delight as to impel one to scorn every danger and to endure the heaviest troubles. IX. Which is preferable, to be able to live a year without pain or sorrow enjoying the favors of a lady and after this time be obliged to renounce her forever, or to live in constant hope? The Baillieu leaves the choice to the questioner, who prefers the first course, since the lover can have the memory of the past happiness. The Baillieu sustains the other side, and reminds the questioner how sad it is to recall the happy time in suffering, and how preferable it is to live in hope. The question is, finally, submitted to the judgment of the whole tribunal, which, after long deliberation, announces that the President has judged wisely. X. Is it better to love without being loved, or to live without love? The Baillieu replies that although a lover does not obtain mercy from his lady, he should not on that account renounce love, since he who lives with love leads a better life than one who scorns love, without which there is no salvation. XI. Is a married man or a married woman permitted to love? The Baillieu, to whom such a love seems impure, declares that they are not. XII. It is asked which is the more unhappy in love, the one who always loves and does not dare to reveal it under penalty of death, or one who knows and sees that his asking mercy will not aid him at all to obtain his wishes. The Baillieu decides in favor of the first, because he does not know whether the lady would accept his love or not. The other is comforted by his hope, and meanwhile lives in the sweet feeling of love. No one ought to undertake to love who is unwilling to submit to the duties of love. No lady is so bold as to ask a man to love her, hence a man must declare himself. An appeal is taken to the full court,

which supports the Baillieu. XIII. Ought a true love to be concealed? The Baillieu says it should not. XIV. Can there be jealousy in true love? No, for when one has chosen a lady to his will, he ought to trust her fully; it is better to renounce all the blessings of love than to be tormented by jealousy. XV. Why does Love often prefer to aid a new lover, rather than one who has lived many years under his rule, and is ready to persevere to death? Love never acts without reason, and it may be that a new lover seems to him more worthy to obtain mercy than the one who has always served him, since the former might repent of the time he has lost living out of love, a thing that wins him favor with the God, who overwhelms him with his favors. XVI. Can a lady, her honor being safe, ask her friend for his love, without being blamed by him or by another? She can, and no love is finer than this. XVII. It is asked how love can be enjoyed. The answer is that when a lady has chosen the one whom she loves, and her love is returned, both find in this affection honor, courtesy, pleasure, and great delight, without anything causing them annoyance. But if their love is changed into carnal appetite, soon all true delight ceases, since sensual pleasure is dangerous, false, and sinful, so that it defiles love, as filth defiles a gem. A lady can make no fairer gift than her mercy; a man ought to try to preserve it immaculate, since love cannot be disjoined from honor. XVIII. Does Love keep and protect his subjects? The Baillieu answers that he does. Why is it then, the questioner asks, that many are so afflicted that they perish, and cites the following example. A short time before, a youth determined to leave his beloved on account of the obstacles which her father threw in the way of their love. The young girl died in despair, and the lover learning of this, returned and was so bereft of his reason as to open her grave and draw from her bosom the heart which he had loved so much. He afterwards departed for the Holy Land, and was there captured by the Infidels and flayed alive. Did Love protect these two lovers? He who despairs immoderately, rejoins the Baillieu, and beyond the rules of Love may perish every day; but as long as a true heart acts in accordance with his laws it lives always in great joy. The girl should not have despaired, since her lover would certainly by his constancy have overcome her father's opposition. XIX. Which is the more difficult enterprise, to

gain a lady's favor, or preserve it after it is won? The Baillieu decides that the former is the more difficult, since the one who loves must at first suffer a long time and live in great pain before obtaining mercy; he who has obtained mercy can lead a calmer life. XX. Which can make the greater progress in love, a courteous heart which fulfils all that his lady imposes upon him, or one which, feigning, does for her no more than pleases him? If the lady is worthy of esteem, the lover should obey her absolutely. XXI. One asks in regard to an enamoured lady, who, being asked by him for her love, replied: "I thank you for the good you offer me, but do not ask me for my love, for it would be in vain." He asks if he should give up his love; but the Baillieu, smiling, exhorts him to have patience and to suffer a little the lady's will; he will be able to triumph by waiting. XXII. A lover complains because his lady was given to another as wife, and asks whether he ought to renounce all hope, or persevere in his love, the lady's honor being safe. A gap in the manuscript prevents the answer from being learned. XXIII. A lady relates how her friend was slain before her eyes by one who afterwards came to implore her pardon, and at that moment it was in her power to save him or to deliver him up to death. The President advises her to grant his pardon, and as to the murderer's demand to be held her friend in the place of the dead man, she should do as she pleased. XXIV. Here a noise is heard; a rude and foolish peasant over a hundred years old advances to tell the court that he is in love with an old neighbor of his, on whose account he has no peace or repose, since she will not respond to his love. The lady is brought before the court, where she complains of her ailings and of her ignorance of matters of love. The Baillieu, after a secret consultation with his peers, decides that there is nothing to oppose the union of the two in the bonds of marriage. XXV. The author of the poem now presents his complaints to the court. His lady, whom he has loyally loved for four years, and who has returned his love, now wishes to break off their relations without any reason. In order to learn the whole truth the Baillieu summons the lady, who replies to her lover's accusation by saying that she was led to give him up not only because she was married, but also because he was wont to boast of her love. After these words the President forbids the lover to persevere in his suit. XXVI. A shepherd arrives

at the court who complains of a shepherdess who mocks him in spite of the services which he has rendered her, and who dares to deny it. The Baillieu believes the shepherd and banishes the girl from the Court of Love. XXVII. A disconsolate cavalier complains of a companion who, chosen by him as his confidant, now wishes to deprive him of his beloved. The accused is summoned and defends himself saying that it was the lady who wished to bestow her love upon him. She in her turn accuses the cavalier of unfounded jealousy, and he departs blamed and in the wrong. XXVIII. A male and female mute who have loved each other for a long time, are brought to the court by their parents, who ask counsel as to what they shall do, since the two do not wish, in spite of their love, to marry. The Baillieu decides that they may continue in their life of love without having recourse to matrimony. XXIX. One who is married to a lady of high degree states that another love impels him to love a canoness, who is disposed not to reject him, provided he renounces all folly. The Baillieu exhorts him to love truly his own wife, to whom he is more closely bound. XXX. A squire complains of a damsel who by tokens and fair semblance made him believe she loved him, while she had given herself to a friend of his. The damsel is summoned and excuses herself saying that she had been making sport of him. Here end the disputes and sentences, which have lasted eight days.

Our next illustrations are taken from an Italian source, probably influenced by the poem just mentioned, and are of special interest in view of the great rôle which questions played in Italian society of the sixteenth century. They are contained in a little known work, which has not yet been printed, but of which an analysis sufficient for my purpose has been given by Gorra in his *Studi di critica letteraria*, Bologna, 1892.¹⁰⁷ The author, Thomas III, Marquis of Saluzzo, was born about the middle of the fourteenth century, and probably wrote his work at Paris between 1403 and 1404. It is in French, and in prose, and bears the title of *Le Chevalier errant*. In the first part of his work the writer describes the adventures which he encountered, "and how he went with his lady to the court of the God of Love, and of

¹⁰⁷ Pp. 3-110. The "questions" are found on pp. 31 and 35. I may remark here that another essay in the same volume, on the "Romance of the Rose and some of its offshoots," contains some interesting remarks on the Courts of Love, etc.

the God and Goddess of Love, and of the things that he saw while he was at the court." When the cavalier and his lady arrive at the Court of Love, they are honorably received by the God, who is thirty years old, and very handsome. He wears a garland on his head and is richly dressed. About him are feasting innumerable emperors, kings, queens, and noble ladies and lords. They all indulge in every kind of diversion, except some noble ladies who are condemned to act as grooms because they have been cruel to their lovers. All at once a cavalier advances and implores justice from the God, because his wife has left him for a lover. The wife, who is present, defends herself saying that she married that man while she was young and inexperienced, and he was unworthy of her and she had therefore given her heart to another and worthier one. The cavaliers of the court decide in favor of the lady, who remains with her lover. Another disturbance arises: a jealous man complains to the God that his wife, too, has been taken from him, and declares that if justice is not done him he will wage war against the court. Then follows a long account of the war against the jealous man, in the midst of which the court is obliged to judge another question of love. A priestess has forgotten her absent lover and given herself to a priest. The Goddess of Love condemns her to the stake. Later, another question arises which gives opportunity for another judgment of love. Three ladies contend for a squire; the God decides that he shall belong to the one who first loved him, and who has not forgotten another to give herself to him, as the other two had done.

Although these questions are somewhat different from those under discussion, I have given them as they show the introduction into Italy from Northern France of a custom or fashion which had its origin much earlier among the Troubadours.

Another judgment rendered by an individual, not by a court, is found in a poem of Guillaume de Machault, a French *trouvère* of the fourteenth century, entitled *Le Jugement du roi de Be-haigne*.¹⁰⁸ A knight whose lady is faithless and a lady who has just learned of the death of her lover dispute as to which is the more to be pitied. The King of Bohemia, chosen as judge, decides in favor of the knight, because he has always before his eyes the cause of his grief.

¹⁰⁸ I know Guillaume de Machault only from the reference in the *Romania* XVI, p. 409.

It is not my purpose in this chapter to trace the later development of this custom, but it will not be out of place to mention that the "question" as a *genre* of poetry lasted until a comparatively late date. In the fifteenth century, Christine de Pisan wrote a number of poems having questions or debates for their subject.¹⁰⁹ In one, *Le débat des deux amants*, the advantages and disadvantages of love are debated by two lovers, very much as we shall see later in Bembo's *Gli Asolani*. In a second, *Le livre des trois jugements*, three questions are discussed: A lady forsaken by her lover bestows her love upon a second one more loyal. Is she false on that account? The second question is whether a cavalier who has lost all hope of seeing his lady detained in prison by a jealous husband can at the end of a certain time indulge in a new love. The third question is whether a damsel forsaken by a noble cavalier who has addressed himself to a mighty lady ought to forgive him when he returns to her after having been rejected by the mighty lady. A third poem by Christine of this class is *Le livre du dit de Poissy*, in which is a discussion between a lady and a squire as to which is the more unfortunate and worthy of compassion. The lady's lover is a prisoner in a foreign land, the squire has been rejected by a lady whom he cannot forget and to whom he remains attached in spite of his vexation.

All the questions thus far mentioned were propounded and discussed either by individuals or assemblies, called courts, and are contained in poems. It is probable however, that earlier than the class of poems, known as *jocs-partitz*, the custom of debating such questions as a social diversion already existed, and, as we shall see later, long survived the poetry of the Troubadours and *Trouvères*. The earliest reference to this custom is in a poem by one of the oldest of the Troubadours, Wi liam IX, Count of Poitiers, in which he says: "If you share with me a game of love, I am not so foolish that I do not know how to choose the best among the bad."¹¹⁰ The author lived from 1071 to

¹⁰⁹ The poems of Christine de Pisan may be found in the most recent edition of her works published by M. Roy for the *Société des anciens textes français*, Paris, 1891, Vol. II, pp. 49, 111, and 159.

¹¹⁰ Bartsch, *Chrestomathie provençale*, Elberfeld, 1880, p. 29:

E sim partez un joc d'amor,
No sui tan faz
No sapcha triar lo meillor
D'entrels malvaz.

See also Zenker, p. 71.

1126 or 27, and the oldest Tenzon is not earlier than 1137. It is likely that the above reference in the poem of the Count of Poitiers is an allusion to the social diversion of "questions." There are more detailed references to this custom in mediæval poems. One of the best is in the long *dit* of Jacques de Baisieux, Belgian *trouvère* of the thirteenth century.¹¹¹ The *dit* is entitled *The Fiefs of Love*, and the author begins by saying that he has visited many countries in search of materials for his poems. In the course of his wanderings he came upon a goodly company, seemly, courteous, liberal, gentle, and doughty. Ladies and

¹¹¹ Scheler, *Trouvères Belges du XIIe au XIVE siècle*, Bruxelles, 1876, p. 183:

Jakes de Baisiu mainte terre
 Cherchie a por matere querre
 De quoi peuïst faire biaz dis,

 A bon eür a tant erré
 K'en tel lieu l'a Diex assené,
 U troveit a maint cuer sené
 Et moult très bonne compangnie,
 Ki iert en honesté bagnie,
 En cortoisie et en largece,
 En gentilece et en proëche.
 Dames i out et damoiseles,
 Chevaliers et clers et puceles,
 Et en parlant se desduisoient
 D'amurs, et lor cuers estruisoient
 A la desputison d'amur.
 L'uns faisoit à l'autre clamur
 De questions d'amurs noveles.

 Ces douz puceles de bon aire,
 Eles et chil qui là estoient,
 Ensemble d'amurs desputoient.

 Tantost ces ij.. sages puceles
 Kisent as autres damoiseles,
 Et as chevaliers ensiment,
 Ke lor fesissent jugement
 Tel qu'eles lor demanderoient:

 Erramment les vi entremettre
 De demander k'est fiez d'amur
 Et ke loing s'estent. Là clamur
 N'ot nesune, car tot se teurent
 Et .i. pou en penser demeurent;
 Puis disent que nus n'i sera;
 "Jakes premiers nos en dira
 Ce qu'il en croit." Et je respont:
 "Ce que j'en sai, vös en despont
 Ensiment ke je l'ai apris,
 Ke n'en soie de nul repris,
 Mais grant chose aveis demandé;
 Si ne m'aveis mie mandé
 Por jugement d'amur à rendre.

maidens were there, cavaliers and clerks, who diverted themselves by talking of love, and their hearts were edified by arguments of love. One asked another novel questions of love. Among the ladies were two damsels of good temper who were debating about love. Soon these two wise maidens asked the other damsels and the cavaliers likewise that they should render them judgment such as they should demand. Straightway they asked what was the fief of Love and how far it extended. Silence ensued and all remained thoughtful for a time; then they said that there was no such thing, and that Jacques should tell them first what he thought of it. He answered that he would, but that they had asked him a difficult thing, and had not sent for him to render judgment in a question of love.

The same *Trouvère*, Jacques de Baisieux, in the famous *fabliau* of *The Three Knights and the Shift*, after telling a story of extravagant chivalry, concludes with these words: "Now Jacques de Baisieux begs the cavaliers and the maidens, the ladies and the damsels, and the cavaliers likewise, to render loyal judgment as to which performed the greater enterprise, the one who risked his life for love of his lady, or the lady who did not fear shame or blame so much as her lover's anger. Judge justly, so may Love do you honor."¹¹²

Other references to the same custom are found in the Provençal poems of the thirteenth century known as *enseignamens*, or instructions for various ranks and professions. One of these by Amanieu de Sescas, a poet of the last quarter of the century, contains detailed instructions for the guidance of a squire, another, for a maiden. In the latter, after the table is removed and the time comes for conversation, rules are given for behavior: "If any man addresses you and pays you his court, do not be

¹¹² Scheler, p. 174:

Or prie Jakes de Basiu
As chevaliers et as puceles,
As dames et as damoiseles
Et as chevaliers ensiment,
K'il fachent loial jugement
Liqueis d'iaz fist plus grant emprise:
U chil qui sa vie avoit mise
En aventure aimant sa dame,
U cele ki honte ne blame
Ne cremi tant ke lui irer;
Jugiés droit, k'Amurs vos honeure.

shy in your manner, or rude. Defend yourself otherwise, with agreeable repartees, and if his conversation annoys you, ask him something new: Which ladies are the fairer, the Gascons or English, or which are the more courteous, truer, and better? And if he says: The Gascons, reply boldly: Sir, save your honor, the ladies of England are fairer than those of any other land. And if he says to you: The English, reply: May it not displease you, sir, the Gascons are fairer; and make it the subject of a debate and summon to you the other companions to judge whether your dispute is right or wrong."¹¹³

In another passage of the same poem the author says: "And if you wish to begin the diversion of *jocs-partitz*, do not make them coarse, but pleasing and polite."¹¹⁴

Another *enseignamen* of the same century by Guiraut de Calanson contains instructions for a minstrel, who should know how to write poetry and turn sommersaults and speak well and assign

¹¹³ Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, p. 331:

. si en aquela sazo
negus homs vos somo
eus enquier de domney,
jes per la vostra ley
no vos siatz estranha
ni de brava companha.
defendetz vos estiers
ab bels ditz plazentiers.
e si fort vos eneuja
son solatz eus fa nueja,
demandatz li novelas:
"cals donas son pus belas,
o Gascas o Englezas,
ni cals son pus tortezas,
pus lials ni pus bonas?
e s'il vox ditz "Guasconas,"
respondetz ses temör
"senher, sal vostr' onor,
las donas d'Englaterra
son gensor d'autra terra'.
e s'il vos ditz "Engleza,"
respondetz "si nous peza,
senher, gensor es Guasca":
e metre l'etz en basca;
si apelatz ab vos
dels autres companhos
queus jutgen dreg o tort
de vostre desacourt.

¹¹⁴ Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, p. 329:

e si voletz bastir
solatz de jocx partitz,
nols fassatz descautzitz,
mas plazens e cortes.

subjects for *jocs-partitz*.¹¹⁵ Raimon Vidal in a poem of the same time on the subject of the decline of poetry complains that people are interested only in learning *jocs-partitz*.¹¹⁶

The custom was also introduced into Italy in the thirteenth or fourteenth century by Francesco da Barberino, a writer who spent some time in France and whose works were profoundly influenced by Provençal literature.¹¹⁷ In one of his works, *Del Reggimento e Costumi di Donna*, intended, like the various works already mentioned, for the instruction of ladies, he devotes two parts or chapters to the subject of questions.¹¹⁸ In the first he propounds twelve questions which he then answers. These questions are abstract ones and of little interest, such as, Does God love as we do? What is divine love? What is general love, which is directed generally to all those things which have to be preserved together? What is lawful earthly love? What is unlawful earthly love? What is friendship? What is the difference between love and loving? What is courtesy? In the second chapter, he treats of certain contentions and repartees between

¹¹⁵ Bartsch, *Denkmäler der provenzalischen Litteratur*, Stuttgart, 1856, p. 94:

Sapchas trobar
E ben tombar
E ben parlar e jocs partir.

¹¹⁶ Bartsch, *Denkmäler*, p. 197.

Mant home son aisi com vos
E d'autre saber atretal,
Que car non an sen natural
Adaüt ni bo van per lo mon
Vagan e no sabon per on
S'en vay homs adretz ni cortes;
Ni lur faitz ni lur sens non es
Mas en apenre jox partitz.
E es us motz estranh c'om ditz
Als peçx quels ten hom aut e car.

¹¹⁷ See A. Thomas, *Francesco da Barberino et la littérature provençale en Italie au moyen âge*, Paris, 1883.

¹¹⁸ *Del reggimento e costumi di donna di messer Francesco Barberino per cura del conte Carlo Baudi di Vesme*, Bologna, 1875, p. 411, *parte decimottava*, p. 415, *parte decimanona*. A valuable essay on this work in its relations to Provençal and French literature may be found in the volume of Gorra cited above, *Studi di critica letteraria*, pp. 357-388. See also an article by the same writer in the *Giornale storico*, XIV, p. 269, containing a review of a work resembling Barberino's, *El costume delle donne con un capitolo de le XXXIII bellezze*, Florence, 1889. A superficial analysis of Barberino's work may be found in G. B. Festa, *Un Galateo Femminile Italiano del Trecento (Il Reggimento e Costumi di donna di Francesco dei Barberino)*, Bari, 1910. See also Francesco Novati, *Attraverso il Medio Evo*, Bari, 1903, pp. 237-254, "I Detti d'Amore d'una contessa Pisana." For the *Costume delle Donne* see E. Gorra, *Fra Drammi e Poemi*, Milano, 1900, pp. 305-329.

lady and knight, or between a lady and any others. "Behold how the lady sits here, and the others who are by her side, and hear what disputes they are engaged in." Then follow some of these disputes and repartees, which turn on the superiority of man and woman, and are of no interest except as showing the prevalence of the custom under discussion.

The survival of this custom in later times will be shown in the remainder of this work.

CHAPTER II.

Italian society at the court of Robert, King of Naples—Boccaccio at Naples—Boccaccio and Fiammetta—The origin of Boccaccio's romance of *Filocolo*—Analysis of *Filocolo*—Episode of the Questions—The thirteen questions with the discussions and decisions belonging to them—The conclusion of *Filocolo*—Importance of the Episode of the Questions—Allusions to questions in *Filostrato*—Editions and translations of *Filocolo*—Influence of *Filocolo*—Similar works in Spanish and English—Allusions to the society of Naples in other works of Boccaccio—Giovanni da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*.

We have seen in the last chapter how Provençal poetry, carrying with it the complicated system of mediæval love, entered Italy, and what an immense influence it exerted for many years. Although the Troubadours were welcomed in the north of Italy, yet it was at the court of Frederick II that their influence was most deeply felt, and it was from there that this influence spread to the mainland. There were many points of difference between the civilization of Italy and that of Provence which we shall have to study later, but there were points enough of contact to ensure a welcome to the new literature and its accompanying manners and customs. The court of Frederick II in spite of its Oriental tinge was not unlike the courts of Provence in its patronage of poetry and art. After the defeat of Manfred at Benevento in 1266, the Neapolitan possessions of the Hohenstaufens passed to Charles of Anjou, a brother of Louis IX of France, and the husband of Beatrice of Provence. French influences were now brought to bear directly upon an Italian state, and the result is seen in the brilliant court of Robert, grandson of Charles of Anjou, who is now remembered chiefly as the patron of Petrarch; but whose long reign was made illustrious by the presence and literary activity of the third of the great Trumvirate of Italian writers, Giovanni Boccaccio.¹ The great story-teller

¹ Materials for the history of the civilization of southern Italy may be found in E. Gothein, *Die Culturentwicklung Süd-Italiens in Einzel-Darstellungen*, Breslau, 1886. An account of the reign of Robert, and the society of Naples, is given by G. Körting in *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1878 (the first volume of *Geschichte der Litteratur Italiens im Zeitalter der Renaissance*), pp. 148, *et seq.*, and especially in *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1880 (the second volume of the work just mentioned), pp. 108 *et seq.* A good article by L. Geiger on "Die Renaissance in Süditalien" may be found in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance*, II, pp. 1-16.

was born in 1313, at Paris, where his father, a Florentine tradesman, was engaged in business.² His mother, a French woman named Giannina, died shortly after, and Giovanni was brought as a child to Florence, and, after a brief period of study, put by his father into his business. A few years' experience, from 1324 to 1329, showed that the lad was not fitted for that kind of life, and with his father's consent he devoted himself to the study of law at Naples, where he had been since 1327. His strong literary taste, however, diverted him from the study of the law, and his early youth was spent in the cultivation of literature and the enjoyment of the social advantages offered at that time by Naples to a greater extent than by any other Italian city.

The classical reminiscences in the city and its neighborhood, the tomb of Virgil, the Lake Avernus, Baiae and Capri, all produced a profound influence upon Boccaccio and directed his mind to those studies which later made him one of the precursors of the Renaissance. Aside from this, the beautiful situation of the city, its life as a seaport, and the splendid court of the king, combined to make it the most attractive residence in Italy. It must be remembered that at this time Naples was the only Italian kingdom, and the petty principalities which became later centres of literary and social culture were but just founded. No city in Europe perhaps offered such a varied and picturesque

² The most recent life of Boccaccio is that by T. Casini in his *Geschichte der italienischen Litteratur*, Strassburg, 1896 (*Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 3, 1) pp. 105, *et seq.*, where the literature of the subject is given in full. The rather superficial life of Boccaccio by M. Landau, Stuttgart, 1877, has been translated and greatly enlarged by C. Antona-Traversi, Naples, 1881-2. This huge work has never been completed. I have not been able to see the life of Boccaccio by A. Wesselofsky published at St. Petersburg in 1893-4, 2 vols., of which an Italian translation has been announced (in *Giornale storico*, XXVII, p. 195.) A lengthy review of the Russian original may be found in the *Giornale storico*, XXVII, pp. 435-44.

Since the first part of this note was written two lives of Boccaccio have appeared: *Giovanni Boccaccio. A Biographical Study* by Edward Hutton, London and New York, 1810; and *Boccaccio. Étude Littéraire*. By Henri Hauvette, Paris, 1914. The first of these two works is a handsomely illustrated book, readable and based on authoritative sources. The author has examined the most valuable literature of the subject and his conclusions are usually accurate. There is, especially in regard to Boccaccio's early life, so much of doubt, that it is not surprising that there are great differences among his biographers. The work by Hauvette is an admirable specimen of the best French literary workmanship. The author has devoted his life to the study of Italian literature and his latest work is a precious mine of information. The student will find in Hauvette all necessary bibliographical references and it will not be necessary for me to repeat them here. The notes to this chapter must be completed by the new or additional material cited by Hutton and Hauvette.

life as Naples; all nationalities contributed to its society, and the intellectual element was fostered by the literary tastes of the monarch, who was an enlightened patron of arts and letters, as well as a broad-minded statesman.

A brilliant picture of this society has been drawn for us by Boccaccio, and it is intimately connected with an event in his own life of great moment for his career as a writer. He appears to have made friends with the scholars and men of letters at Naples, and to have enjoyed the friendship of those standing high at the court of the king. In 1334, when he was twenty-one years old, he fell deeply in love with a noble lady, Maria d'Aquino, the reputed daughter of King Robert. This is the lady celebrated by Boccaccio in poem and novel under the name of Fiammetta,³ and the circumstances of their meeting and early acquaintance are related by Boccaccio himself in the introduction to his romance *Filocolo*.⁴

We there learn that Robert before he ascended the throne fell in love with a beautiful young girl living in the royal palace, and became the father of a daughter. In order to save the reputa-

³ The history of Boccaccio's love for Fiammetta has been written by himself in numerous autobiographical passages scattered through his various works. These passages have been carefully collected and examined in the most thorough manner by V. Crescini, *Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio, con documenti inediti*, Turin, 1887. Boccaccio's love for Fiammetta has also been made the subject of a volume by R. Renier, *La Vita Nuova e la Fiammetta*, Turin, 1879, which contains an important chapter on the evolution of love in Italy in the thirteenth century, as well as a comparison between Dante's love for Beatrice and Boccaccio's for Fiammetta. Körting in his life of Boccaccio, pp. 157, *et seq.*, and in an article in the *Zeitschrift für roman. Philologie*, V, pp. 214, *et seq.*, "Boccaccio-Analekten," warmly asserts that Boccaccio's relations to Fiammetta were perfectly innocent; Renier and Crescini take the other view and are probably right in so doing.

Boccaccio's love for Fiammetta is also the subject of an article by C. Antona-Traversi in the *Propugnatore*, XVI, Parte II, pp. 57-92, 240-280, 387-419; XVII, Parte I, pp. 59-90: "Della realtà dell'amore di messer Giovanni Boccacci." In this exhaustive examination of the question the writer pronounces inhesitatingly in favor of the reality of Boccaccio's love for Maria d'Aquino. See Hutton, Chaps. III and IV, pp. 27-60, and Hauvette, pp. 36-60. A. F. Massera in an article "Studi boccacceschi," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXVI (1912), pp. 192-220, corroborates Hauvette's date of 1314 for Boccaccio's birth and identifies Fiammetta with Giovanna d'Aquino, daughter of Tommaso II, Count of Belcastro, and wife of Ruggero di Sanseverino, Count of Mileto.

⁴ *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*. Florence, 1829, Vol. VII, pp. 4-8. The *Filocolo* occupies Vols. VII, VIII, of this edition by I. Moutier, which is the one I shall henceforth cite. The meeting with Fiammetta is related somewhat differently in another work by Boccaccio, the *Ameto* (composed a year or two later than the *Filocolo*), *ed. cit.*, XV, pp. 146, *et seq.*; see Crescini, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

tion of both mother and child he had the latter reared by a putative father, and named her "after the one who contained within herself the redemption of the wretched loss which the bold taste of the first mother brought about." The child increased in years, adorned with virtue and beauty, "often making many think that she was the daughter not of man but of God." It happened one day (the date of which is fixed by a most elaborate astronomical calculation)⁵ that the writer of the present work found himself in a beautiful temple in Partenope (Naples), "named from the saint who was sacrificed upon the gridiron" (San Lorenzo), and there heard the service celebrated by priests, "the successors of him who first humbly wore the girdle, following poverty" (Franciscans). "There remaining and judging that the fourth hour of the day had passed, there appeared to my eyes the marvellous beauty of the above mentioned maiden, who had come there to hear what I was attentively hearing. As soon as I saw her my heart trembled so strongly that the tremor was felt in the smallest pulses of my body; and not knowing why, nor yet perceiving what it [the body] already imagined was going to happen from the new sight, I began to say, alas, what is this, and strongly suspected that it was some other disagreeable attack. After a time somewhat reassured, I became bold and began intently to gaze into the beautiful eyes of the fair girl, in which I saw after long gazing love in such a compassionate guise that he made me, whom he had long spared at my entreaty, desirous to be subjected to him through so beautiful a woman." Boccaccio then thanked the God for bringing before his eyes the source of his happiness, and humbly submitted himself to the Deity. He had scarcely uttered these words when he beheld a golden arrow shot from the light of the lady's eyes pass through his own and pierce his heart with such love for the fair lady that it still trembles, and there kindled a flame inextinguishable and so powerful, that it directed every thought of his

⁵ April 12, 1338, the Saturday before Easter. According to the *Ameto*, p. 153, it was Easter Sunday. Some fix the date in 1334; see on the whole matter Körting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, pp. 100, *et seq.* Antona-Traversi, in his translation of Landau, and in the article above cited in the *Propugnatore* (XVII, p. 66), makes the meeting with Maria take place in the church of San Lorenzo in Naples on the 26th of March, 1334. Hutton, Appendix I, pp. 319-24, makes the meeting on Holy Saturday, March 30, 1331, when Boccaccio was eighteen years of age. Hauvette makes the year 1336. See E. H. Wilkins, "The Enamorment of Boccaccio," *Modern Philology*, XI (1913-1914), pp. 39-55, who gives the probable date of March 30, 1336.

mind to the contemplation of the wonderful beauty of the fair lady.

After he had left that place with a wounded heart, and had sighed for several days on account of the new wound, still thinking of the worthy lady, it happened one day that fortune led him to a holy temple named from the prince of the "celestial birds" (the church of the Archangel Michael at Bajano) in which "priestesses of Diana [nuns] under white veils and black robes cultivate devoutly gentle fires. On arriving there, I saw with some of these priestesses the gracious lady of my heart conversing joyfully and pleasantly, in which conversation I and my companions were courteously included. And from one subject to another we came after a time to speak of the valliant youth Florio, son of Felice, powerful king of Spain, relating his adventures with loving words." The gentle lady was pleased with these words and expressed her regret that the fame of the loving youths (Florio and Biancofiore) had not been exalted with due memory in the verse of any poet, but left solely to the fabulous talk of the ignorant. She further begged Boccaccio to compose a little book in the vulgar tongue, which should contain the birth, love, and adventures of the two, until their end. Boccaccio replied that although he felt himself unequal to such a task, yet he deemed her request a command, and would comply with it to the best of his ability.

The task laid upon him by Maria d'Aquino occupied Boccaccio several years, and the result was not a little book, but the extensive romance of *Filocolo*.⁶

⁶ It was written between 1338 and 1340 (the author says, *ed cit.*, VIII, p. 376, "piccolo mio libretto, a me più anni stato graziosa fatica"), and fills, as has already been said, two volumes of the Moutier edition, 733 pages in all. There is considerable literature in regard to the *Filocolo*, which may be briefly discussed here. The question of Boccaccio's source will be considered later. First as to the name of the work. The first fourteen editions, from 1472 to 1524, all bear the title *Filocolo*, and *Filocolo* does not appear until 1539, and was due to a correction of the editor, Messer Tizzone Gaetano di Pofi, who probably supposed that Boccaccio mistook the Greek word *χόλος* (hate, anger) for *κόπος* (toil). Boccaccio was an indifferent Greek scholar and the question is not what he should have named his work, but what he really did call it. See A. Gaspari in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, III, p. 396. The entire work is the subject of a monograph by B. Zumbini, *Il Filocolo del Boccaccio*, Florence, 1879 (it first appeared in the *Nuova Antologia*, 1874), which I have not been able to see, but which is analyzed in Körting's *Boccaccio*, p. 505. In Zumbini's work the theory is advanced that the *Filocolo* is not a true romance but a series of stories, of which the old legend is less the subject than the pretext, and which afterwards put together have formed a unity more apparent than real. This theory is attacked by F. Novati in an article, "Sulla

It is not my purpose to trace the history of Boccaccio's love for Maria d'Aquino, which inspired all his early works; but only to show how he was connected with Neapolitan society and what opportunity he had to study its forms. That he mingled in the court circles is clear⁷ and, as has already been said, he has left us a precious account of the highest society of Naples in an episode of the romance, whose origin has been described above, and which it is now time to consider at length. It will add to the interest of this episode if some account be first given of the work in which it occurs, and the position it there occupies.

The subject of the *Filocolo* is the story of the two lovers, Florio and Blanceflor or Blanchefflor (as they are called in the Old-French versions), a tale probably of late Greek origin, which enjoyed enormous popularity throughout Europe during the Middle Ages.⁸ The particular form of the story used by Boccaccio is not known, and the *Filocolo* differs in some respects from all the other versions, even from an earlier Italian poem which might with reason have served as Boccaccio's source.⁹

composizione del Filocolo," in the *Giornale di Filologia romanza*, III, pp. 56-67. The *Filocolo* is also the subject of a work by Sorio, *Lecture sopra il Filocolo di G. Boccaccio*, *Atti R. Istituto Veneto*, Serie III, 7, pp. 596-616:11, 735-813, cited by Crescini, which I have not seen. See additional references in Hutton, pp. 61-70, and Hauvette, pp. 60-73, 118-130.

⁷ Crescini, p. 50, n. 2, cites a passage from Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, Lib. X, 588, translated by G. Betussi, Florence, G. Giunti, 1598, where he says of himself: "Essendo ancor giovanetto, e praticando in corte di Ruberto Re di Gerusalemme, e di Cicilia, etc."

⁸ The extensive literature of this story may best be found in: *Flore und Blanscheflur, eine Erzählung von Konrad Fleck herausgegeben von E. Sommer*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1846; *Floire et Blanceflor, poèmes du XIIIe siècle publiés d'après les manuscrits avec une introduction par E. Du Méril*, Paris, 1856; E. Hausknecht, *Floris and Blanscheflur, mittelenenglisches Gedicht aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert nebst litterarischer Untersuchung und einem Abriss ueber die Verbreitung der Sage in der europäischen Litteratur*, Berlin, 1885; *Il Cantare di Florio e Bianciflore edito ed illustrato da V. Crescini*, Vol. I, Bologna, 1889. In addition to the elaborate introductions to the above texts (in the one last named filling the entire first volume, all thus far published), there are two general essays on the subject: Schwalbach, *Die Verbreitung der Sage von Flore und Blanscheflur in der europäischen Literatur*, Krotoschin und Ostrowo, 1869 (I have not seen this, but Crescini in the work by him just cited, p. 5, says it is "quasi pedestre riproduzione dello studio del Du Méril"), and H. Herzog, "Die beiden Sagenkreise von Flore und Blanscheflur," in *Germania*, N. R., XVII, pp. 137-228, also printed separately, Vienna, 1884.

⁹ The question of Boccaccio's source is discussed at greater or less length in the works cited in the last note; see also A. Bartoli, *I Precursori del Boccaccio e alcune delle sue fonti*, Florence, 1876, pp. 54 et seq. Crescini's valuable introduction to the *Cantare di Florio e Bianciflore* is not yet completed, and he has yet to examine the source of the *Filocolo* and of the *cantare*. He has, however, in the present volume, established the important fact that the *cantare* is prior to, and independent of, the *Filocolo*, that the legend was known in Italy

The plot of the *Filocolo* down to the episode on which I shall dwell at length is briefly as follows.

Lelio, a noble Roman, at the time when Christianity had spread to Spain and Rome, is married to Giulia, a Roman lady. After five years of married life they remain childless, and Lelio prays to St. James, and binds himself to undertake a pilgrimage to his shrine in case the saint bestows a child upon him. The saint promises to answer his prayer and shortly after Giulia feels that she is to become a mother. Lelio resolves to accomplish his vow at once, and yielding to his wife's entreaties permits her to accompany him, and they set out accompanied, without further delay. The king of the lower world, enemy to pilgrimages, determines to terrify Lelio from his journey, and assuming the shape of a noble knight who governed for Felice, king of Spain, the city of Marmorina (Verona) at the foot of the Apennines, hastens to Spain and tells the king that the Romans have destroyed Marmorina and urges him to prepare to meet them, declaring that they are near at hand. The king attacks the pilgrims and slays Lelio. Giulia is given as companion to the queen, who treats her with great kindness. The king soon departs with the queen and Giulia for Marmorina, where he discovers the deception practiced upon him. Here during a brilliant festival the queen and Giulia give birth to children on the same day and almost at the same hour, the queen to a son, Giulia to a daughter, who costs her mother her life. The king has the children brought into his presence and names his son Florio, and Giulia's daughter Biancofiore. The children are educated together¹⁰ and Venus sends her son Cupid to inspire them with love. Henceforth the two are bound by an undying love, which is only increased by the obstacles thrown in its way.

When this love is revealed to the king by the children's tutor, he is displeased, but conceals his anger and by the queen's advice separates the children, sending his son to the neighboring city of Montorio to prosecute more advanced studies. Florio

as early as the thirteenth century, and that Boccaccio in his time must have heard it recited, and could read it in a popular poem. Hence he did not need to have recourse to foreign versions for the material for his work. The episode of the questions belongs of course entirely to Boccaccio.

¹⁰ The education of the children is characteristic of the Middle Ages quite as much as of the Renaissance: "E loro in breve termine insegnato a conoscer le lettere fece leggere il saltero e'l libro d'Ovidio, nel quale il sommo poeta mostra come i santi fuochi di Venere si deano ne' freddi cuori con sollecitudine accendere," VII, p. 76.

obeys his father's commands with great reluctance and departs for Montorio, where his love for Biancofiore only increases.

The king hears of the melancholy life led by his son at Montorio and his desire to return to Marmorina, and again consults the queen, who hatches a diabolical plot for the destruction of Biancofiore. The king's birthday is approaching and Biancofiore is to be made to offer the king at the banquet a poisoned dish of food. Some animal, a cat or dog, is to taste it and prove by its death the presence of poison. It will be clear to all that Biancofiore has made an attempt upon the king's life and it will be easy to condemn her to be burned at the stake.

The infamous plot succeeds, and Biancofiore is arrested and thrown into prison. She is afterwards brought before her judges only to be sentenced to death, and conducted to the stake. Meanwhile Venus has instructed Florio of the plot, and he hastens to his beloved's rescue accompanied by Mars. He arrives just in time to save her from the flames, and to fight and slay the seneschal who had been the king's instrument in carrying out the plot. Florio then returns to Montorio without having made himself known to any one. Various attempts are made to banish Biancofiore from Florio's mind by a new love, but they fail as do also all endeavors to cause Biancofiore to forget Florio.

At length, in despair at the lover's constancy, the king again seeks counsel from his wife, who advises him to sell Biancofiore to some merchants who have just landed at a harbor at the mouth of the river Po. This advice is at once acted upon, and the unhappy Biancofiore and her companion Glorizia are carried by the merchants to Alexandria and sold to the admiral of the king of Babylon.

In order to conceal this deed from Florio's knowledge, a grave is prepared near Giulia's and in it is buried the body of a young girl dressed in Biancofiore's garments. Meanwhile news is sent to Florio that Biancofiore is very ill and if he wishes to see her alive he must set out immediately for Marmorina. Upon his arrival he is informed of Biancofiore's death and falls into such violent despair, rending his garments and attempting to kill himself, that his mother reveals the deception practised upon him. Florio summons his aged tutor Ascalione and three friends, and declares to them his purpose to seek Biancofiore and asks them to accompany him. They consent, and the king reluct-

antly gives his permission to Florio to depart and bestows upon him the treasures he had received from the merchants for the purchase of Biancofiore. Before Florio sets out upon his quest, he determines to change his name in order to avoid some of the dangers of the journey, and assumes the new one of Filocolo, adding: "Certainly, this name is more suitable for me than any other, and for this reason: Filocolo is composed of two Greek names, *philos* and *colos*; *philos* in Greek means the same as lover in our tongue; and *colos* likewise means toil, whence joined together, by a transposition of the parts, we have Toil of Love; and I do not know in whom more than in me the toils of love have been and are at the present moment." All are pleased with the new name, and the next morning after due sacrifices to the Gods, they prepare to enter their vessel; but find on reaching the river that it is rough, and ordering the mariners to take the ship to the port of Alfea and there await them, they mount their horses, and bidding farewell with many tears to the king, queen, friends, and relatives, set out upon their long journey.

The travellers reach the port of Alfea in safety and there embark on their vessel, which arrives at the same time with themselves. Their course is to the Island of Fire, and for three days they have a propitious voyage. Then a furious storm arises and drives the ship into the harbor of ancient Partenope (Naples). Filocolo and his companions land and are hospitably received by a friend of Ascalione. They repair the ship and await a season favorable for resuming their voyage. This is so long in coming that Filocolo more than once wishes to continue their journey by land, but is dissuaded by Ascalione and awaits good weather at Naples. It is long in coming, and for five months the North wind blows fiercely and the weather never clears in spite of sacrifices and humble prayers on the part of Filocolo. The unhappy lover sometimes visits the shore and gazing toward the spot where he supposes Biancofiore to be, laments his fortune and entreats the winds to mitigate their fury. Spring comes and with it the hope of speedy departure. Filocolo dreams a painful dream, which he relates to Ascalione, who comforts him with the reflection that every one sees strange and impossible things in his dreams, but when he knows their origin he gives them no further thought. He therefore exhorts Filocolo to let the vain things he has seen pass away in their

vanity, and adds: "And since the weather is pleasant, and gives us a happy token of our desires, let us likewise rejoice, and strolling along the shore in the pleasant air, let us pass the time discoursing of our future journey."

Then occurs the episode to which reference has already been made, and on which I shall dwell at length.¹¹ Thus far nothing has been said of any diversions of the storm-stayed travellers, but Boccaccio now has an opportunity to describe the society of Naples in which he himself moved, and of which Maria d'Aquino was one of the ornaments.

So Filocolo, the duke (of Montorio, who had accompanied him upon his journey), Parmenione, and his other companions set out and talking of various things slowly directed their steps in the direction where rest the revered ashes of the great poet Maro. Thus speaking they had not gone far from the city when approaching a garden, they heard therein a pleasing festival of youths and ladies, and the air resounding with various instruments and voices almost angelic, penetrated pleasantly the hearts of those whose ears it struck. It pleased Filocolo to stop a while and hear the songs, in order that his past melancholy soothed by the sweetness of the singing might pass away. Ascalione then ceased speaking, and while Fortune held him and his companions without the garden intently listening, a youth came forth and saw them, and perceived by their aspect that they were noble and worthy of reverence. Therefore without delay returning to his companions, he said: "Come, let us show

¹¹ The episode of the "questions" occupies pp. 27-120 of vol. VIII of the edition cited (Vol. II of the *Filocolo*, in the fourth book of which it occurs). The episodes of the "questions" in the *Filocolo* has been treated very thoroughly by P. Rajna in the *Romania*, XXXI (1902), pp. 28-81, "Episodio delle Questioni d'Amore nel Filocolo del Boccaccio." A part of the article, that relating to the first question, had already been treated by Rajna in *Raccolta di Studi critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Ancona*, Firenze, 1901, pp. 553-568. I have not been able to see the following work cited by Rajna, *Romania*, XXXI, p. 28, note 3: Pasquale Papa, *Un capitolo delle Definizioni di Jacomo Serminocci*, Firenze, 1882. Per Nozze Renier-Campostrini. The relation of the episode of the "questions" to the earlier Provençal and Old-French *jocs-partitz* and *jeux-partis* has also been treated by A. Klein in the work cited in Chapter I, note 84, to which may be added an article by E. Langlois "Le jeu du Roy qui ne ment et le jeu du Roi et de la Reine" in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII (1907), pp. 163-173. Klein reprints a large number of "questions" turning on love and examines the relation of this *genre* to the scholastic disputes of the Middle Ages and to the literature of the Courts of Love. The origin of the "jeu au roy qui ne ment" is of course to be found in the development of the *jocs-partitz*. See also articles by Hoepffner and Suchier cited in Note 106, Chapter I.

honor to some youths in look gentle and of high rank, who perchance ashamed to enter without an invitation remain without listening to our songs." His companions thereupon left the ladies and their diversion, and issuing from the garden came to Filocolo, who from his looks they perceived was the chief of all, and addressed him with the reverence which they already understood in their minds belonged to him, begging him for the honor and enhancement of their festival to be pleased to enter the garden with his companions, urging him with still further entreaties not to deny them that favor. Their sweet prayers captured the gentle mind of Filocolo and his companions, and the former then replied to them: "Friends, in truth this festival was neither sought nor shunned by us, but as shipwrecked men cast ashore in your harbor, to banish the gloomy thoughts which idleness induces we were walking along these shores telling over our misfortunes. How Fortune has led us here to listen to you I know not, but it seems to me desirous of banishing all care from us, when I think that it has brought in our way you in whom I perceive boundless courtesy. Therefore we shall comply with your entreaties, although perhaps we shall impair a part of the courtesy which should proceed from us." Thus speaking together, they entered the beautiful garden, where they found many fair ladies who graciously received them and welcomed them to their festival.

After Filocolo had long witnessed the festival and had rejoiced with them, it seemed to him time to depart, and as he was about taking leave of the youths and thanking them for the honor done him, a lady more than others worthy of reverence, full of wonderful beauty and virtue, approached him and spoke thus: "Most noble youth, you have by your courtesy this morning done these youths a favor, for which they will ever be obliged to you, namely, by coming to honor their festival; may it please you then not to deny me and the other ladies a second favor." Filocolo replied with gentle voice: "Lady, nothing can be justly denied you; command, and I and my companions are all ready for your pleasure." The lady thus answered: "Since your coming has greatly enhanced our festival, I wish to beg you not to diminish its pleasure by your departure, but that you will spend here with us the last hour of the day in what we have begun." Filocolo gazed in her face while she was speaking and saw her

eyes full of bright rays sparkle like the morning star, and her face most pleasing and fair, nor did it seem to him that he had seen so fair a lady since he had beheld his *Biancofiore*. Her request he thus answered: "My lady, I am more disposed to fulfil your pleasure than my duty, wherefore I shall remain with you as long as you please, and my companions with me." The lady thanked him, and returning to the others, began to rejoice with them.

Filocolo remaining with them in this fashion grew intimate with a youth named Galeone, of elegant manners and eloquent speech. Him he addressed as follows: "Oh how much more than any other are you beholden to the immortal Gods! May they with one accord preserve you for rejoicing." "We know that we are deeply obliged to them," replied Galeone, "but what moves you to say this?" Filocolo answered: "Nothing certainly but the sight of you all assembled here with one will." "Certainly," said Galeone, "you should not marvel at that, for the lady in whom all grace dwells moved us to that and keeps us so." Filocolo said: "And who is this lady?" Galeone replied: "The one who begged you to remain, when a little while ago you wished to depart." "Most beautiful and of great worth she seems to me from her looks," replied Filocolo, "and if my question is not improper, tell me her name, and whence she comes, and from what parents descended." Galeone answered: "No question of yours could be improper, and because there is no one who speaking openly of so worthy a lady should not reveal her fame, I shall fully comply with your request. Her name is here by us called *Fiammetta*, although most people call her by the name of her who healed the wound caused by the prevarication of our first mother. She is the daughter of the exalted prince under whose scepter this land is ruled in peace, and is the lady of us all. In short there is no virtue which a worthy heart should hold which is not in hers, and I think you will know this if you remain with us to-day." "What you say," replied Filocolo, "cannot be hidden from one who beholds her features. May the Gods guide her to the end deserved by so rare a woman, and surely what you say of her I believe, and more too; but who are these other ladies?" Galeone replied: "Some are ladies from *Partenope*, and others are come from elsewhere in their company as we ourselves have done."

After they had thus conversed for a long time, Galeone said: "Sweet friend, if it is not vexatious to you I should be greatly pleased to know more of your condition than is revealed by your aspect, in order that knowing you we may honor you more worthily; for sometimes for lack of acquaintance those who honor fail to honor duly." Filocolo replied: "There could be no lack on your part in honoring me, but you have already honored me so much, that you have in your lavishness exceeded the proper limits. Since, however, you wish to know of my condition, it would be wrong not to satisfy you, and therefore I will tell you what it is lawful for me to disclose. I am a poor pilgrim of love in quest of a lady of mine taken away from me by the subtle deceit of my parents. These gentlemen whom you see with me are by their courtesy bearing me company in my pilgrimage. My name is Filocolo, and I am a Spaniard by nation, cast by a tempestuous sea in your harbor while seeking the island of Sicily." Filocolo could not speak so covertly but that the youth understood more of his condition than he would have wished, and having compassion on his misfortunes comforted him somewhat with words which promised him something better in the future life; and from that time forward increasing his reverence he made all honor him not as a pilgrim, or a man admitted to that festival, but as the chief and principal one at it. The lady especially ordered that it should so be done after she had learned of his condition from Galeone, highly prizing in her mind such an occurrence.

Apollo had already mounted with the chariot of light to the circle of noon, and was gazing almost directly down upon the earth clad anew with verdure, when the youths and ladies assembled in that place left off their rejoicings, seeking in various parts of the garden pleasant shade, and amusing themselves in different ways in separate bands, avoiding the heated air which hurt their delicate bodies. The gentle lady with four of her companions took Filocolo by the hand, saying: "Youth, the heat forces us to seek the cool places; therefore let us go into that meadow which you see before us, and there spend the warm part of the day in various discourses." Filocolo then praising the lady's counsel, followed her with his companions and Galeone and two other youths, and came into the meadow pointed out, which was very beautiful with grass and flowers and full of sweet

odors, and around it were many fair young trees with thick green boughs, which warded off the rays of the great planet. In the midst was a small, clear spring, about which all sat down, and began to speak of diverse things, some gazing into the water, and some picking flowers. But because sometimes one heedlessly interrupted the stories of another, the fair lady said:

"In order that our conversation may proceed more orderly, and continue until the cooler hours which we await for our festivities, let us appoint one of our number as our king, to whom each shall propound a question of love, and receive from him a proper reply to it; and, in truth, in my opinion we shall not have ended our questions before the heat will have passed without our feeling it, and the time will be employed usefully and pleasantly."

All were pleased and said among themselves unanimously, let Ascaleone be made king, and because he was older than any they chose him king. Ascaleone answered that he was incompetent for so high an office, since he had spent his years more in the service of Mars than of Venus, but if they would agree to leave to him the election of such a king, he believed he knew the character of all well enough to appoint one who would render true answers to such questions. All consented that the choice should be left entirely to Ascaleone since he was unwilling to assume such a dignity himself. Then Ascaleone arose and gathering some boughs from a verdant laurel which cast its shadow over the spring, made a fair coronet of them, and showing it to all said: "Since I began in my earliest years to possess consciousness, I swear by the Gods I worship, that I do not remember to have seen or to have heard of any of such worth as this Fiammetta, in whose presence Love has inflamed us all, and by whom we have this day been honored in such wise that we should never forget it, and because she is, as I perceive without fail, full of all grace and beauty and endowed with elegant manners and eloquence, I choose her for our queen, and for her magnificence the imperial crown would be much better suited to her who is descended from royal stock, and it will be easy for one to whom the secret ways of love are all opened to content us in our questions." After this he bowed humbly before the worthy lady, saying: "Gentle lady, adorn your head with this crown, which should be prized no less than gold by those who are worthy by their works to cover their heads with it." The fair lady blushed

somewhat, saying: "Certainly, you have not in due manner provided a queen for the loving people, who need an able king, since I am the most simple and least worthy of all present, any one of whom would be a better choice than I: but since you are pleased, and I cannot oppose your election on account of the promise already made, I shall accept it, and I hope that the Gods will give me the courage needed for so high an office. By the help of him to whom these boughs were once dear, I shall reply to all according to my little knowledge; nevertheless I devoutly pray him that he may enter my breast, and move my voice with that tone by which he formerly made the bold Marsyas deserve to be flayed. I shall give you by way of rejoicing cheerful replies, without investigating deeply the questions proposed, which would cause your minds sorrow rather than delight." After these words she took with her delicate hands the proffered garland and crowning her head with it, commanded that each one under penalty of being excluded from the festival should prepare to propound some question, which should be a fine one and suitable to the topic which they intended to discuss, and of such a nature as rather to increase their pleasure than to spoil it by too great subtlety or other fault.

QUESTION I.

At her right sat Filocolo, whom she thus addressed: "O youth, do you begin to propose your question, that the others in order as we are here seated, may follow your example with more assurance." Filocolo replied: "Most noble lady, I shall obey your command without delay"; and thus spoke.

"I remember that in my native city there was one day a very fine festival, in honor of which many knights and ladies were present. I, who was likewise there gazing upon those present, saw two youths very gracious in aspect, both regarding a very beautiful girl, nor was it possible to know which of them was the more enamoured of her beauty. When they had long regarded her and she had given no more favorable look to one than to the other, they began to reason among themselves of her, and what I heard of their discourse was that each said he was the more loved by her, and cited as proof of it various past actions of the young girl. After they had disputed for a long time and almost come to blows, they recognized that they were doing wrong, and both

went to the girl's mother and begged her to command her daughter to show by words or deeds which of them she loved the more. The mother consented and so ordered her daughter. The girl said: 'I am willing,' and looking at them awhile saw that one wore on his head a beautiful garland of fresh herbs and flowers, and the other was without a garland. Then the maiden, who likewise had on her head a garland of green boughs, took it and placed in on the head of the youth who had none; afterwards she took the garland which the other youth had on his head and set it upon her own. Then she left them and returned to the festival, saying that she had fulfilled her mother's command and their desire.

"The youths thus left returned to their former dispute, each declaring that she loved him the more, the one whose garland the girl had taken and placed upon her own head saying: 'She certainly loves me the more, for she has taken my garland for no other reason but that she likes what I possess, and to be under obligations to me; she has given you her garland instead of a final dismissal, not churlishly wishing that your love should go unrewarded; but in giving you that garland, she has given you your final reward.' The other replied: 'Verily, the young girl loves your things more than you, but me she loves more than my things, in as much as she has given me hers, and giving is not, as you say, a token of final reward, but the beginning of friendship and of love. A gift subjects the recipient to the giver, wherefore she, perhaps uncertain of me, in order to have me more certainly her subject, wished by means of a gift to bind me to her sovereignty, if perchance I was not bound before. But how can you imagine that if at the very beginning she takes something from you, she will ever bestow anything on you? Thus they remained arguing a long time and parted without coming to any conclusion. Now, mighty Queen, I ask what your judgment would be if you were asked to pronounce final sentence in such a question.'¹²

¹² A similar "question" between a certain Adrianus and Frate Anton da Pisa is in *Canzonette Antiche*, Florence, 1884, pp. 43-44, already cited in Chap. I, p. 12; see note 71. Here there are, however, three lovers, the last of whom receives a slap on the cheek, and in the opinion of Frate Anton is the one best loved. The two lovers are found in a sonnet (without an answer) attributed to Poliziano and published by T. Casini in *Opere volgari di messer Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano*, Florence, 1885, p. 268. Gaspary, *Geschichte der ital. Lit.*, II, p. 638, cites Andrea Calmo's *Ecloga I*, and L. Groto's pastoral, *Il*

The Queen with a slight sigh replied that it was evident that the young girl loved one of the youths and did not hate the other, and what she did was done in order to win more surely the love of the one, and not to lose the love of the other. "But coming to the question, we say that the one to whom she gave her garland is the more loved by her, because who loves strives in whatever way he can to make the beloved favorable and subject to him. Therefore the young girl sought to lay the one whom she loved more under greater obligations to herself, and so we shall declare that he who received the gift of the garland is more loved by the maiden."

When the Queen was silent Filocolo replied that her answer surprised him, since it was a custom among lovers to wish to wear about them some jewel of the beloved. Thus Paris never entered battle without some token given to him by his Helen. "I should therefore decide differently from you, in this wise. The girl knowing that she was deeply loved by the two youths, and could love but one, since love is an indivisible thing, wished to reward one for the love he bore her, and so gave him her garland. The other whom she loved she wished to inspire with boldness and firm hope in her love, by taking his garland and placing it upon her head. By this act she showed that she was

Pentimento Amoroso, in which confession of love is made by means of a garland. A somewhat similar "question" is the subject of debate in the Greek romance of Jamblichus, where the lady gave one of the suitors a drinking cup, crowned the second with a garland taken from her head, and kissed the third. The one who received the kiss was judged the victor. The other suitors were not satisfied with the decision and all fought, we are told, until they had killed each other; see *Erotici Scriptores*, Paris, 1885, p. 519. A similar "question" occurs in the *Hecatommiti ovvero Cento Novelle di Gio. Battista Giraldi Cintio* (Turin, 1854), Deca X, Novella II, in which the king commands a young girl to show which of two lovers she prefers, placing his sceptre in her hand for that purpose. She gives it to one of the suitors, then takes it from him and bestows it upon the other, and finally kisses it and returns it to the king. No one can decide the question and the king declares that she shall belong to the one who displays the greater valor in battle. Both are killed by the enemy. The somewhat extensive literature of this question may be found conveniently in the following articles: J. Bolte, "Die streitenden Liebhaber, eine Gesangsposse aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert," in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, Weimar, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 111-116; II, pp. 575-579, which may be supplemented by articles in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, VI, 292, W. Wackernagel, "Ein Weib und drei Liebhaber," and *Germania*, VI, 306, R. Köhler, "Ein Weib und drei Liebhaber." The use of the garland in a game is treated by Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, VII, pp. 382-392, "Kranzwerbung, ein Gesellschaftsspiel des XVII. Jahrhunderts," where other references may also be found. This question is found in Tirso de Molina's *Deleytar Aprovechando*. Some additional references may be found in *Giornale storico*, II, p. 124 and XIV, p. 44.

indebted to him for the garland she had taken, and therefore in my judgment she loved the one from whom she took more than the one to whom she gave."

The gentle lady answered: "Your argument would please us if your words did not harm you. How can perfect love exist with robbery? How can you prove that I love the one I rob more than the one to whom I give; since gifts are among the dearest tokens of love? As to your second proposition, she gave one the garland, and took it from the other; it was not given to her by him, and what we, for instance, see every day may here suffice for an example, for it is said commonly that they are more loved by their lovers who receive favors and gifts, than those who are deprived of them. Therefore we conclude finally, that he is more loved to whom is given than he from whom is taken. We well know that much might be opposed to my decision in the present question, and much might be answered to the opposite arguments, but finally let such a decision remain true: and because time is not to be occupied in one thing alone, without speaking further of this, we will hear the others, if you please." Filocolo said he was willing, and that such a solution of his question was quite sufficient; he thereupon remained silent.

QUESTION II.

There sat next Filocolo, a youth courteous and gracious in look, whose name was Longanio, who as soon as Filocolo ceased speaking, began thus: "Most excellent Queen, the first question has been so excellent, that mine will hardly please; but nevertheless I will repeat it in order not to be banished from so noble a company.

"A few days ago while alone in my chamber buried in the painful thoughts awakened by the desire of love, I heard a pitiful lamentation near by, and listening intently perceived that it arose from two ladies who dwelt opposite, and were sisters, of inestimable beauty. I could not understand the words which they sorrowfully uttered with their tears, except that from what I caught it seemed to me that love was the occasion of this grief. After weeping myself secretly for a long time out of pity for them, I went to them (being an intimate friend and relative of theirs) and told them I had come to learn the cause of their grief, and to aid and comfort them as much as I could. They excused them-

selves at first, saying that they were not lamenting; but finally the elder sister spoke and told their story. They had loved two noble youths and were loved in turn. The elder was able to enjoy the fruition of her love, which only grew more ardent. Before a month had passed her lover rashly committed an act for which he was forever banished from the city, and departed leaving her more sorrowful than any other woman, more deeply in love, and with her grief increased by the impossibility of following him.

"The younger sister, who likewise loved and was loved boundlessly, was prevented by jealousy from enjoying the fruition of her love. The sisters finding themselves alone had begun to reason of their misfortunes, and perceiving that they were greater than those of any other woman, they could not restrain their tears, but weeping lamented as their visitor had seen. I deeply grieved for them when I had heard this, and aiding them with the words most efficacious for their comfort I departed. Now, I have often turned over in my mind their sorrow, and have sometimes thought which must be the greater, now deciding in favor of one, now of the other, and the many reasons which each has to sorrow do not allow my mind to stop at any conclusion, whence I remain in doubt. Be pleased to guide me through this maze, telling me which one you think endures greater grief."

The Queen answered: "Great was the grief of each, but considering that adversity is most bitter to one used to prosperity, we shall hold that the one who has lost her lover feels greater grief, and is more injured by fortune. Who will weep for what he never had? No one, but will rather desire it. It follows therefore that one of the ladies wept for grief, the other for desire."

The youth answered that what she said was difficult to conceive, since one who has had his will of a thing desired, ought to be more contented in his mind than one who desires and cannot fulfill his desire. "I verily believe that he feels deeper grief who hopes for something which it is possible to have, and cannot obtain it on account of obstacles in his way, than one who weeps for something lost and impossible to recover."

Then the lady said: "Your reply is well founded, provided your question had referred to prolonged grief; but in the case before us we shall decide that she felt greater grief who had lost her lover beyond hope of recovery; for the other, if we consider the matter

carefully, could hope to fulfill in the future what she had been unable to accomplish in the past. Hope is a great diminution of grief. It had power to keep Penelope long alive, virtuous, and less sad than she would otherwise have been."

QUESTION III.

At Longanio's right hand sat a very beautiful and pleasing lady, who when she heard the question settled by their Queen, began thus sweetly to speak: "Famous Queen, give ear awhile to my words, and then by the Gods whom you adore, and by the power of our game, I beg you will give useful counsel to my inquiries.

"Descended from noble parents as you know, I was born in this city, and was named full of grace; although my surname Cara represents me to hearers, and is seen by my face, I received from the Gods and from nature a peculiar gift of beauty, which following my name more than my surname has adorned it with infinite pleasantness, showing me affable to him who has been pleased to regard it. For this reason many have attempted to fill my eyes with their pleasure, against all of whom I have defended myself, keeping my heart firm against all their attacks. But because it seems unjust that I alone should violate the law observed by all others, that is, not to love, being loved by many I have purposed to love; and rejecting many seekers after this love, some of whom excel Midas in wealth, others, Absalom in beauty, and some more resplendent than others in family according to the opinion of the ignorant herd, I have chosen three, each of whom is equally pleasing to me. Of the three, one, I believe, would surpass the good Hector in bodily strength, the courtesy and liberality of the second is so great that his fame resounds to either pole, the third is so full of wisdom, that he far excels the other sages. But because, as you have heard, their qualities are different, I am now in doubt as to my choice, finding that in ancient times each of these things moved in various ways the hearts of men and women. Counsel me, therefore, on which of these I should rather bestow myself to win less blame and greater assurance."¹³

¹³ Similar is the "question" in the *Canzonette Antiche*, p. 42, already cited on p. 11; see note 70, Chapter I, where, however, there are but two lovers. Similar "questions" are found in Provençal, e.g., *Gr.* 436, 1, Which is preferable, wisdom or boldness? cited by Selbach, p. 74; see also Knobloch, p. 69.

The affable lady having heard her question, thus replied: "There is no one of the three who would not worthily deserve the love of a fair and gracious lady; but since in this case castles have not to be stormed, or the realms of the great Alexander, or the treasures of Ptolemy to be bestowed, but love and honor to be long and discreetly preserved, which neither strength nor courtesy preserve, but only knowledge, we declare that you and every other lady should rather bestow her love upon the sage, than upon any one of the others."

The lady who had propounded the question replied: "Oh, how different my opinion is from yours! It seemed to me that any one of the others should be chosen before the sage, and the reason is this. Love derives everything from the heart he occupies, and moves it according to his pleasure. If love then has power to deprive people of their judgment, taking from the wise their wisdom, nothing will remain; but if he takes from the strong and courteous their little knowledge, he will increase their virtue, and so when they are enamoured they will be more worthy than the sage. Moreover, love can not be hidden and when revealed is often wont to cause serious changes. What remedy can the sage who has lost his judgment bring against these? The strong man can by his strength aid himself and others in changes. The courteous man may by his courtesy have won the minds of many, who will aid and esteem him and others for his sake."

The Queen answered: "If what you say were so, who would be wise? No one, but even he whom you state to be wise and in love with you, would be a fool and not to be chosen. The Gods forbid that what you say should happen. We do not deny that the wise know evil and sometimes commit it, but they do not on that account lose their sense, since when they wish to check their will by their reason they remain with their accustomed sense. In this wise their loves are hidden for a long time or always, which does not happen to one unwise, no matter how strong or courteous he may be. If his love be revealed he will provide for the safety of the lady's honor and his own with a hundred devices. Let then the wisest be loved, hoping that in every case he will prove more useful than any of the others."

QUESTION IV.

The gentle lady appeared satisfied, whereupon Menedon who sat next her said: "Mighty Queen, it is now my turn, and I ask your pardon if I am too lengthy, for the question I mean to propose cannot be fully understood if it be not preceded by a novel, which will perhaps not be brief."

He then related the novel which Boccaccio later inserted in the *Decameron*, X, 5, with some changes. The story is too long to give here in full, and a brief outline, which will permit comparison with the later form, must suffice.

In the city where I was born, began the narrator, a wealthy and noble cavalier deeply loved a noble lady of the same city and married her. With this lady, being most beautiful, another cavalier named Tarolfo fell in love so deeply that he neither saw nor desired any thing but her, and endeavored to win her love in many ways, by passing before her house, by jousting or tilting, and by other acts, sending her messengers and promising her great gifts. The lady bore all these things secretly and gave the cavalier no sign or reply, thinking that he would perhaps cease to love her. He continued his importunities, however, and the lady fearing that it would reach her husband's ears purposed to reveal the matter to him. Then she thought that if she did, something might occur that would make her unhappy forever, and so she devised a cunning trick to rid herself of her lover. She sent word to Tarolfo that if he loved her as greatly as he showed, she wanted a gift from him, which if she received she swore by the Gods and her faith as a gentlewoman, that she would do his pleasure. If he did not give her what she asked, he should not tempt her further unless he wished her to reveal it to her husband. The gift she asked was this, that she wanted in that city in the month of January, a large and beautiful garden full of grass, and flowers, and trees, and fruits; as if it were in the month of May.

When Tarolfo heard this, although it seemed impossible, and he well knew why the lady had asked it, he replied, that he would never rest or return to her presence, until he should give her the present she had asked. He then left the city with some companions and made his way to Thessaly where a wise man had sent him. There after a long search he found a little old man named

Tebano who declared himself able to perform the task demanded by the lady, in consideration of which Tarolfo promised to share equally with him his entire fortune. They departed forthwith for the city where the lady lived, and when the month of January arrived Tarolfo called upon him to execute his undertaking. A minute account is then given of the incantation which results in the creation of the garden desired.

Tarolfo then appeared before the lady, who had not seen him for a long time, and told her that he had fulfilled her command and that whenever she wished to see it or take possession of it, it was at her pleasure. The lady, greatly amazed, said she would see it the following day. She went there then accompanied by many of her friends, and saw that Tarolfo had fulfilled what she had asked. She turned to Tarolfo and said: "Without fail, cavalier, you have won my love and I am ready to grant you what I promised, but I beg one favor of you, that you will be pleased to wait until my lord goes hunting or is absent in some other part of the city. Tarolfo acquiesced, and the lady returned home full of melancholy, and took thought how she could revoke her promise; but finding no legitimate excuse, her sorrow increased. Her husband seeing this asked her what the matter was and at last she revealed all to him. After long thought her husband bade her keep her promise, for Tarolfo deserved its fulfillment for his great trouble. He declared further that she would not forfeit his love, and that another time she would refrain from such promises, not deeming the gift demanded so impossible to have.

The lady dressed and adorned herself, and accompanied by friends presented herself in Tarolfo's abode. Tarolfo wondered at her coming in that guise and with that company, and she thereupon related the whole matter to him. The lover not to be outdone in generosity by the husband bade her return home when she would and thank her husband for him, and excuse him to him for the folly of his past actions; declaring that in the future he would not commit such actions. The lady thanked Tarolfo for his courtesy and departed joyfully to her husband, to whom she told all that had happened.

Tebano meanwhile sought Tarolfo and asked him how the matter had gone. Tarolfo told him, and Tebano asked whether he should lose what he had been promised. Tarolfo replied that

he should not, and was at liberty to take the half of all he possessed as he deemed he had served him perfectly. Tebano replied: "The Gods forbid, that where the cavalier was so generous to you with his wife, and you were not discourteous to him, I should be less than courteous. I wish, therefore, that what I was to receive in return for my services should remain yours as it was before." Nor would he ever take anything from Tarolfo.

It is a question now which was the greatest liberality, that of the cavalier, who allowed his wife to go to Tarolfo, or that of Tarolfo, who sent the lady back untouched to her husband, or that of Tebano, who refused the gifts promised him and remained poor as he was before.¹⁴

The Queen said: "The novel and question are very fine, and in truth each was very liberal, and when we consider carefully, the first was courteous as to his honor, the second as to his lustful desire, the third as to his acquired gain; but if we wish to know which displayed the greatest liberality and courtesy, we must consider which of these things is the most precious; when we know this we shall evidently know who was the most liberal; for who gives most is to be held the most liberal. Of these three things one is precious, that is honor. Therefore if honor alone is precious in these three things, and the others not, he displayed greatest liberality who bestowed that, and, according to our opinion, the one who gave the lady in whom consisted his honor was more liberal than the others."

Menedon replies at considerable length to prove that Tarolfo was more generous than the husband, and Tebano the most generous of all.

The Queen makes an elaborate answer in defence of her judgment, and concludes with the words: "The cavalier, then, who granted his honor was more liberal than either of the others.

¹⁴ This story was afterwards used by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*, X, 5. See M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1884, pp. 93, 100, 248, and Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop, Berlin, 1851, p. 251, where imitations of this story are mentioned. A part of the story, the elaborate incantation scene, was taken by Boccaccio from Ovid's *Met.* VII, 179-289; see Zingarelli in *Romania*, XIV, 433. The story is substantially the same as "The Franklin's Tale" in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which is discussed by W. A. Clouston in *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Second Series, p. 291 *et seq.* The most curious version of the story is that told by Boiardo in his *Orlando Innamorato*, where it fills the whole of the twelfth canto; in this form of the tale the husband, not to be outdone in generosity, departs forever and leaves his wife to his rival.

And reflect, that the honor which he gave was impossible to be recovered again, which is not the case with many other things, as battles, enterprises, etc., which it is possible to regain if once lost; but let this suffice for your question."

QUESTION V.

After the Queen was silent and Menedon satisfied, a worthy youth named Clonico, who sat next to Menedon, thus began: "Fair Queen, so long and interesting has been the novel of this noble youth that I will state my purpose briefly, in order that the others may have leisure for theirs in the short time left.

"While walking in the spring along the sea shore I saw a bark approach, in which were four beautiful damsels and a single mariner. When the boat drew near I saw in the midst a bright light, and in it I seemed to see the figure of a young angel, who exclaimed: 'O youth, foolish opposer of our power, now thou art overtaken. I have come here with four beautiful damsels; take for your lady the one who most pleases your eyes.'

"The youth was smitten with love for one of them, who appeared pleased with it; but when she knew him so captivated with pleasure in her that it would be impossible for him not to love her, she treated him with the greatest scorn and cruelty.

"While grieving alone one day in a garden, he encountered an intimate friend of his, who partly knew his sad story and tried to comfort him. The unhappy lover insisted that his sorrow exceeded any other; whereupon his friend replied that he had greater reason to grieve and related his experience.

"He loved a lady who returned his love, and there was but one drop of bitterness in his cup: he could not make her believe how perfectly he loved her. One day while alone with her in a spot where they could see the passers-by without being seen themselves, a youth of gracious and pleasing aspect passed, whom the lady beheld and then heaved a pitiful sigh. The lover cried: 'Alas, are you so soon tired of me that you sigh for the beauty of another youth?' She endeavored to convince him that he was wrong, but he could not help believing she loved this youth or some other better than him, whereat he suffered great woe."

The two friends insisted each that his sorrow was the greater, and the narrator of the question asks the Queen to judge between them.

The Queen replied: "Youth, great is your pain, and wrong is the lady in not loving you, but still, your sorrow may be assuaged by hope, which is not the case with your companion; for since he has once entertained suspicions, nothing can drive them away. He will then continually grieve without comfort, while love lasts; and therefore according to our judgment, greater appears the sorrow of a jealous man, than of one who loves and is not loved."

Cleonico, as usual, demurs, and alleges that the jealous lover is in possession of the beloved and his enjoyment is greater than his suffering, and he may banish his jealousy if he finds by experience that it is ungrounded. He concludes that it is better to possess with doubt, than to desire with tears.

The Queen makes an elaborate reply and exhorts the lover to dry his tears, and hopes that he will not lose the reward of the true love he bears his lady, for although she may be harsh to him in his presence, it is impossible that she will not love him, for love never excuses any loved one from loving, and the sturdy oaks break in the violent wind sooner than the yielding reeds.

QUESTION VI.

Next to Cleonico sat a fair lady dressed in mourning with a modest veil, who, when she perceived that the Queen had finished speaking, thus began: "Gracious Queen, I remember that while yet a little girl, I was alone in a garden with my brother, a handsome youth and of age; and it happened while we were there, that two damsels, of noble blood and large wealth, natives of our city, and in love with my brother, knowing him to be in that garden, both came there, and began to gaze at him from a distance. Now he knew nothing of all these things. After a time, seeing that he was alone except for me, for whom they cared little because I was small, they began to say among themselves: 'We love this youth above all things, and do not know whether he loves us, nor is it proper that he should love us both; but now it is permitted us here to enjoy a part of our desire for him, and to learn whether he loves one of us, or which he loves the more, and the one he loves the more shall be his without any obstacle on the part of the other. Therefore, now that he is here alone, and we have time, let us run, and each embrace and kiss him, and he will afterwards take the one who will please him the more.' The

young girls deciding to do this, began to run over the green grass towards my brother, who was surprised to see them coming as they did. One of them while still at a distance stopped, bashful and almost in tears; the other ran up to him and embraced and kissed him, and seated herself beside him and commended herself to him. After his wonder at her boldness had somewhat subsided he begged her to tell him the whole truth of the matter. She hid nothing from him, and after he heard it and pondered in his mind what both had done, he could not decide which loved him the more, nor which he should love the more. He asked the advice of several of his friends, but none answered his question to his pleasure; wherefore I beg you, from whom I truly believe I shall have the true decision, to tell me which of these two young girls should be loved the more by the youth."¹⁵

The Queen replied: "It seems certain to us that the one who loved your brother the more, and should be the more beloved by him, is the one who remained in doubt without embracing him. This is why we think thus: Love, as we know, always makes those timid in whom he dwells, and the greater the love, the greater the fear. It was therefore the act of one truly in love which the timid and bashful girl displayed. The act of the other was rather that of a wicked sensual woman than of a woman in love, and therefore he, being more loved by the first, should according to our judgment love her the more."

The lady said, in answer, that "where love is moderate fear and bashfulness are present, but when it is so abundant that it deprives the wisest of sight, there is no fear. Therefore that young girl seeing herself in the presence of the one she desired was so inflamed with love that abandoning all shame she ran to the one who so deeply attracted her that she could endure it no longer. The other, not so deeply enamoured, observed more closely the bounds of love, being bashful and stopping as you related. Therefore the first loves the more, and should be the more loved."

The Queen replies at great length, citing *Biblis*, *Phaedra*, *Pasiphae*, *Semiramis*, and *Cleopatra*, as examples of wicked boldness, who did not love, but sought only to gratify their lust.

¹⁵ This "question" is found in Provençal; see *Gr.* 167, 42, cited by Selbach, p. 75. It is often a question in Provençal as to which lover a lady shall choose, one who dares to confess his love or one who does not. See *Gr.* 392, 29.

Wise merchants do not risk all their treasures at one time, but a small part and feel no sorrow if it is lost. "The young girl then who embraced your brother loved little and hazarded that little, saying: 'If I win him by this, very well; if he refuses me, there will be nothing to do but to find another.' The other who stopped bashful, although she loved him above all things, feared to risk so much love, thinking, 'If this should perchance displease him, and he should refuse me, my grief would be so great that I should die.' The second, therefore, should be more loved than the first."

QUESTION VII.

It was now Galeone's turn, but he was so absorbed in contemplating the beauty of the Queen, whose face was irradiated by the reflection of the sun in the spring, that he remained silent until the Queen asked the cause of his absorption. He replied with a poetic description of what he saw in his fancy, concluding with a canzone. The Queen, clothed in humility, made no answer, wherefore Galeone continued: "Gracious Queen, I desire to know whether every man for his own good ought to love or not. I am moved to ask this by many things which I have seen and heard, and learned from the various opinions of men."

The Queen's reply involves a long disquisition on the nature of love a topic, as we shall see later, of endless discussion during the sixteenth century. The views held by the Queen are valuable as showing the change which mediæval love had already undergone in Italy, a change of the utmost importance in its relations to the literature of the day. I can give here only a brief outline of the discussion.

Love, said the Queen, is of three kinds, by which all things are loved. The first is virtuous love (*amore onesto*), which is the good, right, and loyal love, which should be preferred by all. This unites the Creator to his creatures, and them to him. By it the heavens, the earth, the state, provinces, and cities continue in existence. By it we deserve to become the eternal possessors of the heavenly kingdom.

The second kind of love is called love for pleasure (*amore per diletto*), and this is the one to which we are subject. This is our God; him we adore, to him we pray, in him we hope to find our

contentment, and that he can fully satisfy our desires. The question propounded concerns this Love, whether it is good to subject ourselves to him; and to this we shall give due answer.

The third love is love for utility (*amore per utilità*), of which the world is fuller than of any other kind. This kind of love is connected with fortune; while it lasts this kind of love abides. But since in reply to the question propounded, it is not necessary to speak of the first nor of the last kind of love, we shall confine ourselves to the second, that is, love for pleasure, to which no one who is desirous of leading a virtuous life should subject himself; for it deprives of honor, causes troubles, awakens vices, induces vain anxieties, and unworthily interferes with the liberty of others, which should be held more precious than any other thing. Who, therefore, if he be wise, will not for his own good shun such dominion? Let who can live in freedom, following those things which increase liberty, and let vicious lords follow vicious vassals.

Galeone defends this love, which, he declares, should be followed by all who desire a glorious end, because it increases worth, as he hopes to show later. He then describes the effects of this love: it strips the heart of pride and fierceness, making it humble in every act; it makes the covetous and misers liberal and courteous; it makes men anxious for noble things; it extinguishes wrath; it makes men bold and strong, etc. Each of these statements is confirmed by examples taken from ancient history and mythology. In conclusion Galeone exclaims: "This, then, does not banish honor, as you say, nor cause trouble, nor awaken vices, etc. Every one, on the contrary, should strive to win the favor of such a lord and be subject to him, since by him one becomes worthy. That which pleased the Gods and mightiest men should likewise please us; let such a lord then be followed, loved, served, and live forever in our minds."

The Queen refutes the arguments of Galeone, taking up in turn his examples, and adding a number of her own, with an impassioned peroration: "Who then except the foolish will advise us to follow this love? Certainly, if permitted, we would willingly live without it, but too late we perceive the harm it does, and since we are in its toils we are obliged to follow its life, until that light which led Æneas from the dark pass, shunning

the dangerous fires, shall appear before us and draw us from its allurements."

QUESTION VIII.

At Galeone's right hand sat a fair lady, whose name was Pola, of pleasing aspect beneath a modest veil; as soon as the Queen was silent she began: "O noble Queen, you have just now decided that no one should follow this love of ours, and I agree; but it seems to me impossible that the youth of men and women can pass without feeling this love. Wherefore by your leave departing from your sentence, I shall hold it lawful to love, and consequently I wish to learn from you which of two ladies should rather be loved by a youth, both equally pleasing to him, the one who is of noble blood and powerful relatives, and much wealthier than the youth, or the other who is neither noble nor rich, nor as well provided with relatives as the youth?"

The Queen replied: "Fair lady, granting that man and woman should love as you have just said, we judge that although the lady be richer and nobler than the youth, in whatever degree or rank it may be, she should be loved by him rather than the one who is inferior to him. The mind of man was created to follow lofty things; therefore it ought to exalt and not debase itself."

The charming Pola is naturally of another mind, and points out the dangers of loving a lady of higher rank. The queen answers her arguments, and shows how such a love will elevate a man.

QUESTION IX.

Feramonte, Duke of Montorio, who sat next the charming Pola, began thus: "Agreeing with this lady that one must love, you have replied to her question, that one ought to love a lady nobler than himself rather than one less noble. With this decision we can agree on account of the reasons which you have brought forward. But since there are various kinds of gentle ladies, that is, occupying diverse classes, who (as it is believed) love differently, one more, another less, one more fervently, another more tepidly. I wish to know from you, with which of these three: maid, wife, or widow, a youth should fall in love, to accomplish more happily his desire."¹⁶

¹⁶ This "question" is common in Provençal, Italian, and French; see Knobloch, pp. 47, 68, and *Poeti del primo secolo*, II, pp. 395, 526.

The Queen decides at once that one of these three, that is the wife, is to be desired in no wise, because she is not at liberty to bestow herself, and it is contrary to divine and natural laws. Of the other two, the widow is to be preferred on account of her larger experience.

Feramonte agrees with the Queen that the wife should be left out of the question, but he pronounces in favor of the maid precisely on account of her inexperience. When she loves it will be more deeply than the widow and she will be more anxious to please her lover.

The Queen defends her decision with arguments which cannot be quoted here, and which reveal a freedom of discussion which is one of the characteristics of Italian society of the period of the Renaissance.

QUESTION X.

After Feramonte it was the turn of Ascalione, who sat next him in the circle, to propose his question, and he spoke thus: "I remember that there was once in our city a fair and noble lady, the widow of a valiant husband, who was loved by many noble youths for her wonderful beauty. Above all, two gentle and valiant cavaliers loved her as deeply as they could. Now it happened that the lady was unjustly accused by her relatives, and condemned to the stake on the strength of false testimony. The judge was perplexed because he had an inkling of the falseness of the evidence, and wishing to commit her life to the Gods and to fortune, he added this condition to the sentence: If after the lady was led to the stake any cavalier should be found who wished to fight for her deliverance against the first who should oppose him, the lady's fate should depend upon her champion's victory or defeat. This condition was learned by one of the two lovers sooner than by the other, and he at once armed himself and rode to the lists ready to defend the lady's life against all comers. The other lover, hearing that his rival was already in the lists for her defence, and that there was no opportunity for him to do likewise, did not know what to do and sorrowfully imagined that he had lost the lady's love by his tardiness, and that the other had justly won it. Thus grieving, he happened to think that if he should go armed to the lists before any other, declaring that the lady ought to die, and allow himself to be defeated, he might deliver her. He did this and the lady escaped.

"Some days after the lady's deliverance, the first cavalier went to her and humbly commended himself to her, reminding her how he had exposed himself to mortal danger in order to deliver her from death, and thanks to the Gods and to his prowess he had saved her and himself from such a fate. She should therefore by way of reward bestow upon him her love, which he had always desired above all things. The second cavalier came afterwards with a similar entreaty, saying that he had run the risk of death for her, and in order that she might not die he had submitted to be defeated at the cost of eternal infamy, whereas he might have won victorious honor, if he had wished to employ his strength for her safety. The lady thanked each kindly, promising both the reward due the services they had rendered her. After their departure the lady remained in doubt upon which she should bestow her love, upon the first or upon the second, and asked advice upon this point. To which should you say she ought rather to bestow it?"

"We should hold," said the Queen, "that the first is to be loved, and the last to be rejected, because the first displayed strength, and showed his love actively, exposing himself to every danger, even to death, which might easily have occurred if one of the lady's enemies had been as solicitous as the lover to wage battle against him. The second cavalier went prudently neither to die nor to let the lady die. Therefore since he risked less he deserves to gain less. The first should have the lady's love since he has justly won it."

Ascalione, of course, takes the other side and declares that the first cavalier was sufficiently rewarded by the honor of his victory; but should the other, who acted with prudence and judgment, go unrewarded? Is not judgment to be preferred to bodily strength? If he did not learn the condition as soon as the other, it was not the result of neglect. If he had known it, perhaps he would have hastened more quickly than the other. What he did as a last resort he did discreetly, for which he should justly be rewarded by the lady's love.

The Queen replies with the curious argument that perhaps the second cavalier did what he did not from love of the lady, but was merely moved by envy to disturb the first cavalier in his enterprise.

QUESTION XI.

A lady by the name of Graziosa, of very seemly aspect, followed. "It is my turn, fair Queen, to propose my question, which I shall do very briefly in order not to trespass upon the time allotted to the festival, which is now approaching. If it were permitted I should willingly refrain from proposing it; but that I may not disregard your commands and the order observed by the others, I shall propose this: Which is the greater pleasure for the lover, to see his lady bodily, or not seeing her, to think lovingly of her?"¹⁷

The Queen decided in favor of the latter, because in thinking of the beloved the spirit rejoices and its desires are satisfied with this joy, which is not the case with the sight.

The lady who proposed the question defended the other side on the ground that beauty pleases by the sight, and we are satisfied by beholding it, whereas if we only think of seeing it our desire increases, and he experiences greater delight who is satisfied than he who desires to be satisfied. She further cites the case of Laodamia and Protesilaus.

The Queen in reply enumerates some of the advantages of the sight, among them the lover's timidity in his lady's presence. The case of Laodamia is not in point, as her thoughts were not of the class in question, since she dwelt on her loss and constantly recalled the death of her husband. She could not therefore think of him in the manner now under discussion.

QUESTION XII.

Next to the lady who proposed the last question sat Parmenione, who related a story which may be briefly disposed of here.

A youth loved a beautiful and wealthy girl and was beloved by her. He employed as his messenger a loathsome old beggar-woman, who conducted him to his beloved's house where all three, girl, lover, and go-between, were surprised and seized by

¹⁷ A somewhat similar idea is found in Provençal: Do the eyes or the heart contribute more to preserve love in a faithful lover? See P. Meyer, *Derniers Troubadours de la Provence*, p. 71. The "question" in the text is substantially that mentioned in the introduction to the *Filostrato* and cited later in this chapter. The same question is found in Tirso de Molina's *Deleytar Aprovechando*. This "question" constitutes the subject of the *Veneris Tribunal*; see Chap. V, p. 215, of the present work.

the lady's brothers. They were friends of the youth and knowing that he had not yet wronged them, they were unwilling to harm him as they might have done. So in lieu of punishment they gave him his choice of two things, to pass a year with the old woman and with their sister, swearing solemnly that if he spent the first year with their sister he would bestow the same caresses and endearments upon the old woman during the second year that he passed with her. If on the other hand, he spent the first year with the old woman, he would bestow in the second year the same caresses upon the sister which he had lavished upon the old woman during the first year. The youth was anxious to live and agreed to the condition. He was in doubt, however, with which to begin, with the young or with the old woman, and the Queen is asked for her advice.

The Queen smiled at the story, as did the others, and replied, that the youth should choose the young girl rather than the old woman, because no one should renounce the present for the future good. This is wise because we are not sure of the future, and many who have acted otherwise have regretted it.

Parmenione dissents, and urges that we should seek rest after labor, for rest without toil is no pleasure. Also the joy which the youth would have with the young girl would be overshadowed by the thought of what was in store for him. He cites the case of Leander and Hero, where pleasure followed toil.

The Queen answers that if we were sure that pleasure would follow toil there would be weight in Parmenione's argument. But who knows but evil may be followed by something worse. If the youth spends the first year with the old woman, the young girl may die, or her brothers repent of their agreement. He who toils in order to rest proves that he cannot find rest without toil. Would Leander have swum the sea if he could otherwise have obtained Hero?

QUESTION XIII.

Massalino, who completed the circle, sitting on the Queen's right and next to Parmenione, then spoke: "It is my turn to propose the last question, and in order to enhance the fine novels and questions already propounded, I shall repeat a very pretty story, which ends with a nice question to decide."

The story then related by Massalino was employed later by Boccaccio in the *Decamerone*, X, 4, and may therefore be briefly given here.¹⁸

A cavalier deeply loved the beautiful wife of a wealthy gentleman, who did not return his love, as she was devoted to her husband. The lover was appointed to rule over a neighboring city and departed. One day a messenger from the former city came to him and told him among other news that the lady he loved died that morning and was honorably buried by her parents in his presence. The cavalier was deeply grieved, and waiting until night, he returned to the city with a trusty servant and went to the lady's tomb. He opened it and entering alone began to kiss and fondle the body of his beloved. While thus engaged he imagined he felt a sign of life, and immediately conveyed the lady to the house of his mother, whom he swore to secrecy, and there after many efforts the lady was restored to life and gave birth to a son.

The next day the cavalier revealed himself to her and asked as the only reward for the service he had rendered her, that she would remain in his mother's house without revealing herself to her husband or any one else, until his term of office had expired, which would not be long. She promised that she would do as he requested, and he departed to return shortly. A few days after his return he gave a splendid banquet, to which he invited the lady's husband and brothers and many other guests. The lady, dressed as she was on the day of her burial, was seated next her husband, who regarded her with curiosity, thinking he recognized the dress she wore; but he did not dare to address her. At last he asked the cavalier who she was, and was told: "Ask the lady herself, for I cannot say, from so unpleasant a place have I brought her." Then the husband asked the lady who she was, and she answered: "This cavalier brought me here in some unknown way from that happy life which we all desire." The husband's wonder was only increased by these words. After the banquet the cavalier led his guests into another room and there put the child in the father's arms and revealed the whole matter. The cavalier had served the lady with the same tenderness and

¹⁸ See Landau, *ed. cit.*, p. 326, and F. Liebricht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 61, *et seq.*, "Die Todten von Lustnau." See Rajna, *Romania*, XXXI, pp. 57 *et seq.*, and Hauvette, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

good faith as if she had been his sister; wherefore, the doubt arises which was the greater, the cavalier's loyalty, or the joy of the husband who recovered the wife and child whom he had deemed lost.

The Queen decides that the husband's joy was natural; but the cavalier's loyalty was the result of the constraining influence of virtue, and was therefore greater than the husband's joy.

Massalino replies that the cavalier only did his duty, for we are all bound to act virtuously.

The Queen in conclusion declares that it is not a great thing to obey the laws of nature which can not be avoided; but it is an act of mental virtue to obey positive laws, and mental virtues are to be preferred to bodily deeds.

There was no one left after Massalino to propose questions, since all had done so; and the sun already declining left the air cooler in that place. Therefore Fiammetta, the revered queen of the people of love, arose and said: "Lords and ladies, our questions are ended, which we have answered, thanks to the Gods, according to our modest knowledge, following the rules of pleasant conversation rather than formal interrogation; and we are aware that many other things might be said about them and in a better way than we have done; but what has been said is sufficient for our festival; let the rest remain for the philosophizers at Athens. We see that Phoebus no longer regards us with direct looks, and we feel the air cooled, and our companions have begun again the festival, which we abandoned, coming here on account of the heat, wherefore it seems to us that we should likewise return to it." After these words she took the laurel crown from her head with her delicate hands and placed it where she sat, saying: "Here I leave the crown of my honor and of yours, until we return again to a like conversation"; and taking by the hand Filocolo, who had already arisen with the others, she and they resumed their festivities.

The joyful instruments sounded, and the air on all sides was filled with songs of love, and no part of the garden was without its festival. There they all remained joyfully until the end of the day, but when the night overtook them, and the stars showed their light, it seemed time to the lady and the others to return to the city. When they reached it, Filocolo, taking leave of her, said: "Noble Fiammetta, if the Gods should ever grant that I

be mine as I am another's, certainly I would straightway be yours; but because I am not my own I cannot give myself to another. Nevertheless in so far as my wretched heart can receive a new flame, in so much it is enkindled by your worth, and ever will be and always more deeply, desiring never to forget it." Filocolo was greatly thanked by her on parting, and she added the hope that the Gods would soon graciously gratify his wishes.

With Filocolo's further story we have nothing to do; but for the sake of completeness it may be said, that after many adventures he reaches Alexandria and contrives to make his way to Biancofiore, who is imprisoned in a tower. The lovers are discovered and condemned to be burned alive. Venus, however, descends from heaven and protects them against the flames, while Mars leads Filocolo's companions against the enemy and defeats them. Finally, the Admiral recognizes Filocolo as his nephew, and marries him to Biancofiore. Upon his journey home Filocolo makes the acquaintance of Biancofiore's noble relatives in Rome, and becomes a Christian, and when he reaches Marmorina and his father, he causes his pagan people to be baptized.

The *Filocolo* episode is of great importance from many points of view; as has already been shown it is of great value for the biography of Boccaccio, and contains the germs of nearly all his later works. Two of the questions flow from novels afterwards employed in the *Decameron*, and the setting of this famous work is substantially that of the *Filocolo*: a company of ladies and gentlemen amusing themselves in the country by telling stories. This setting proved enormously popular and was imitated as we shall see by a host of Italian novelists; but it is probable that this popularity was based upon the fact that the thing described was true to life, and that the above episode was merely a picture of one of the favorite diversions of Neapolitan society. Boccaccio alludes to the custom of questions in the introduction to another work of his, the *Filostrato*, composed in 1338 or 1341, that is, during his second stay in Naples.

In the work in question he says: "Most noble lady [the poem is dedicated to the same Fiammetta mentioned above], it has often happened that I, who almost from my childhood to the present time have been in the service of Love, finding myself in

his court among gentlemen and lovely ladies abiding there like me, have heard this question raised and discussed, namely: A youth deeply loves a lady, in respect to whom fortune grants him no other thing than the ability to see her sometimes, or sometimes to speak of her, or sweetly to think within himself of her. Which of these three things is the most delightful? It never happened but that each of these three things was defended by various persons zealously and with incisive arguments."

This, it will be remembered, is practically the eleventh question in the *Filocolo* episode.¹⁹

It is probable that the *Filocolo* episode contributed largely to the vogue of questions in later times. The first edition of the entire work appeared in Venice, 1472, and it was early translated into German, Spanish, and French (the episode alone into French and English²⁰), and probably led to the production of somewhat

¹⁹ See note 17.

²⁰ The bibliography of the *Filocolo* may be found in A. Bacchi della Lega, "Le edizioni delle opere di Giovanni Boccaccio," in *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. VIII, Bologna, 1875, Pt. I, pp. 377-473, Pt. II, pp. 169-201, 379-386; *I Novellieri italiani in prosa indicati e descritti* da G. Passano, 2d ed., Turin, 1878, Vol. I, pp. 133, *et seq.*; and *Catalogo dei Novellieri italiani in prosa raccolti e posseduti* da G. Papanti, Lehigh, 1871, I, pp. 66, *et seq.* See also Hauvette, *op. cit.*, p. 485. The French translations of the entire *Filocolo* are: *Le Philocope contenant l'Histoire de Fleury et Blanchefleur divisé en sept livres; traduits d'Italien* par A. Sevin, Paris, D. Janet, 1542, fol.; same place, date and printer, but in 8vo; translated by A. J. Vincent, Paris, Michael Feznadat, 1554, 8vo; translated by A. Sevin, Paris, Gilles Corrozet, 1555, 8vo; same, Paris, Magdaleine Boursette, 1555, 8vo; translated by J. Vincent, Lyon, 1571; there are five Paris editions of Sevin's translation; all in the year 1575, and in 16mo, registered by Bacchi della Lega; a sixth, Paris, Vincent Norment, 1575, 8vo, is in the British Museum. The same library has a German translation: *Ein gar schone neue histori des hohen lieb des Kuniglichen Fursten Florio*, 1499, fol.; and a Spanish version: *La historia de los dos enamorados Flores & Blancafor* (abbreviated from the *Filocolo* of Boccaccio, by J. de Flores?), 1510? The same version apparently is registered by Bacchi della Lega as of Alcalá, 1512, with the statement that the author was Gio. De Flores. I do not find any English translation of the entire work. For English trans. of the *Filocolo*, see Miss Scott, *Elizabethan Trans.* (1916), p. 17, No. 9.

The episode of the "questions" was early considered as worthy of a separate translation and we consequently find French, English, and Spanish versions. The French are as follows: *Treize elegantes demandes d'amours premiere-mement composees par le tres faconde poete Jehan bocace & depuis translatees en François*, Paris, n. d., in 8vo; same, Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1530, 8vo; same, Denys Janot, Paris, 1541, 16mo; Bacchi della Lega cites another edition, Paris, Samuel Thiboust, 1624, 12mo. The English translations of the episode are: *A pleasant disport of divers noble personages: written in Italian by M. J. Bocace in (the fifth [sic] book of) his boke which is intituled Philocopo. And now Englished by H. G.*, black letter, ff. 58 (H. Bynneman, London, 1566?) 4to; same, black letter, A. Jeffes, sold by T. Woodcocke, London, 1587, 8vo. These are in the British Museum. The Bodleian has editions of 1571, and 1587: is the former the first edition in the British Museum? The Spanish version (not cited by Bacchi della Lega) is: *Question de Amor . . . assimesmo se*

similar works in these countries. I refer to the *Questión de Amor* commonly attributed to Diego de San Pedro, but really an anonymous work,²¹ and several little-known English works: Edmund Tilney's *Flower of Friendship*; George Whetstone's *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*; H[enry] W[otten]'s *A courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels*; and Robert Greene's *Morando, The Tritameron of Love*.²² I think there are also traces of the influence of the *Filocolo* episode in Lyly's *Euphues*.²³

ha anadido a esta obra en esta ultima addition [sic] treze quistiones del philocolo de Iuan Boccaccio, Venice, T. Giolito de Ferrariis, Venice, 1553. The *Questión de Amor* ends on folio 104; on fol. 106 begin the *Treze Quistiones* and extend to fol. 155. The *Treze Quistiones* forms a part of the *Questión de Amor*, and the paging is continuous. The latter work in the present edition is edited by Alonso de Ulloa and dedicated to the Licenciado Duarte Gomez in a dedicatory epistle dated Venice, Oct. 17, 1553. The *Treze Quistiones* is introduced by a preface, unsigned, in which the writer states that the following translation is the work of Don Diego Lopez de Ayala, vicar and canon of the holy church of Toledo and superintendent of repairs, and that the poetical summaries at the end of each question are the work of Diego de Salazar, who first was captain and afterwards hermit. The editor of the book, Alonso de Ulloa, was a Spanish printer at Venice, where he published many Spanish books; see Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, 4th American ed., Boston, 1872, I, p. 516, n. 10.

Bacchi della Lega cites a Dutch version of the episode: *De Konst de Vryery, Ust het Italiens vertaelt door den Ridder G. Brusoni*, Amsterdam, 1675, 16mo. For Spanish versions of the "Questions" in the *Filocolo* see *Orígenes de la Novela*, I, cited in Note 21, pp. c-ccii and cccxxvii.

²¹ The *Questión de Amor* is an anonymous work, but is frequently found printed with the *Cárcel de Amor* by Diego de San Pedro (see Ticknor, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 447), and has sometimes been attributed to this author; Brunet, *Manuel*, says the first edition is that of Ferrara, 1512. The book closes with a letter from one of the disputants dated Ferrara, April 17, 1512. The book was frequently reprinted both alone and with the *Cárcel de Amor* (see Ticknor, *op. cit.*, I, p. 451). The edition of Venice, 1553, seems to be the only one printed with the "Thirteen Questions" from the *Filocolo*. The exact title is: *Questión de Amor, de dos enamorados: al uno era muerta su amiga, el otro sirve sin speranza de gularon. Disputan qual de los dos suffre mayor pena. Entreteixense en esta controversia muchas cartas y enamorados razonamientos; y otras cosas muy sabrosas y deleitables. Assimesmo se ha anadido a esta obra en esta ultima addition [sic] treze quistiones del philocolo de Iuan Boccaccio Imprimiose en Venetia. En casa de Gabriel Giolito de Ferrariis, y sus hermanos, 1553, 12mo.* The subject of the book as indicated by the title is a discussion of the question, Which suffers the more, the lover whose mistress is dead, or the lover who serves a living mistress without hope of reward? The scene is laid at Naples and in other parts of Italy beginning in 1508 and ending with the battle of Ravenna in 1512. The work will be more fully considered in a later chapter. I will only add here that it was translated into French under the title: *Le debat Des deux gentilzhommes espagnols, sur le fait damour*, etc., Paris, Denys Ianot, 1541, sm. 8vo. See Chapter V, p. 1. For the *Cárcel de Amor* and the *Questión de Amor* see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, I, pp. cccxx, cccxxvi. The two texts are printed in Volume II of *Orígenes de la Novela*.

²² The English works quoted in the text will be examined more fully in Chapter XI.

²³ See Chapter XI, p. 528.

The influence of this episode upon Italian society must have been great. We shall see in the following chapters how important a part the discussion of the nature of love played in social gatherings, and the earliest example in Italy of such a discussion is that contained in the seventh question given above.

Boccaccio alludes in other works to the pleasant society of Naples. He tells us in the *Decameron* (III, 6) that it was the custom during the warm weather for many companies of ladies and gentlemen according to the Neapolitan manner to go and amuse themselves upon the seashore, and to dine and sup there. In the *Fiammetta*, p. 109, he says: "Our city, beyond all others of Italy abounding in joyful festivals, not only delights its citizens, either with weddings, or with baths, or with the seashore; but rich in many games, often rejoices its people now with one now with another"; and he continues with an interesting account of a tournament.

Nothing elsewhere, however, equals the charm of the picture drawn for us in the *Filocolo*. The storm-stayed travellers, the band of lovely ladies and courteous gentlemen, the beautiful garden, and the fountain which suffused Fiammetta's face with the reflected light and entranced the beholder, the stories of romantic adventure, the tender farewell of the disconsolate Filocolo: all these things linger in our memory like some happy hour in our own lives spent beneath the blue sky and in the company of trusty friends. All the diversions of the most elegant society since that day are found there,—music and dancing and talk,—what more have we now?

I have not deemed it necessary to enter here into a detailed examination of the *Decameron*. All that is necessary for the purpose of the present work is found in the *Filocolo*, of which the *Decameron* is only an expansion and improvement. The two principal objects of my book are to trace the use of Questions and Story-telling as a social observance in Europe from the time of the Troubadours to the end of the seventeenth century. The influence of the *Filocolo* was profound upon the former, and that of the *Decameron* equally profound upon the latter. And yet the *Filocolo* contains all the elements of the *Decameron*, and in reality combines the use of Questions and Story-telling. For the purely literary influence of the two works, there is no question of the greater importance of the *Decameron*, and this is especially

true outside of Italy. The reader will see in the last chapter of this work what an extensive literature arose in Spain, called forth undoubtedly by the influence of the *Decameron*. In Italy, on the other hand, it is difficult to separate the influence of the two works of Boccaccio.

The connecting link between the *Filocolo* episode, in which the questions are purely of an entertaining nature, and the class of works to be considered in the following chapter, where the discussions are more or less philosophical and serve as a vehicle for the propagation of the Platonic doctrine of love, may be found in the *Paradiso degli Alberti*, by Giovanni di Gherardo di Prato, the scene of which is laid in a villa of the Alberti called Paradiso near Florence, in the year 1389.²⁴ The author was born about 1360, and studied at Padua. He publicly expounded the *Divine Comedy* at Florence between 1417 and 1424, and Dante's moral *canzoni* on festal days until 1425. He was engaged in the construction of the Cathedral from 1420, and was the rival of Brunelleschi in a competition for the building of the dome. His name appears in the tax rolls for 1427 and 1430, after which time all notices of him cease.

The work, composed in the author's old age, opens with a vision in which the writer undertakes a long voyage to various countries famous in antiquity, where he notes the vicissitudes of human affairs. He afterwards arrives at the island of Cyprus, where he enters a large and wonderful theatre adorned with *loggie* containing pictures representing mythological and historical subjects connected with love. Those on the left represented impure love, those on the right, chaste love; while other pictures represented the course of Grecian and Roman history.

The author's guide, in order that what he has seen may be of profit to him, defines love as "una passione nata da sensi e causata per obietto e in piacere eletto ad amare," that is, a passion arising from the senses and caused by an object which we choose to love for our pleasure. Dante is cited, *Purg.* XVIII, 19-21; 52-60,²⁵ to explain the nature of love, the origin of which

²⁴ The *Paradiso degli Alberti* has been edited in the most admirable manner by A. Wesselofsky, Bologna, 1867, *Scelta di Curiosità letterarie*, Dispensa 86, 87, 88, 4 vols.

²⁵ The soul, which is created apt to love,
Is mobile unto everything that pleases,
Soon as by pleasure she is waked to action.

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according to the Pagan writers is then given. Giovanni then passes to Plato and Aristotle. The former mentions three kinds of love: divine, irrational, and mixed, or as Aristotle denominates them: virtuous (*onesto*), pleasurable (*dilettevole*), and useful (*utile*). Happy he who pursues the first! The writer here suddenly finds himself in his chamber and sees that his long journey has been only a vision.

The connection between the first and second books of the work is very slight. When the author perceives that his journey has been an imaginary one he begins to reflect upon what he has seen, and to compare the various countries visited in his sleep with Tuscany, which is preeminent in religious glory. He enumerates the many shrines of famous saints, and declares his intention to describe a pilgrimage made by him in his tender youth to the shrines of St. Francis, St. Romualdo, and St. Giovanni Gualberto, as well as the reception given to the pilgrims in Poppi, the festivals and conversations which there occurred.

Only the return from the pilgrimage is described. The pilgrims are descending from the Apennines into the plain of Tuscany, making their way towards Poppi, when Count Carlo, the lord of the place, invites them to spend the rest of the day with him. They reach the beautiful palace of the count, which is situated on a hill with lovely gardens about it. There they feast and listen to music, and while waiting for supper Count Carlo calls on one of the guests, Guido, a famous citizen of Florence, to relate a story. Guido consents and says the subject of his *novella* will be the reason why the town of Prato Vecchio is called *vecchio* (old).

The long story which follows (pp. 97-170) is really a version of a well-known fairy tale, the substance of which is as follows. A young girl is changed into a sparrow by a witch, and is rescued from drowning and restored to her original form by four youths,

Every substantial form, that segregate
 From matter is, and with it is united,
 Specific power has in itself collected,
 Which without act is not perceptible,
 Nor shows itself except by its effect.
 As life does in a plant by the green leaves.
 But still, whence cometh the intelligence
 Of the first notions, man is ignorant,
 And then affection for the first allurements,
 Which are in you as instinct in the bee
 To make its honey; and this first desire
 Merit of praise or blame containeth not.
 —Longfellow's translation.

who claim her, each alleging what he had done for her. They are about to come to blows when the Council of the Gods intervenes and leaves to the girl the liberty of choosing the one she likes best. This popular tale is, however, transformed by the narrator into a long and tiresome classical narrative, interesting only as showing how the Renaissance was gradually invading Italian literature and destroying all the national forms of art.²⁶

The story of Melissa changed into a sparrow gives rise to a discussion as to whether such a transformation can take place or is merely the result of diabolical illusion. Guido replies that the latter explanation is the true one, and another guest, Andrea, also a prominent citizen of Florence, relates a story in proof of this. The *novella* is one about the famous mediæval wizard Michael Scott, and the Emperor Frederick II. The theme of this story is also well known. The wizard raises and lays a storm, and afterwards makes one of the emperor's knights, Messer Ulfo, believe that he is transported to various distant countries, where he fights and wins a kingdom, marries, and has children. When the illusion ceases, Messer Ulfo finds that the long years spent in journeys and battles were but a few hours, that wife, kingdom, and children have never existed, and that he himself has not left the city from which he believed he had departed twenty years before for his imaginary conquests.^{26a}

After the story-telling came the supper with music and pleasant talk, and then dancing and singing. Then the company left the villa and set out for the town where they were to pass the night. They did not feel like sleeping, and Guido proposed that they should discuss some question. Count Simone, who had not yet spoken, offered the following one: Which is the better government, that of one, or of many? Or put in another way—Which

²⁶ See edition cited, p. 238, Vol. I, 2, where the editor gives an elaborate note on the story and its versions in various lands. The same may be said in regard to the other stories introduced in the text. There is a *lacuna* of ten folios after fol. 62 in the manuscript, and as the editor says it is possible that there were other "questions" concerning love, and probably an account of the organization of the company for the more orderly discussion of "questions" and telling of stories.

^{26a} The classical story of this kind, where a necromancer apparently causes a long series of adventures to happen in what is afterwards seen to be a brief space of time, is the thirteenth story in the *Conde Lucanor* of Don Juan Manuel, in which a necromancer convicts a dean of Santiago of ingratitude. See Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, p. 501. To Liebrecht's references may be added: Gering, *Islandsk Aeventyri*, pp. 167-7, note 1; and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, etc., VII, pp. 102, 105.

is the better government, that of a good lord, or of good laws? The conclusion is that it is safer to trust to good laws, for it is almost impossible to find a just king. After this decision the company went to their rooms, and thus ended the happy and joyful day; the next morning each continued his journey.

The news of the visit at Poppi spread to Florence and inspired in some the desire to gather in a pleasant and suitable spot a chosen band of famous men. One of the Alberti, Antonio, offered his villa, called Paradiso, for the reunion, and gave a supper at which the arrangements for the meeting were settled. The next day in the cool of the morning the company arrived at the villa, where they were joyfully received by Antonio and his brothers. After mass had been said in the chapel of the palace the guests went into a garden planted with pines, and sat down on rich seats near a fountain, by which a buffet was placed with dishes and viands for a collation. After the repast came music and the visit of fair ladies and youths to the villa. The noonday meal was taken in the palace, followed by more music and dancing. The sight of the girls and youths dancing and singing led one of the guests to revolve in his mind a doubt, which at the proper time he proposed to the company for discussion. The question was: Which is the greater love, that of the father, or of the mother, for their children? It was decided after Alessandro, another Florentine statesman, had given his opinion that the question should be open to debate by all, women as well as men.

The third, fourth, and fifth books (244 pages) are devoted to the discussion of this and other doubts and to the *novelle* narrated on this occasion. The *novelle*, seven in number, need not detain us long. They are chiefly historical or quasi-historical and of little interest. One of them, the *Novella di Messer Marsilio da Carrara*, p. 38, contains a story illustrating a question: Which is the stronger, the affection towards the natural father, or towards the author of the moral life?

The other questions discussed are: How and in what way is man begotten, in what way does he become rational, how and in what way is the soul (*anima intellettiva*) infused in him, and how and in what manner does it remain in existence after the life of the body? p. 77; What is the end and happiness of man? p. 85; Whether one animal more than another possesses art or genius (*ingegno*)? p. 113; How can wealth be acquired in a

praiseworthy manner, and why is usury forbidden? p. 155. The work, which is incomplete, closes with a discussion of the origin of Florence, in which the old fables as to the early history of the city are set aside and the classical historians are quoted as the final authority.

The work of Giovanni da Prato, incomplete and unrevised as it is, is a precious document for the social life of Florence at the close of the fourteenth century, and is the connecting link, as I have already said, between the *Filocolo* episode and the philosophical discussions of the sixteenth century. It shows how deeply rooted was the custom of debating "questions" and narrating *novelle* as a social diversion. The scene of the work, which must be regarded as a truthful picture of real life, is chiefly in the garden of a villa, and the usual diversions of dancing and music are not wanting. There is one interesting episode which carries us back to an earlier stage of society. I allude to the appearance of the juggler, p. 170, who turned several somersaults without touching the ground (so I understand *tomi schiavoneschi*), and performed feats of contortion and sleight of hand tricks so cleverly that they seemed the work of diabolical illusion. The guests were amazed at his skill and Messer Antonio had him clothed in one of his robes. This intrusion of the mediæval juggler into polite society is found after this century, and the court buffoon is his later representative.²⁷

²⁷ Bandello, IV, 6, in describing the marriage of the daughter of the Marchesa di Gonzaga, says: "Si fecero anco di molti giuochi, che alla brigata diedero diletto grandissimo. V'intervennero giocolatori e buffoni, i quali assai fecero gli spettatori ridere, di modo che il tempo si passava molto lieta-mente." For buffoons in the sixteenth century see A. Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, Turin, 1888, p. 369, "Un buffone di Leone X," and especially "Buffoni, Nani e Schiavi dei Gonzaga ai tempi d'Isabella d'Este" by Luzio and Renier in the *Nuova Antologia*, Terza Serie, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 618-650, Vol. XXXV, pp. 112-146.

CHAPTER III.

Provençal conception of Love introduced by the Troubadours into Italy—There undergoes two profound modifications—Chivalry never prevalent in Italy—The city, not the castle, the seat of social life—New direction given to Italian lyrical poetry by Guido Guinicelli—Spiritual and mystic love of Dante—The introduction of Platonic philosophy into Italy—The Platonic Academy of Florence—Ficino's *Convito*—Alberti's *Ecatomfila* and *Deifira*—Firenzuola's *Ragionamenti*—Cattani da Diacetto's *Tre Libri d'Amore* and *Panegirico all' Amore*—Pietro Bembo—His early life and education—Friendship for Lucrezia Borgia—Composition of *Gli Asolani*—Story of Catharine Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus—The scene of *Gli Asolani*—Analysis of *Gli Asolani*—Equicola's *Della Natura d'Amore*—The *Dialoghi d'Amore* of Leone Hebreo—The *Trattato dell'Amore Humano* by Flaminio Nobili—Fondness for the Dialogue in the Sixteenth Century—Tasso's Dialogues: *Il Cavaliere amante e la Gentildonna amata*; *La Molza, o vero de l'Amore*; and *Il Manso, o vero de l'Amicizia*—Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo de Amore*—Tullia d'Aragona and her *Dialogue on the Infinity of Love*—Giuseppe Betussi's Dialogue *Il Raverta*—"Questions" in *Il Raverta*—Betussi's *Dialogo Amoroso*—Domenichì's *Dialogue on Love*—Sansovino's *Ragionamento*—Vito de Gozze's *Dialogo d'Amore detto Anthos*—Employment of "Questions" in the Italian Academies—Origin and spread of Academies in Italy—Peculiar names of Academies and of their members—Devices of Academies—Twofold use of "Questions" in Italian Academies—The Florentine Academy—Benedetto Varchi—"Questions" in Varchi's *Academic Lectures*—"Questions" in the *Academic Discourses* of Anton Maria Salvini—Tasso's *Conclusioni Amoroze* and Dialogue *Il Cataneo*—Tasso's *Discourse on Two Questions of Love*—*Dieci Paradossi degli Academici Intrinati da Siena*—Manso's *Paradossi*—Ortensio Lando and his *Paradoxes*—Lando's *Quattro Libri di Dubbi*—Hieronymo Vida's *Cento Dubbi*—Loredano's *Sei Dubbi Amorozi*—Works devoted to the discussion of a single "Question"—Giambelli's *Il Rinaldi*—Ridolfo's *Aretefila*—Use of "Questions" in the *Congrega dei Rozzi* of Siena—Subjects of these "Questions."

The love which was the subject of Provençal poetry, and the chief topic of discussion in the polite society of the South of France, was carried to Italy by the Troubadours, and there underwent two profound modifications.¹ It must be remembered

¹ For this whole subject see: Vernon Lee's *Euphorion*, the essay on "Medieval Love"; R. Renier, *La Vita Nuova e la Fiammetta*, Turin, 1879, pp. 1-75, "Evoluzione dell'amore nel ducento"; A. Gaspary, *Geschichte der ital. Lit.*, I, p. 104, *et seq.*; and G. Paris in the *Romania*, XII, p. 522, "Le conte de la Charette." Provençal influence in Italy has already been touched upon in Chapter I, where was cited, in note 24, L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love considered as an introduction to the Vita Nuova*, Boston, 1896. A fuller and more profound discussion of the question may be found in L. Goldschmidt,

that the love of Provençal poetry was the offspring of chivalry and flourished wherever that institution prevailed. Now, in Italy, for various reasons, the Feudal System, with its concomitant of Chivalry, never took root. The city, not the castle, was the seat of social life, and the rapid absorption of the feudal lords into the cities rendered Italian life from the beginning very different from life in Provence or the North of France. The love which was the expression of Chivalry never became general throughout Italy, but was, like the imitation of Provençal poetry, a fashionable fancy. It is true that the early Italian poetry which was written in imitation of the poetry of the Troubadours accepted the conventional love of Chivalry, and we have seen already in the first chapter how great the influence of France was on the forms of society in Italy and elsewhere. Still, this was essentially a matter of imitation and was foreign to Italian modes of life and thought.

The new direction given to Italian lyrical poetry was due to Guido Guinicelli of Bologna, of whom little is known, except that he was a jurist and died young in 1276. In his early poems he imitated the Provençal poets, but later he endeavored to deepen the thought of Italian lyrical poetry and to make it the vehicle of philosophical speculation. His views of love were propounded in the famous canzone "Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore."² In this canzone Love is represented as seeking the gentle heart as a bird the forest tree. Nature did not create Love before the gentle heart, nor the gentle heart before Love; just as the sun's splendor was as soon as the sun was and not before. Love takes its place in gentleness as heat in the fire's brightness. The fire of Love catches in the gentle heart like virtue in a precious stone, for worth does not descend from the star until the sun makes it a gentle thing. After the sun by its power has removed what is base, the star gives it worth. Thus after the heart is made by nature upright, pure, and gentle, a lady, like a star, enamours it.

Die Doktrin der Liebe bei den italiänischen Lyrikern des XIII. Jahrhunderts, Breslau, 1889. A brief article by A. Borgognoni, "La bellezza femminile e l'amore nell'antica lirica italiana," is in the *Nuova Antologia*, vol. 83, p. 593.

² See T. Casini, *Le Rime dei Poeti Bolognesi del Secolo XIII.*, Bologna, 1881, pp. 1-73, where the poems of Guido Guinicelli or Guinizelli, may be found. There is a fine translation of the canzone in question by D. G. Rossetti, in *Dante and his Circle*, London, 1874, p. 291. This new direction given to Italian lyrical poetry was followed and modified by Guido Cavalcanti; see G. Salvadori, *La poesia giovanile e la canzone d'amore di Guido Cavalcanti*, Rome, 1895.

This philosophical mysticism reached its highest point in Dante, who calls Guido his father, and declares that his sweet sayings, so long as modern use shall last, will still make precious their very ink.³ He paid Guido also the highest of all possible compliments, that of imitation.⁴ Dante's affection for Beatrice is the most splendid example of this new direction given to love. It has already been pointed out that this love, spiritual and mystical as it is, is yet derived from the Chivalric love which was exactly of a contrary nature. The beloved is still regarded as the liege lady, and the chivalric conception of marriage in its relation to love still prevails.⁵

The natural consequence of this view of love was to render the beloved a mere allegorical figure, and the question whether Beatrice was a real person is still a matter of discussion. It is not necessary to examine here the character of the love which Petrarch bore to Laura. It may be briefly said that living as he did in Provence, the great poet was more or less influenced by the traditions of Provençal poetry—I say traditions, for the classical period of the literature had long closed. Thus the fact that Laura was the wife of another was no greater obstacle to the poet's love than was Beatrice's marriage to Dante's affection. Still, Laura is no mystical, allegorical figure, but a real woman, and Petrarch's love with all its exalted raptures is an earthly affection and subject to all the vicissitudes of the ordinary passion of mankind.

The Platonic element which appears from time to time in Petrarch was destined to produce the second great modification in the character of Italian love, and one of deep importance for

³ *Purgatorio*, XXVI, 97:

The moment I heard name himself the father
Of me and of my betters, who had ever
Practised the sweet and gracious rhymes of love;
And without speech and hearing thoughtfully
For a long time I went, beholding him,
Nor for the fire did I approach him nearer.

And I to him: "Those dulcet lays of yours
Which, long as shall endure our modern fashion,
Shall make forever dear their very ink!"

—Longfellow's trans.

⁴ See V. Nannucci, *Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Florence, 1856, I, p. 47, where are given numerous examples of Dante's imitation of Guido.

⁵ See Gaspari, I, p. 489, and G. Paris, in the *Romania*, XII, p. 522.

the history of the society of the sixteenth century. Although known at an earlier date, it was not until the Council of Ferrara in 1438 that a general interest was awakened in the philosophy of Plato. The council in question was convoked by Pope Eugenius IV, with a view to the union of the Greek and Roman churches. Owing to the appearance of the plague in Ferrara the council was transferred to Florence in 1439. Among the distinguished representatives of the Greek church was Gemisthus Pletho, whose discourses produced so powerful an influence upon Cosimo de' Medici that he determined to found an academy for the cultivation of Platonic philosophy. We cannot dwell upon the vicissitudes of this remarkable institution,⁶ and the great

⁶ See L. Ferri, "L'accademia platonica di Firenze e le sue vicende," in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vol. 118, pp. 226-244. A convenient résumé of the general topic of love in Italy in the sixteenth century is given by M. Rosi, *Saggio sui trattati d'amore del cinquecento*, Recanati, 1889. There is an extensive literature on the subject of Platonic love in Italy, much of which clusters around Dante. I may mention as among the most important works so far as the purpose of the present chapter is concerned: G. Rossetti, *Il mistero dell'amor platonico del medio evo derivato da misteri antichi*, London, 1840, 5 vols.; P. Chasles, *Études sur la moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 283-338, "Dante et le Platonisme italien." There is now a very extensive general article on the subject of Love in the sixteenth century by Lorenzo Savino in *Studi di Letteratura italiana*, Vols. IX and X, Naples, 1912-1914, "Di alcuni trattati e trattatisti d'amore italiano della prima metà del secolo XVI (Bembo, Castiglione, Equicola, Ebreo, Betussi, Tullia d'Aragona)." The article fills 554 pages and leaves nothing to be desired in the way of analyses, bibliography, etc. It takes the place of all the general works on the subject hitherto published.

I have not seen M. Rosi's *Scienza d'amore, idealismo e vita pratica nei trattati amorosi del Cinquecento*, Milano, 1904. It is an expansion of the *Saggio* by the same author mentioned above. I have also been unable to see Ant. Thomas, *Étude sur l'expression de l'amour platonique dans la poésie italienne du moyen âge et de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1892.

Intimately connected with the subject of Love is the class of dialogues and treatises on Women and Beauty. (See Chapter IV of the present work, note 64.) Certain of the former have been reprinted by Zonta in *Trattati del Cinquecento sulla Donna*, Bari, 1913, in *Scrittori Italiani*. They are: "Dialogo della bella creanza de le donne," by Lo Stordito Intronato, the academic name of Alesandro Piccolomini; "Angoscia, Doglia, e Pena," by Michelangelo Biondo; "Il Libro della Bella Donna," by F. Luigini; and "Il Convito overo del Peso della Moglie," by G. B. Modio.

There is also a brief general article by G. R. Marchesi, "Le polemiche sul sesso femminile ne' secoli XVI e XVII," in *Giornale storico*, XXXV, pp. 362-369. (See Chapter V of the present work, note 16, also Chap. XIII, note 4.) See also the article by Rossi mentioned in note 32.

Other references to Italian works on Love and Beauty will be found in Chapter XIII, note 4, under Spanish imitations of Italian works.

See also E. J. Delécluze, *Dante Alighieri ou la poésie amoureuse*, Paris, 1854, and J. A. Symonds, *In the Key of Blue and other Prose Essays*, London, 1896, pp. 86, "The Dantesque and Platonic Ideals of Love." The spread of Platonic love from Italy to France will be fully discussed in Chapter IX.

There is a dialogue on Love of an earlier date which may be mentioned here, although as it was not printed until recently it had no influence at the time it

scholars whose names are connected with it—Ficino, Landino, Alberti, Poliziano, Pico della Mirandola, and others. The first named was educated especially by Cosimo to be the director of the new academy. He produced a Latin translation of the *Dialogues*, which appeared later in Italian,⁷ and a Latin comment on the *Symposium*, later translated by himself into Italian, which enjoyed great popularity in Italy and abroad and was the means of awakening a general interest in the theory of Platonic love. The work consists of seven discourses supposed to be pronounced by Giovanni Cavalcanti, Cristoforo Landini, Carlo Marsuppini, Tommaso Benci, and Christofano Marsuppini at a festival given by Lorenzo de' Medici at his villa of Careggi on the 7th of November, the traditional anniversary of the birth and death of Plato.

After the table was cleared one of the guests read the *Symposium* of Plato, and invited the others to give their views of the Dialogue. The speakers mentioned above pronounced in turn an oration on the discourses of the various characters in the Dialogue: Phaedrus, Pausanias, Eryximachus, Aristophanes, Agathon, Socrates, and Alcibiades. While Ficino accepts in the main the doctrines of Plato, he lavishes his own learning in the commentary he puts into the mouths of his speakers, and develops his theme under the influence of Christianity. This

was composed. It is the *Polisofo* of Filippo Nuvolone printed by Zonta in *Filippo Nuvolone e un suo dialogo d'amore*, Modena, 1905. The author was born in 1436, probably at Ferrara, where his father was in the service of the Estes, and died in Venice in 1478. His life was that of a courtier, scholar, and soldier, and his dialogue is one of the earliest of its kind. Zonta has an interesting chapter, the sixth, on the theories of Love in the fifteenth century before Ficino and their application by Nuvolone in the *Polisofo*.

⁷ Ficino's translation of Plato's complete works was published at Florence in 1483-84, in fol. In 1496 he published also at Florence a Latin comment on the *Symposium* of Plato, of which he made himself an Italian translation under the title: *Marsilio Ficino sopra lo amore over' convito di Platone*, Florence, 1544, 8vo. There are several French translations of this: *Le Commentaire de Marsille Ficin sur le banquet d'Amour de Platon, fait françois par Symon Silvius dit J. de La Haye*, Poitiers, 1546, 8vo; *Discours de l'honneste amour sur le Banquet de Platon, par Marcile Ficin, traduits du toscan par Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, avec un traité de J. Picus Mirandulanus sur le mesme sujet* Paris, 1578, 8vo; reprinted Paris, 1588, 12mo. The edition of Ficino which I have used is: *Marsilio Ficino Sopra l'Amore overo Convito di Platone traslato da lui dalla Greca lingua nella Latina, e appresso volgarizzato nella Toscana*. In Firenze, Per Filippo Giunti, 1594, 8vo. An interesting chapter on Marsilio Ficino and the Platonic Academy may be found in Villari's *Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*, New York, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 51-69. A good account of Ficino and his works by L. Galeotti is in the *Archivio storico italiano*, N. S., Vol. IX, pp. 25-91; IX, pp. 3-55, "Saggio intorno alla vita ed agli scritti di Marsilio Ficino."

work is the first complete and systematic treatise on Love in modern times, and its immediate popularity was due both to its attractive form and the novelty of the subject.

A friend of Ficino and a fellow member of the Platonic Academy was Leon Battista Alberti, who is treated at length in Chapter III of this work as the author of a famous treatise on the rearing and education of children. He also wrote two brief treatises on Love: *Dell'Ecatomfila ossia del vero Amore*, and *Deifira ossia del fuggire il mal principiato Amore*, both printed for the first time in 1471.^{7a}

^{7a} These works may be conveniently consulted in the sixth volume of Daelli's *Biblioteca rara*, Milan, 1863, or in Bonucci's edition of Alberti's *Opere volgari*, Florence, 1845, Vol. III. I have also seen the edition of Venice, M. Sessa, 1534. There is an English translation of the *Hecatomfila*, 1598; see Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, No. 386, p. 473. I have seen the following translations of Alberti's works: *La Deiphira di M. Leon Baptista Alberto che ne mostra fuggir il mal principiato amore, gia tradotta d'italiano in nostra lingua e novamente rivista a ricorretta. La Deiphire de M. Leon Baptiste Albert, qui enseigne d'eviter un Amour mal encommencé, ladis traduite d'Italian en nostre langue, et nouvellement reueue et r'amenée. Avec privilege. A Paris. En la boutique de Gilles Corrozet, en la grand' Salle du Palais, 1547, 16mo. Italian text is on one side of page, French translation on the other. Hecatompheile D'Amour. Prins de l'Italian de Leon Baptiste Albert. A Paris, Pour Abel L'Angelier, au premier pilier de la grand' salle du Pallais, 1584, 12mo. Exhortation aux dames vertueuses, en laquelle est démontré le vray point d'honneur. Avec L'Hecatompheile de M. Leon Baptiste Albert, contenant l'Art d'aymer. Mis en deux langues pour ceux qui desirent conferer la langue Italienne avec la Françoisse. A Paris chez Lucas Breyll, au Palais, en la Gallerie des Prisonniers, 1597. The first two are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the third in the British Museum, where is also the following English translation: *Hecatompheila. The Arte of Loue, or, Loue discovered in an hundred severall Kindes*. Printed at London by P. S. for William Leake: and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the Greyhound, 1598, 12mo. A MS. note on the fly-leaf says: "This work arose out of the following, which was published at Paris in the previous year. [Then follows the title of the edition cited before this one.] The translation seems to have been made rather from the French than from the Italian. The four pages of 'The Argument' in the English edition are not in the French. The latter was lent me by Lilly, who had never seen a copy of the English work."*

Besides the works mentioned in the text, Alberti was the author of a number of amatory treatises, etc., which may be found in the edition of Bonucci, Vol. V. For the sake of completeness they may be briefly mentioned here. *Sopra l'Amore, Epistola di Leon Battista Alberti a Paolo Codagnello giureconsulto Bolognese* (V, pp. 233-252). For an analysis of this letter see Mancini, *Vita di L. B. Alberti*, Florence, 1882, pp. 157-8. The letter is a warning against Love and admonishes the one to whom it was addressed to be on his guard against the fickle and fastidious manners of women. *Amiria* (V, pp. 271-293) is a treatise supposed to be written by a woman on the secrets of the toilette, etc. The title is thus explained on pp. 272-3: "E per lungo esercizio e prove di molte cose, io era negli amatorii esercizi divenuta non indotta nè poco astuta, onde i litterati, come a mia sorella, Ecatomfila, così a me posono nome Amiria. Dicono meritavo quel nome, perchè tra l'altre sempre molto amai ardentissimo e con molta fede." *Efebie ovvero Disputazioni amatorie di L. B. A., scritte a nome di Carlo suo fratello* (V, pp. 299-322). This work is very

The first work is dedicated to the noble maidens of Florence, and the title is explained in the Proemio as meaning the "hundred loves" which the writer had enjoyed with his companions. The object of the treatise is to teach how to choose the best lover, then how and with what arts he may be taken and cultivated, and, finally, how one may easily and securely triumph for a long time in one's amorous hopes. Then follow various precepts for choosing a lover: he should not be old or too young, not too rich, or too handsome, or too finely dressed, or of too low estate. Alberti next describes the appearance and qualities of the perfect lover, drawing his own portrait. The most important way to win love is to love: "Amate adunque e acquistarete amore." The work ends with the means of preserving love; among these are: patience, amiability, freedom from jealousy, etc. Finally, "love and you will be loved; be true and your lover will never break faith with you; who loves will bear everything but enmity and revenge. One alone should be the object of our utmost love, and to him should be revealed every loving thought."

The second treatise of Alberti, *Deifira*, is in the form of a dialogue between two friends, Filomeno and Polidoro, in which the former reveals his unhappy love for Deifira and receives from Polidoro counsel how he can overcome his passion. Absence and occupation are the most efficacious means. The above works can hardly be considered general treatises on Love; they are in reality brief imitations of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*, and are mentioned here only for the sake of completeness.

Another short but interesting treatise on Platonic love occurs in the Introduction to an incomplete work of Agnolo Firenzuola

interesting as it consists of "questions" largely. The title is explained on p. 291: "Questa mia operetta, la quale chiamo Efebia, si perche è frutto delli esercizi miei giovenili, si eziand perche sono questioncelle atte puerilibus ludis." There is a brief treatise on Love, its nature, etc., pp. 301-6. Then the "questions" begin and extend to p. 315. Many of these we have encountered elsewhere: p. 307, "Quale è più difficile è più arte, o mostrare portare grande amore a chi non ti cale, o celere il grande amore che tu soffri?" p. 308, "E quale è più idonea, utile e sicura imbasciata, o quella delle epistole o quella de' messaggeri? E quale amore duri più fervente, o quel dell'uomo o quello della donna?" A number of questions on jealousy are found on pp. 311-12, among them: "E quale è più difficile a tenere occulto, o la gelosia o l'amore?" The "questions" end on p. 315, and the remainder of the work is filled with various arguments against Love. Finally, in Vol. V, pp. 325-333, are three *Lettere amatorie* of no particular interest.

in the style of the *Decameron*.^{7b} The writer was born in Florence in 1493, studied law, and after a residence at the Papal court returned to Prato, where he died about 1546. But little is known of his life: he assumed the habit of a monk of Vallombrosa, but was afterwards released from his vows, becoming later abbot of Vaiano near Prato. Firenzuola was the author of *I Discorsi degli Animalì*, a version of John of Capua's *Directorium Humanæ Vitæ*, which in turn was derived from the Oriental *Kalilah wa Dimnah*; a *Dialogo intorno alla Bellezza delle Donne*, to be mentioned later; a translation of the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius; two comedies; some poetry; and the incomplete imitation of the *Decameron* mentioned above and entitled *Ragionamenti*. The work was to consist of six days, during which stories were to be told by a company of three ladies and as many gentlemen at a villa near Florence. Of the six days proposed only one was completed together with four novels of the second.

The Introduction describes the visit of Madonna Gostanza Amaretta of Rome to Florence where she abode in the house of her relative Celso. The latter invited her with two other ladies and two youths, all friends and relatives of his, to spend some days at his villa of Pozzolatico. There after visiting the villa, Madonna Gostanza reminded the company of Boccaccio and proposed that they should spend their time in telling stories. They consented and elected her Queen. She accepted the honor reluctantly and entered upon her duties with a long oration, beginning with the praises of the number six. After dinner Celso recited a poem, and the company separated for the night.

The next day the friends proceeded to a hill near by on whose summit they rested beneath the shade of cypresses and firs. The Queen entreated to begin the conversation replied with a discourse on Love, interrupted occasionally by questions and objections on the part of her hearers. Madonna Gostanza's theory of love is that of the Platonists, and her opening words are: "The Platonists say that there are two Loves, one born of that Venus who was the daughter of Heaven, the other from another Venus, who sprang from some mortal; and they declare that the former, as having its origin in Heaven, performs its operations through the celestial bodies, and therefore enters our

^{7b} A pleasant article on Firenzuola by A. von Reumont is in his *Beiträge zur italienischen Geschichte*, Berlin, 1853, Vol. I, pp. 427-466.

minds as something found in Heaven." It is quite characteristic of the day that after this eloquent discourse on Platonic love the subsequent novels should deal almost exclusively with the second or earthly Love. After the Queen had finished her discourse the conversation turned on poetry and the Tuscan speech, after which the Queen began the story-telling with a novel of her own.⁷⁰

More important are the *Tre Libri d'Amore* and the *Panegirico all'Amore* of Francesco Cattani da Diaceto.⁷¹ This writer, a friend of Ficino and a member of the Platonic Academy, was born in Florence the 16th of November, 1466, of a family which had occupied a prominent position in the state. As a child he showed so much promise that his father gave him a careful education and was unwilling that he should become a merchant like himself. After his father's death, Francesco, although in straitened circumstances, continued his studies at Pisa. On his return to Florence he became intimate with Ficino and devoted all his energy to the study of Platonic philosophy. After the death of his master he lectured for many years in the Studio Fiorentino and refused a similar position in the University of Padua. He was the author of many philosophical works, distinguished, as his biographer Varchi says, for the elegance of their style as well as for the profundity of their learning. Francesco, unlike other scholars of his day, did not scorn his mother tongue, but translated some of his works into Italian, and would have translated more had he lived longer.

Francesco's devotion to the Medici family led him to engage in public affairs, and on the death of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, he pronounced a solemn oration in Latin in the church of San

⁷⁰ Von Reumont, *op. cit.*, p. 437, says: "Man sieht übrigens 'daraus [*i Ragionamenti*] dass die Conversationsform durch welche zuerst Boccaccio seine Erzählungen miteinander verband, in dem Leben und der Wirklichkeit ihre Begründung hatte. Das häufige Verkommen dieser Form in den beiden Jahrhunderten, in welchen diese Gattung der erzählenden Dichtung die meisten Blüten trieb, in dem 14. nämlich und dem 16. scheint schon von selbst darauf hinzudeuten, wenn nicht etwa der wahrhaft unermessliche Beifall den das *Decameron* fand, den Anlass zu der Sitte gegeben hat."

⁷¹ The first and only edition of the *Tre Libri d'Amore* is that published by Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari at Venice in 1561, which includes the *Panegirico all'Amore*, previously printed at Roma in 1526 by Ludovico Vicentino. See S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari*, Rome, 1895, Vol. II, p. 122. The edition first mentioned contains also a life of the author by Benedetto Varchi, which has furnished me with the materials for the brief biography in the text. Both editions are rare and Rosi in his *Saggio sui Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento* discusses only the *Panegirico*.

Lorenzo. He filled various offices in the state, and in 1519 became Gonfaloniere di Giustizia for his ward. From this time on he ceased his public lectures, but received in his house a host of friends and scholars. He died in 1522 on the 10th of April and was buried with his ancestors in the church of Santa Croce.

The *Tre Libri d'Amore* constitute an elaborate treatise on Love. In the first book the author considers the origin of things, the relation of the mind to the body and the division of the mind into anima and intelligence, and the government of the former by the angelic nature. The origin of Love is found in the desire of the Intellect to live and understand, and this becomes the source of happiness uniting the creature with God.

In the second book are discussed the constitution of the universe, chaos, motion, and the celestial harmony. From the latter arises a wonderful beauty, and Love is nothing but an intense desire to enjoy and represent Beauty. As there are two kinds of Beauty, divine and natural, so there are two kinds of Love, divine or celestial, and common or vulgar.

The source and workings of these two loves are the subject of the third and last book. Plato's definition of Love is quoted from the *Symposium*: "the desire of enjoying and generating beauty in the beautiful." The nature of Beauty is then examined and found to be twofold, divine and vulgar: hence the two kinds of love. As the author has treated the divine or celestial love at length in his book *De Pulchro* and also in the *Panegyric on Love*, he confines himself in the present treatise to vulgar love. Its origin in the heart and its necessary connection with sensual desire are elaborately explained, and the reason why lovers are lean, pale, and timid. Finally, the writer solves, by a reference to the influence of the planets, the question why we are not all similarly affected by every beautiful object. The work is a dry and abstruse treatise, and could never have been popular.

The *Panegyric on Love* is a brief discourse (thirty-one pages in the edition cited above), repeating very largely the substance of the work just examined, lauding the love termed divine or celestial and concluding with the miseries of the lover hated by his beloved, and of the beloved who hates her lover: in this world sorrow and in the future world everlasting punishment.

In this connection it may be stated that Castiglione's *Courtier*, which is fully analyzed in Chapter IV, contains in Book IV,

Chapters 51 to 70, a brief and interesting treatise on Platonic love, clothed in the most fervent speech and breathing the most ardent and tender feeling.

There are many other brief treatises on Love imbedded in works not wholly devoted to this subject, as, for example, in Alessandro Piccolomini's *De la Institutione di tutta la vita de l' homo nato nobile e in città libera*, mentioned in Chapter VII of the present work, note 54. The whole of the ninth book is devoted to Love, and various questions therewith connected: Whether one can love several persons at the same time; Whether true love arises by choice or by fate; and, Which is the worthier, the lover or the beloved?

It is not with the labors of these scholars that I am now concerned; they did influence society, but it was only indirectly. The doctrines of Plato in order to become popular had to appear in an attractive literary form, which should ensure their favorable reception by fashionable circles. This was the task of one of the most attractive figures in Italian literary history, Pietro Bembo, poet, historian, scholar, and prelate, a combination often found in France in the seventeenth century.⁸ Bembo was born at Venice, May 20, 1470. His father, Bernardo, was of noble family and filled many offices in the state. When Pietro was only eight years of age, his father, who was appointed ambassador to Florence, took the child with him to that city, where he remained for two years. While in Florence the father was intimate with Ficino and the other supporters of the Platonic Academy, and it is possible that Pietro even then imbibed that fondness for the Platonic philosophy which he displayed later in his works.

After continuing his studies in Venice, he went in 1492 to Messina in order to study Greek with Constantine Lascaris. Here he spent three years, and some time after his return to Venice accompanied his father to Ferrara, where the latter occupied in 1498 the important position of Visdomino.⁹ During this first visit to Ferrara Pietro continued his studies with the eminent scholars then teaching there, and made many friends,

⁸ Bembo reminds us of the scholarly element in the society of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, the Godeaus, Fléchières, Huets, and others.

⁹ For this office, and in general for this period of Bembo's life, see an excellent article by B. Morsolin, "Pietro Bembo e Lucrezia Borgia" in the *Nuova Antologia*, XXXII, pp. 388-422. His father appears to have been appointed in 1497, but Pietro did not visit Ferrara until the following year, 1498.

among them the Strozzi, and enjoyed the favor of the duke, Ercole I, who seems to have given him a home in the villa of Belriguardo, some ten miles distant from the city. Bernardo Bembo's term of office lasted only one year, but his son remained in Ferrara after his father's departure, until 1499, and then spent the three following years in Venice.

In October, 1502, he visited his friends the Strozzi at their villa in Ostellato, nineteen miles from Ferrara, and soon after made the acquaintance of the new duchess, Lucrezia Borgia, who had married Alfonso, the son of Ercole I, in Rome on the 30th of December, 1501, and who made her entry into Ferrara on the 2d of February, 1502.¹⁰ The acquaintance of Bembo with the duchess soon ripened into an intimacy which lasted nearly two years, until Bembo was called to Venice by the death of his brother on the 30th of December, 1503. Much has been written in regard to the nature of Bembo's relations to the duchess, some considering it a mere Platonic friendship, others, a deep and passionate love.¹¹ It is not necessary to dwell upon this question, and we are now concerned only with the fact that it was for Lucrezia Borgia that Bembo revised and completed his famous work *Gli Asolani*, which he presented to her with a letter dated the 1st of August, 1504.¹²

The title of the work was suggested perhaps by the *Tusculan Disputations* of Cicero, and means the discussions or dialogues held at Asolo, a small town thirty miles north of Venice, in the territory of Treviso. This town, rendered illustrious in recent times by the residence of a great English poet, who also named a volume of his poems from it, lies at the foot of a hill from which a most extensive prospect can be enjoyed across the plains to Venice and the Adriatic, while to the north rise the snow-clad

¹⁰ For Lucrezia Borgia in general see F. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia. Nach Urkunden und Correspondenzen ihrer eigenen Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1874, 2 vols. For her life at Ferrara see W. Gilbert, *Lucrezia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara*, London, 1867, 2 vols.

¹¹ The most satisfactory article on the subject is the one by Morsolin cited in note 9.

¹² The work was probably begun before Bembo's first visit to Ferrara, that is, before 1498, and completed and revised at intervals between that time and August, 1504, when it was presented to the duchess in its final form. It was printed for the first time at Venice, 1505, by Aldo Manuzio. For the date of the composition of *Gli Asolani* see A. Rossi, "Gli Asolani del Bembo" in *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XIX, Parte II, pp. 64-95, and Morsolin's article cited above, p. 416. The book was in the hands of the duchess a year before it was finished, and it is probable that the author was accustomed to read it to his friends while it was undergoing its final revision.

peaks of the Alps. Asolo at the close of the fifteenth century was the residence of Catharine Cornaro, the ex-queen of Cyprus, whose romantic story is as follows.¹³

The island of Cyprus after many vicissitudes came in 1192 into the possession of the Lusignan family, who reigned there until the close of the fifteenth century. The last king but one, John III, had a natural son, James, who was compelled by the queen to enter the church, and was raised to the dignity of archbishop of Nicosia. It was not unusual for natural sons to claim the rights of legitimate children, and James, in spite of his profession, which he had embraced without any vocation, aspired to the throne, between which and himself there stood only his father's daughter. At this time—I follow Daru's story—there was at the court of Cyprus a Venetian nobleman, Andrea Cornaro, whose family had estates in the island and enjoyed great consideration there because of services rendered to one of the earlier kings. Cornaro became intimate with the archbishop of Nicosia and, it is said, showed him a portrait of a beautiful niece of his who lived at Venice, and James fell violently in love with the unseen beauty. Shortly after, he fled to Rhodes, and while there his father died, and the daughter's husband, Louis of Savoy, was recognized as king of Cyprus. James then invoked the aid of the sultan of Egypt, who was the suzerain of the island, and offered to pay tribute and do him homage. The sultan acknowledged his claims and furnished him with troops, with whose support he returned to Cyprus and took possession of the kingdom. His sister and her husband in turn fled to Rhodes, and afterwards to Naples.

Although Cornaro had contributed powerfully to the success of James, the latter forgot his promises and married the daughter of one of the princes of the Morea. She soon died, and then Cornaro persuaded the king to marry the niece whose portrait he, Cornaro had shown him.

¹³ See Daru, *Histoire de Venise*, Paris, 1821, II, pp. 601 *et seq.*; and the biographical dictionaries of Michaud and Didot. There is a popular article in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. LVII, pp. 617-622, "Catarina Cornaro," by C. Adams, and the *Eclectic Magazine*, Vol. LXIV, Jan.-June, 1865, contains a historical novelette on the subject of Catharine Cornaro, reprinted from *Bentley's Magazine* and said to be "from the German." The only independent work on the subject with which I am acquainted is: A. Centelli, *Caterina Cornaro, e il suo regno*, Venice, 1892. A long and rambling article by Luigi Carrer may be found in his book: *Anello di sette gemme o Venezia e la sua storia. Considerazioni e fantasie*, Venice, 1835. The Seven Gems are seven distinguished ladies.

This niece, Catharine Cornaro, born at Venice in 1454, was the daughter of Marco Cornaro, a descendant of the doge of the same name. She was educated in the convent of St. Benedict in Padua, where she remained until 1469. When her marriage with James II was arranged the Senate adopted her as its daughter, gave her a dowry of 100,000 ducats, and undertook to defend the kingdom of Cyprus against its enemies. The marriage was celebrated at Venice with great pomp, and when she departed for Cyprus the doge took her from her house upon the Bucentaur to the Lido, where she entered a Venetian galley and sailed for Famagusta accompanied by a brilliant suite.

She was received with every demonstration of welcome and crowned in the midst of the most splendid fêtes. A year and a half later, June 5, 1473, her husband perished the victim of a conspiracy. Catharine had already had a son who had died before his father, and she gave birth to another after her husband's death. This son was proclaimed king but died in 1475. The position of the queen was now most difficult. Her husband's sister Charlotte endeavored to obtain the throne, but by the aid of the Venetians Catharine maintained her place. The Venetians had always meant to use Catharine as an instrument for obtaining possession of the island themselves some day, and for fourteen years the unhappy queen was little better than a prisoner in her own domains. In 1486 she allowed herself to be persuaded to retire to Venice, where three years later in Saint Mark's she solemnly ceded her kingdom to the doge. She received in return certain lands in the island, with heraldic privileges and titles.

The same year, 1489, Catharine went to meet the Emperor Maximilian at Frattalonga, near Asolo, and was so charmed with the place that she asked the doge for the investiture of Asolo and the surrounding country. The request was granted, and in October Catharine took up her residence in the castle and continued to dwell there for nearly twenty-one years. The republic of Venice furnished her with a small army for the defence of her little state, and she established at Asolo a brilliant court, one episode in the history of which is described in *Gli Asolani* of Bembo.¹⁴

¹⁴ Murray's *Handbook for Northern Italy* says the queen resided in the castle in the town; Valery, *Voyages hist. et litt. en Italie*, Paris, 1831, Vol. I, p. 347, says her residence was at Barco, some distance from the town, and describes in detail the remains of the château. I have been unable to find any reference

This work has been dismissed with scant notice by subsequent writers who have failed to perceive its significance for the history of social culture. It was the work which made Platonic love fashionable and contributed powerfully to support and spread the custom of discussing subjects of love in social gatherings.¹⁵ I shall, therefore, make no apology for giving a careful analysis of this curious and almost forgotten book.

The author states in the introduction that men are apt to be tossed about on the sea of this life like a vessel, and the principal thing which disturbs our peaceful voyage is our ignorance of the good and evil love. To correct this ignorance the author proposes to describe the discourses which were uttered in a company of three worthy ladies and three learned and wise youths.

Asolo is then briefly described and the occasion of the above mentioned discourses, a wedding of one of the Queen of Cyprus's maids of honor. During the festivals two damsels sing two canzoni, one dealing with the sorrows, the other with the joys of love. A third canzone is sung declaring that if Love and his work were well known our life would follow a straight and wise path, and the Golden Age would return.

The Queen was wont after the midday meal to withdraw and either sleep or spend the heat of the day as she pleased. After she had gone the three ladies and the youths mentioned above were left in the hall and walked up and down talking together. They happened to approach a window overlooking a garden, and Gismondo proposed that they should descend into it and pass the heat of the day in the shade telling stories, or reasoning of pleasant things. They did so and passing through the garden, which is minutely described, they came to a flowery mead bor-

to Bembo's presence at the court of Catharine at Asolo. The *Biographie universelle Michaud* says in describing Catharine's court: "Le célèbre poète Pierre Bembo, son parent, devenu depuis cardinal, et alors fort jeune, ne la quittait presque pas; et ce fut pour célébrer les noces splendides d'une de ses demoiselles d'honneur qu'il écrivit en 1490 *Gli Asolani*." I can find no allusion to Bembo's presence at Asolo in any of the works at my disposal, nor is Asolo mentioned in his letters. He returned from Sicily in 1495, and was in Ferrara in 1498. He must have visited Asolo between those dates or earlier as a mere lad. For Bembo's works I have used the splendid edition of Venice, 1729, in 4 vols., 4to.

¹⁵ In Rossi's article cited above, the author asks whether this custom had disappeared in Italy after the *Filocolo* and was then revived in the second half of the sixteenth century, or had it continued uninterruptedly. He decides in favor of the second theory, and I think is right. The great prevalence of the custom in the sixteenth century points to a long and unbroken habit.

dered by a grove of laurel trees in which was a spring of water rising from the living rock and flowing away in a marble channel. The company seated themselves, some on the grass near the spring, others in the shade of the trees by the stream, and Berenice called on Gismondo to speak on any subject he pleased. Gismondo then recalled the three canzoni sung before the queen, and challenged any of the ladies to say what she would in dispraise of love and he would answer her. No one accepted his challenge and he wondered that one of his comrades at least by way of jest did not say something against love so that they might have a topic for their talk. There was no need of this, he says, since there was one man there who judged ill of love, deeming it an evil thing.

Perottino, who is meant, refuses to speak, but at last yields to the entreaties of the ladies and chides Gismondo for his unfortunate choice of subject and warns him that he will have nothing to say in answer to his, Perottino's, arguments. Gismondo replies that he has no fear. Lavinello is then urged to take part in the combat, but excuses himself on the ground that it would make the contest an unequal one. This excuse is not accepted, and he declares that he will not fail to satisfy the wishes of the ladies, acting the part of skirmishers who reserve the final attack for themselves, and taking up the weapons dropped by the two combatants.

Perottino then begins his discourse by a description of the origin of Love, and derives the name from *amaro* (bitter), and declares that it is impossible to love without bitterness, nor is any bitterness felt or suffered on any other account than love.

One of the ladies, Berenice, here interrupts him, with Gismondo's permission, and says that his last statement is extravagant and unseemly. Perottino then proceeds to justify his statement. Gismondo says he will answer him in due time, and meanwhile calls on him to prove that it is impossible to love without bitterness. Perottino replies at length, citing many instances from ancient history and mythology.

Lisa here asks why if Love is the cause of so many evils, he is made a god. Perottino answers, and then continues with the evils of love, one of which is that lovers seek to escape from their own life. He recites a canzone, which expresses this feeling, and a little later another showing why the lover does not die even in

the midst of the flames of love. He continues then with the follies of lovers, and explains why Love is depicted young, winged, with torch, bow, and arrows.¹⁶ Love after all is not a god, but is only what we ourselves wish, for he springs up in the field of our wishes, without which, like plants without earth, he cannot flourish. Here Perottino breaks off to afford Gismondo time to answer him. The latter excuses himself for want of time, and it is agreed that Perottino shall continue his arguments for the remainder of the afternoon and that Gismondo shall reply the following day.

Perottino then continues his explanation of why love is the source of all evil. Whenever one does not possess what he desires, he gives access to all those passions which torment him; therefore it is impossible to love without bitterness. The general passions from which are derived and to which return all the others are: excessive desire, excessive joy, excessive fear of future miseries, and excessive grief in present ones. These passions are called perturbations, and of these the principal is love, which is nothing but desire. Desire is the head and origin of all the other passions, and from it proceeds every evil not otherwise than every tree from its roots. He enumerates the crimes committed from excessive love: incest, adultery, murder, etc., and passes on to excessive joy, declaring that when joy exceeds proper bounds it is fallacious and foolish and not true joy. The results of the above are: sleepless nights, poetry, tears, etc. The fortunes of love, moreover, never endure in the same state. A canzone is given illustrating this, with examples of persons to whom great sorrow has come after excessive joy: Dido and Aeneas, Niobe. Then the fears which lovers feel: Aegisthus, Orestes. So it is with the grief felt in love; and yet it is sometimes an alleviation in great sorrow to be able to grieve. The ills of Love are the harder to cure the older they are. A canzone is read showing this. In conclusion Perottino says that all animals rest from their fatigues, lovers do not. Tears never fail them, but do not assuage their grief. The lover is Prometheus, Ixion. Perottino then delivers an impassioned address to Love, and tells how the latter had treated him. He draws from his breast a handkerchief, the gift of his lady, and wipes his tears away with it, tenderly apostrophizing it.

¹⁶ See Chapter VI, note 22.

The company examine carefully the handkerchief; and leaving the garden, the youths accompany the ladies to the palace, but they, because Perottino did not wish to be present at the festival that day, wandered with him in the fields and woods, engaging in conversation so that he might forget his bitter cares.

The following day after dinner the ladies, accompanied by the youths, withdrew to the garden and there Gismondo proceeds to answer Perottino. He reproves him for his weakness and bespeaks close attention. Two points of Perottino's he will answer: that love is impossible without bitterness, and that all bitterness arises from nothing but love. If the first were true, all sweetness would arise from hatred, which is the opposite of love. This is false. Also, if we did not love, then nothing bitter should befall us. One might as well say that because we should not die unless we were born, our birth is the cause of our death. So we only grieve when we lose wealth and honors; hence it is Fortune who deprives us of them that makes us grieve, not Love. If Amore is named from *amaro*, then *donne* (women) is probably derived from *danno* (loss, damage). After reciting two canzoni in praise of Love, Gismondo returns to Perottino's argument that more writers have spoken ill of Love than have praised him. This is partly because we are more inclined to complain than to praise, and unhappy lovers naturally resort to pen and ink to vent their feelings. So rivers that meet with obstacles make a noise; still waters run deep. Gismondo blames poets for their futile verse and exaggerations, and then passes to the argument of Perottino that it is impossible to love another without constant suffering. If this were so we should have to give up loving our relatives, etc., and retire from the world. Thus all society, which is based upon love, would cease. He facetiously adds, in reference to Plato's *Symposium*, that men originally had two faces, four hands, etc., and Jove, whose sovereignty they wished to usurp, divided them in two. Hence we all seek our other half, and the two sexes are necessary to each other. The business of the world could not be carried on without them. All this prepares the answer to Perottino's argument that we cannot enjoy what is foreign to us. Gismondo says that in loving we love our other half, ourself, and hence we can enjoy what we love. The ancient philosophers are cited to prove the true nature of love, and to show that Perottino does not love truly.

Here is introduced a beautiful episode in which is told how two doves alight on the margin of the spring, and one of them is carried away by a rapacious eagle. After the ladies had mourned the loss of the dove, Gismondo continues to prove that love is the cause of joy and not of sorrow. In the first place, love is the cause of our being, and generally of all being. Then too, love produces society. Gismondo is asked why, if Love is the cause of all things, he is not also the cause of evil as well as of good. Gismondo answers this question, and then proceeds to describe the joys and power of Love. The conclusion is that the sweetest thoughts are those of lovers, and some of these sweet thoughts are mentioned, together with a canzone on the subject. He then dwells on the delights of the memory, and does not omit the reverse of the medal, the miseries of those who do not love. Finally, he enumerates the beneficial effects of love, the fruits of love, the divers manners of lovers, and what love accomplishes. Just as Gismondo ends his impassioned praise of Love, the trumpets sound for the royal festival and break up the company in the garden. Gismondo says that he has not finished his harangue but that Lavinello's discourse will make up for it on the morrow.

The third book opens with a reference to the difficulty of discovering the truth in matters which are discussed every day, and proceeds to state that the absence of the ladies had been noticed and the cause of it discovered and revealed to the queen. After supper she expressed her desire to visit the garden, and when there she said she would like to hear the discourses uttered on the previous days. She is informed of them and declares that she will be present the next day and hear the discourse of Lavinello. The next day, then, the queen and her suite with the three ladies and the three youths went into the garden, and Lavinello, bowing to the queen, began with a compliment to her presence. The opinions of Perottino and Gismondo, he declares, might both be said to be right if they had not exceeded due moderation, one in showing that love is always evil, and the other that love is always good and never can be evil. The truth is that love can be good and evil. Lavinello says he is not going to take sides with either Perottino or Gismondo, but will try to show them the error of their ways. He then proceeds to prove that love and desire are one and the same thing. All desires are either natural or voluntary: natural, like the love of life, voluntary, like those

which arise in us at the bidding of our wills; and these desires increase and diminish as we will. These desires were implanted in us not by chance but by Providence, so that the race might be perpetuated. Reason was added to men and free will so that we can desire or not as seems best to us. Hence in our natural desires we all desire in the same way as the animals; in other desires one loves one thing, another another. Natural desires are all good, the others good or bad as are their ends. Of this kind of desires is that of which Gismondo reasoned, and which is usually called love. Hence it is good or bad according to the end which is given to it by our will. The early definers say that good love is nothing but the desire for beauty; all besides this is evil love.

Here Lavinello paused and the queen asked him to introduce some poetry as his predecessors had done; and he recites three canzoni. When he resumes he describes his meeting with a hermit early that same morning. It seems that the hermit had dreamed of Lavinello and of the dispute of the previous days, and that Lavinello had come to him and demanded his opinion of Love. This the hermit proceeded to give: Love and desire are not one thing as Lavinello has said, and it is necessary to see what in us is love, or rather what part of us is love, in order to prove that it is not desire. The intellectual portion of the mind is divided into three parts: the intellect, the understanding, and truth, which arises from the first two. There are likewise three parts to the will-division of the mind: the will, volition, and what arises from these two. He then shows that love cannot be desire; but granted that it is, he asks Lavinello why if love can be good or evil according to its end, lovers sometimes devote themselves to bad and evil objects. Lavinello replies that it depends on following reason, and men who do not follow their reason are compared with the brutes who have none. Finally, the hermit declares that good love is the desire of true beauty, and true beauty is not human and mortal, but divine and immortal. This then should be the object of our desires.

Then follows the Apologue of the Queen of the Fortunate Islands, who throws her suitors into a sleep and treats them according to their dreams: those who have dreamed of the chase she dismisses to live with their beasts, those who dream of merchandise she makes merchants, but those who have dreamed

of her she keeps in her court amid music and song and rejoicings to discourse with her. The hermit applies this apologue to Perottino and Gismondo. The work ends with an impassioned eulogy of the beauties of the seen and unseen worlds, and the conclusion that good love is that which we can enjoy eternally, and evil love is the other which condemns us to eternal sorrow.¹⁷

Such was the singular work which made, as I have already said, Platonic love fashionable in Italy and furnished an interminable subject for social discussion. Bembo will himself appear later as the enthusiastic defender of this subtle and spiritual love in the famous book of Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*. In the remaining chapters of the present work we shall see the great rôle played by love in the conversations of the cultivated classes, but for the purpose of completeness it may be well to refer briefly here to some other works on love which had an influence on Italian society.

The first which I shall mention is the treatise on the nature of love, *Della natura d'amore*, by Mario Equicola, the Italian historian and philosopher, born about 1460 at Alveto, a town of the Equicoli, from which he took his name. He studied law at Naples and afterwards became attached to various princes, among others to the Duke of Ferrara, either Alfonso I, or Ercole I; in the latter case it is supposed that he was at the court of Ferrara in 1490 when Isabel of Este married Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and that he followed her to her new principality. Bandello mentions him in one of his stories (I, 30), and says, "As you all know he is one of those men of whom all courts should be full, because besides being a storehouse of letters, and reared since his childhood in many courts, he is a most pleasant companion, witty, amusing, quick, eloquent, and one of those

¹⁷ Rossi in the article above cited says that the design of *Gli Asolani* is evidently taken from Boccaccio's *Ameto*. The sources of Gismondo's arguments are the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* of Plato. Rossi also mentions a few classical reminiscences. *Gli Asolani* was very popular outside of Italy, at least in France, where there are a number of sixteenth century translations; one by Jan Martin ran through several editions: Paris, 1545, 8vo, 1547, 8vo, 1553, 16mo, 1576, 16mo. I do not find any English translation. Brunet cites a Spanish translation, Salamanca, 1551, 12mo. The most recent and best work on *Gli Asolani* of Bembo is to be found in Lorenzo Savino, *Di alcuni trattati e trattatisti d'amore italiani della metà del secolo XVI* (Bembo, Castiglione, M. Equicola, L. Ebreo, G. Betussi, Tullia d'Aragona), in *Studi di Letteratura italiana*, Vol. IX, pp. 233-333. For Bembo's relations to Isabella d'Este see Luzio-Renier, "La Coltura, etc." in *Giornale storico*, XXXVII (1901), pp. 201 et seq.

who never allow the company to grow weary with their merry speeches."

Equicola is best known by his *History of Mantua* and the book above mentioned, which he published at Venice in 1525. He wrote it in his youth in Latin and afterwards translated it himself into Italian. It has often been reprinted in Italy, and was translated into French by Gabriel Chappuys, Paris, 1584.¹⁸ This work is interesting as being the first modern treatise on love, and also for its plan. It professes to give a history of love from the works of Italian writers from Guittone d'Arezzo down, and includes one famous French author, Jean de Meung, the composer of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*. It is characteristic of the superior refinement of Italy at this time that Mario Equicola rebukes the French writer for his treatment of woman in his poem. A detailed analysis is given of the views of the above mentioned writers on the subject of love, and in a later chapter the Greek and Latin poets are examined together with the poets of Provence, France, and Spain, not omitting reference to the poetical school of Toulouse. The rest of the book is devoted to Love and the various matters connected with this subject, e.g. the origin of the affections, definition of love, various kinds of love, power of love, jealousy, signs of love, why lovers are pale, tearful, and sleepless, etc. Copious extracts are given from the authorities cited, and the book must have been a perfect storehouse of quotations in fashionable circles.^{18a}

¹⁸ Paris, 1584, 8vo, 1589, 12mo, Lyon, 1597, 12mo. The edition I have used is Venice, Pietro di Nicolini da Sabbio, 1536, 16mo. The best work on Equicola's *Natura de Amore* is in the work of Savino cited in note 17, Vol. X, pp. 1-101. For Equicola see P. Rajna in *Giornale storico*, LXVII, pp. 360-375, "Per chi studia l'Equicola." The article is largely concerned with the form of the name. Rajna concludes that the usual form, Equicola, is the correct one. See also a brief "Nota su M. Equicolo bibliofilo e cortegiano," in *Giornale storico*, LXVI, pp. 281-283, by G. Bertoni. A fuller account of Equicola may be found in Francesco Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, pp. 377-379, 567. For Equicola's relations to Isabella d'Este and the court of Mantua see Luzio-Renier, "Coltura e relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este" in *Giornale storico*, XXXIV (1899), pp. 1 et seq. For Equicola see R. Renier in the *Giornale storico*, Vol. XIV, pp. 212-233, "Per la cronologia e la composizione del libro de Natura di Amore di Mario Equicola," and the same periodical, Vol. XV, pp. 402-413, "Appunti su Mario Equicola," by Domenico Santoro.

^{18a} Cian in his edition of the *Cortegiano*, Florence, 1894, p. 19, says that "questions" abound in Equicola. This is a mistake. Among the works cited by Equicola is one by Gian Giacomo Calandra entitled *Aura*, which has now disappeared. Equicola, *op. cit.*, vol. 38, says that Calandra's work contains seventy doubts concerning love, and cites the following: Which is the greater difficulty, to feign love, or loving to pretend not to love? Which woman pleases the more, one who is fair but silly, or one deformed, but clever?

More extensive and scientific is the *Dialoghi di Amore* by a Spanish Jew, Leon Abravanel by name, but generally known as Leone Hebreo. He was the son of Isaac Abravanel, the famous Rabbinical scholar, and was born in the kingdom of Castile in the fifteenth century. The father fled with his children to Naples after the fall of Granada in 1492, and thence to Sicily. Leon went to Genoa, where he practiced medicine and was converted to Christianity. His work on Love was first printed at Rome in 1535, and later in a number of editions by Aldus.¹⁹ It was twice translated into French, and there are three Spanish translations.

The work, as the title indicates, consists of dialogues, three in number, between Philone and Sophia, on the nature, universality, and origin of Love. So far as I can judge the book is largely a résumé of the doctrines of Plato on this subject, with wearisome explanations of the allegories concealed in the myths of the Greeks and Romans. The work could never have been

Can love be without jealousy? Which is the greater power of love, to make the wise foolish, or the foolish wise? Can a lover die from excessive love? Which is the more constant by nature, man or woman? Would the world be better or worse without love? Can one fall in love with a woman by hearsay? Which is the greater incentive to virtue, honor or the desire of pleasing the beloved? Which woman loves the more, the timid or the bold? Which is the more difficult to gain a lady's favor, or to preserve it? Which is the more easily persuaded that he or she is loved, a man or a woman? Which is the greatest proof for a woman that she is loved, besides perseverance? Which is the more powerful passion, love or hatred? Can an inflexible mind be bent by magic? Can a miser love?

¹⁹ 1541; 1545; 1549; 1552; 1558, sm. 8vo. Brunet mentions two French translations: one by Den. Sauvage, Lyon, 1551, 1559, 1595, Paris, 1577; and one by Ponthus de Tyard, the member of the famous Pléiade, Lyon, 1581. For the Spanish translations see Chapter VIII, note 3. There is also an important "Notice sur Léon Hébreu" in S. Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris, 1859, Appendice, No. 4, pp. 522-528. A brief notice may be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VII (1904), p. 683, under Leo Hebræus (Abravanel, Judah). For Leone's influence in Spain see Chapter VIII, note 3. The Spanish translation by Garcilasso Inca de la Vega (Madrid, 1590), is reprinted by Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Orígenes de la Novela*, Vol. IV, pp. 278-459. The *Dialoghi di Amore* is the subject of a very thorough and interesting examination in the work of Savino so often cited in this chapter; see notes 17, 18, Vol. X, pp. 192-163. An account of the Abravanel family may be found in G. B. de Rossi, *Dizionario storico degli autori ebrei e delle loro opere*, Parma, 1802, 2 vols. See also a very thorough monograph by B. Zimmels, *Leo Hebræus, ein jüdischer Philosoph der Renaissance; sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Lehren*, Leipzig, 1886, of which a review by M. Steinschneider appeared in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Literatur der Renaissance*, II, pp. 290-296. A bibliography of the *Dialoghi di Amore* is given by Zimmels, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42. There is now a second edition of Zimmel's book, *Leone Hebreo, Neue Studien*, Wien, 1892, which I have not been able to see. The edition which I have used is: Venice, 1591, In casa de figliuoli di Aldo, sm. 8vo, and is not mentioned by Zimmels.

popular in Italian society, and it is not easy to account for the many editions in which it was printed except on the ground that the Platonic conception of love continued to be fashionable throughout the century.

The *Trattato dell'Amore Humano* by Flaminio Nobili is chiefly interesting from the use made of it by Tasso, as will be related presently. The author was born at Lucca in 1533 and studied medicine and philosophy, occupying later a chair of logic and ecclesiastical law in the University of Pisa. He spent three years (1554-57) at Ferrara and then returned to Pisa. He died at Lucca in 1591. Besides the work in question he was one of the authors of the Latin translation of the Septuagint published at Rome in 1587, and was also engaged on the famous edition of the Vulgate published in 1590 under the auspices of Sixtus V.

Nobili's treatise, first printed in 1567 at Lucca,^{19a} is a philosophical disquisition on Love, in which are examined such topics as: Love springs from Beauty; the Nature of Beauty; Love is desire of Beauty as well as of mutual Love; how the intellect can be united with sense, and how many kinds of human love there are; whether Love can exist without hope; whether Love arises from choice or fate; whether we can free ourselves from Love, and the methods of so doing, such as absence and other remedies; whether Love is good or evil; of the lover's duty, and how to know whether one is loved; and, finally, whether it is more perfect to love or to be loved.

The work rests on Aristotle and Plato, and is enlivened by illustrations from the Italian poets as well as from classical sources. It does not possess, however, any striking originality and does not seem to have won in Italy or abroad the popularity of the works of Leon Hebreo or Equicola.^{19b}

^{19a} This is the edition reprinted under the title: *Il Trattato dell'Amore Humano di Flaminio Nobili con le postille autografe di Torquato Tasso pubblicato da Pier Desiderio Pasolini in occasione del Terzo Centenario della morte del poeta*. Roma, 1895. Facsimiles are given of title page, first page of dedication, and one with Tasso's notes. I have also seen an edition of 1580, 4to, "stampato in Bologna per Pellegrino Bonardo," which contains, besides the *Trattato*, *Discorsi sopra le più importanti Questioni nella materia dell'Honore, del Sig. Flaminio Nobili*, ff. 1-27.

^{19b} Rosi, *op. cit.*, p. 65, cites the *Discorsi di M. Francesco de' Vieri detto il Verino secondo cittadino Fiorentino*, Firenze appresso G. Marescotti, 1586. I have not seen this work, but I have examined another work by the same author: *Lezzione di M. Francisco de' Vieri Fiorentino, detto il Verino secondo. Per recitarla nell'Accademia Fiorentina nel consolato di M. Federigo Strozzi*

The works just mentioned were learned treatises although they undoubtedly contributed to foster the fondness for discussions on the subject of love in polite society. There are several other works, however, which will serve as a transition to the fashionable conversations of the day, in which, as in the seventeenth century in France, love in the form of gallantry bore so large a part. It is significant that these works are all in the form of dialogues. It is possible that this form is the result of the Renaissance and is an imitation of a form popular in classical literature, but I am inclined to think that it is largely due to the passion for conversation, which is one of the most distinctive marks of Italian society in the sixteenth and of French society in the seventeenth century.²⁰

Tasso's fame as a poet has obscured his prose works, and few now read his noble *Dialogues*, to many of which a pathetic interest attaches as they were composed in the cell at the Hospital of St. Anne. The poet cultivated carefully the dialogue form and wrote a discourse upon it.^{20a} Love is frequently discussed as an incidental topic in his *Dialogues*, and four of them deal

l'anno 1580. Dove si ragiona delle Idee et delle Bellezze. Fiorenza appresso G. Marescotti, 1581, 8vo, pp. 39, 69. The dialogue on "Idee et delle Bellezze" extends to p. 39, and is followed by "Discorso della grandezza et felice fortuna d'una gentilissima et graziosa donna, qual fu M. Laura." Fiorenza appresso G. Marescotti, 1581, pp. 1-69. The beauty treated of in the first part is Laura's, and the whole work is merely a brief treatise on Platonic love of little value or interest.

The most extensive treatise on Love in Italian, or indeed in any language, is by G. B. Manso, who has been frequently mentioned as the friend and biographer of Tasso, and bears the title: *Erocallia ovvero dell'Amore e della Bellezza. Dialoghi XII. Di Gio. Battista Manso, Marchese della Villa, Con gli Argomenti a ciascun Dialogo del Cavalier Marino, et nel fine un Trattato del Dialogo dell'istesso Autore.* In Venetia, 162-8, appresso Euang. Deuchino, 4to, pp. (30), 9-1054, 104. This extraordinary work is divided into three heads or *Quaderni*; the first treating of the four causes of love, the second, of the four kinds of beauty, which is the cause of love, and the third, of the four Paradoxes of the effects depending upon the above four reasons. The book is a huge undigested mass of pedantic quotations, philosophical arguments, etc. The Paradoxes, as we have seen, were published separately.

²⁰ The dialogue as a literary form is the subject of a recent exhaustive monograph: *Der Dialog. Ein literarhistorischer Versuch*, von R. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1895, 2 vols. The greater part of the work is devoted to classical times; that relating to Italy and France, II, pp. 385-89; 406-11, is very inadequate. Tasso was fond of this form and wrote a discourse on it: "Dell'arte del dialogo," in *Le Prose Diverse*, Florence, 1875, vol. II, p. 239. For the dialogue in Italian literature see Ginguené, vol. VII, p. 577.

^{20a} "Discorso dell'Arte del Dialogo" in *Le Prose Diverse di Torquato Tasso nuovamente raccolte ed emendate da Cesare Guasti*, Florence, 1875, Vol. II, pp. 239-249. I do not know the date of this Discourse; it was first printed in 1586, at Venice.

almost exclusively with this passion. They are: *Il cavaliere amante e la gentildonna amata*; *La Molza, o vero de l'amore*; and *Il Manso, o vero de l'amicizia*.^{20b} A fourth dialogue on this subject, *Il Cataneo, o vero de le conclusioni*, will be treated later when I come to academic discussions on Love.^{20c}

The dialogue of Tasso first mentioned, *Il cavaliere amante e la gentildonna amata*, was written in 1580,^{20d} and is a conversation between Giulia C. and Giulio M. The former, it seems, had refused to dance with the latter, alleging another engagement. As no one came to claim her hand the gentleman naturally felt that the refusal was based on some personal ground. The lady had really promised the dance to another, but he did not appear, probably to avoid arousing the jealousy of the lady he loved. This explanation leads to a discussion of Love, which Giulia defines as "the desire of beauty," and Giulio as "desire of union"; but later he modifies his definition as "desire of union for the pleasure of those who are desirous of a particular beauty." This is followed by the definition of a lover and a discussion of the question whether a wise woman should show greater favor to lovers or to those who are not lovers. Giulio maintains the latter side with great show of erudition and citations from ancient and modern poets.

In August of 1583, while the poet was a prisoner in St. Anne's Hospital, the Princess Marfisa, cousin of the Duke of Ferrara, invited him to visit her at her villa of Medelana, as the poet pathetically says "per vincere in questa parte con la sua molta cortesia la mia contraria fortuna."^{20e} The Duke's consent having

^{20b} The three Dialogues mentioned in the text may be found in *I Dialoghi di Torquato Tasso a cura di Cesare Guasti*, Florence, 1858-9, 3 volumes: Vol. II, pp. 5-22; 351; 362; III, pp. 319-359.

^{20c} There is another Dialogue on Love attributed to Tasso: *Dialogo dei Casi d'Amore di Torquato Tasso*, Turin, 1894. For this spurious production see A. Solerti, *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, Turin and Rome, 1895, Vol. III, p. 123, where the literature of the question is cited. The work is probably the production of an unknown Tuscan writer who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. The dialogue is between two friends, Cammillo and Valerio, the former of whom has just returned from a voyage to the Orient. Valerio acquaints his friend with the fact that he is in love with a lady who receives his advances with aversion, and begs his friend to tell him how he acquired so quickly and easily the favor of his beloved. Cammillo replied with a long and detailed account of his liaison with the wife of Federigo Selandi. The story is told to serve as an *Ars amatoria* for Valerio, who after his friend has concluded informs him of the present state of his affairs. The Dialogue is not properly speaking a treatise on love, but merely a *novella* in dialogue form.

^{20d} See Solerti, *Vita di Tasso*, Vol. I, p. 316, note 3.

^{20e} See Solerti, *Vita di Tasso*, Vol. I, pp. 369 *et seq.*

been obtained, Tasso went there under the charge of the Cavalière Ippolito Gianluca. With the princess were Tarquinia Molza and Ginevra Marzi. The poet's brief visit left an indelible impression on his mind, and two years later (1585) he wrote in memory of the happy time a dialogue entitled, from the lady who bears the most prominent part in it, *La Molza, o vero de l'amore*.

Although the Princess received the unfortunate poet in so kindly a manner that he might have laid aside all timidity, still, after his first words, which were very brief and simple, he did not dare to speak of anything. Signora Molza, who was seated at his right, Signora Marzi being on the other side, asked him to discourse of something. He replied that the ladies present afforded him a better occasion of speaking than any other which he had seen or heard for many years, yet the subject was beyond his powers.

Then Signora Molza or the Princess begged him to give some new definition of Love, and a seat was placed for him opposite the ladies. He reluctantly accepted it, as some ladies were still standing, and began to excuse himself from giving a new definition of Love, as he was himself an old lover, grown old not in love, but in troubles. He would make an effort, however, to recall his past thoughts on the subject and would begin with a review of the definitions of Love from the time of the ancients down to Bembo. These may be reduced to six, which he briefly discusses, and then propounds his own view, viz., that Love is repose.

Signora Ginevra exclaims: "Love is in repose. Who ever were more restless than lovers?" Tasso explains his meaning more fully and expands his definition, that Love is repose in what is pleasing rather than a movement towards that which is pleasing, as some have said. Signora Ginevra asks where the seat of Love is, and the poet answers that it is in the heart. In conclusion he dwells briefly on some of the qualities of Love.

In 1592 Tasso visited Naples and there enjoyed the hospitality and friendship of Giovanni Battista Manso, afterwards his biographer, who later (1638) welcomed to the same abode John Milton. While there Tasso made the sketch of a dialogue, which he completed a few months later at Rome and sent to his friend in March, 1593.²⁰⁷ The Dialogue is called *Il Manso, o vero de l'amicizia*, and the interlocutors are Manso, his brother-

²⁰⁷ See Solerti, *Vita di Tasso*, Vol. I, p. 724.

in-law, Don Scipione Belprato, and the poet under the name of "A Neapolitan Stranger." Tasso says he once found Manso and Belprato together, the former with the works of Plutarch before him. The poet was about to withdraw in order not to interrupt the reading, but Manso begged him to remain, "for there is no better way to remember what one reads than to converse about it," and he adds that Tasso's conversation "will be, as it were, a new reading." In answer to the question of what he is reading, he says it is of the difference between friend and flatterer, and how one may be known from the other.

The dialogue which ensues turns on the characteristics of friendship, and insensibly leads to a comparison of friendship with love. There are three kinds of friends as well as three kinds of love: love of the good (*onesto*), love of pleasure, and love of utility. "This difference, however, exists between love and friendship: love resembles affection, friendship, habit; love extends to inanimate things which cannot love in return; whereas of friends, one loves the other by choice, but choice arises from habit."

Then follows the oft repeated discussion whether Love springs from choice; and the conversation takes the turn of the usual Platonic dialogues, with frequent reference to the views of Aristotle, and the time-honored illustrations from ancient history. Manso concludes with a fervid praise of friendship, which Tasso says cannot be honored better than by good works, and prays that it may so be honored and commended by them at all times and in all places.²⁰⁰

The first of the other dialogues which I shall mention is by Sperone Speroni, a famous essayist, poet, dramatist, and orator. After the classical pedants of the early Renaissance came a long line of scholars devoting themselves to their own language and literature: Bembo and Speroni are good examples of these. The latter was born at Padua in 1500, and studied at Bologna. He received the chair of philosophy in the university of his native city, but was soon obliged to relinquish it on account of domestic affairs. He represented the Duke of Urbino at Rome for four years, and later spent five years in the same city. Otherwise his long life (he died in 1588) was passed at Padua, where he won

²⁰⁰ The subject of Love is also treated in Tasso's *Considerations on the three Canzoni* of M. Giov. Battista Pigna entitled *The Three Sisters*: see *Le Prose Diverse*, Vol. II, p. 77, and Solerti, *Vita di Tasso*, Vol. I, p. 170.

great fame as a writer and public speaker.²¹ His dialogues cover a wide range of subjects, from the first on Love, to the twentieth on Imitation. There are, between these, dialogues on the Dignity of Woman, Care of the Family, Discord, Usury, Languages, Rhetoric, Virgil, History, Fortune, etc. He also wrote an elaborate apology for his dialogues in four parts. It is with the first dialogue on Love that we now have to do.²²

The interlocutors are Tullia d'Aragona, of whom more presently, Bernardo Tasso, the father of Torquato, Niccolo Grazia, a friend of Speroni and Tasso, and Francesco Maria Molza, novelist and poet. The last named is not properly speaking an interlocutor in the dialogue in question, but is quoted at great length by Tullia. Speroni says in his Apology²³ that he wrote his dialogue on love in 1528, without indicating the scene or mentioning the names of the speakers, which were inserted later. The dialogue turns on the approaching departure of Tasso for Salerno, and the jealousy which torments both him and Tullia. Grazia declares that true love is free from jealousy, and proceeds to define perfect love as that which unites the lovers in a union so close that they become no longer themselves but a certain third person. He characterizes jealousy at length, and declares in conclusion that it is an incurable illness, a plague that infects the very air which should support life. Tasso confesses that it is an evil thing and leads the conversation back to the mysterious union of the two lovers in a third person. Tullia says, apropos of this, that love and reason cannot exist in the same mind, and is challenged by Grazia to define love. She replies that she cannot do so, but that Molza once told her that that would be a strange figure which was composed of reason and love. That love is nothing but nature, or fortune, or destiny; but that it was unreasonable to call it reason or a reasonable thing. He said that love was good of itself, coming always from heaven, although it seemed the cause of evil results. Then follows a long account by Molza of a Council of the Gods and their determination that Love should remain among them, but like the

²¹ For Speroni's works I have used the handsome edition of Venice, 1740, 5 vols., 4to. The dialogue in question is in the first volume, where it occupies pp. 1-45. For Speroni's *Dialogo d'amore* see Savino's work cited in notes 17, etc., Vol. X, pp. 276, *et seq.*

²² For this dialogue see G. Biagi, "Un' Etèra Romana" in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vol. 88 (July-Aug., 1886), pp. 655-711, esp. p. 666.

²³ *Apology* I, p. 272.

sun should send down his rays to banish the shadows from our hearts and to melt their ice.

Tullia cannot understand how a passion which springs from beauty and mortal virtue can be celestial, and Molza answers by an elaborate comparison with the sun. Tullia finally returns to the thesis that reason is the enemy of Love and hates and persecutes all his joys and ever will hate them. This Grazia denies, declaring that the same affection exists between them as between mother and child. He defines Love as the desire of that which really is good or which seems such to us. He then takes up Molza's comparison of Love to the sun, and a new comparison of his own, that of the Centaur, who was both man and brute, asking, What is human life but a mixture of feelings and reason? Then, not Love alone, but we too are centaurs; and Love is a compound not only of man and brute but of an infinite number of contraries united in him alone. It is enough for the present that he makes lovers one, giving to the parts of such a compound their due happiness.

This leads Tullia to ask, quite in the manner of the *jeux-partis*, To which is given the greater happiness, to the lover or to the beloved? A long discussion follows, in the course of which various other questions are debated, as whether Love is flattery and desire of gain; and the necessity for the lover to be separated from the beloved in order to be perfectly happy. This last thought, developed at length, leads Grazia to conclude with an impassioned appeal to Tullia not to prevent Tasso's departure.

One of the principal interlocutors in the above dialogue, Tullia d'Aragona, was herself the author of a curious composition of the same nature on *The Infinity of Love*.²⁴ The writer belonged to a class characteristic of Italian society of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. The Renaissance in its blind imitation of classical antiquity revived the Greek *hetaera*²⁵ with all her charms of mind and body.²⁶ Two of this

²⁴ For this dialogue I have used the edition in Daelli's *Biblioteca Rara*, Vol. XXIX, Milan, 1864. There is now an excellent modern edition in Zonta's *Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento in Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1912.

²⁵ Other reasons are given for the rise of this class in Italy at this time. See Canello, *Storia della letteratura italiana nel secolo XVI*, Milan, 1881, pp. 22 *et seq.*; but it seems rather due to the reason given in the text, unless it be regarded as an original evolution.

²⁶ For this subject in general see Canello just cited; A. Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, Turin, 1888, pp. 217-351, "Una cortigiana fra mille: Veronica Franco"; the article by Biagi and the book by Celani cited, the former in

class, Tullia and Veronica Franco, belong to Italian literature. The former was born in Rome towards the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century.²⁷ Her mother Giulia was a courtesan of Ferrara; her father was the Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona, whose tomb may still be seen in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. He was descended from Ferdinand I of Aragon, King of Naples, and so Tullia had royal blood in her veins. Little is known of her youth, which may have been spent in Florence and Siena. Her father died in 1519 and she returned shortly afterward to Rome where she lived until 1531. From this time until her death in 1556 we catch glimpses of her at Ferrara, Venice, Siena (where she was married in 1543), and Florence. She was carefully educated like others of her class, and played various musical instruments, as well as sang, "so sweetly," says Zilioli, "that the most eminent teachers of the art were amazed." "She spoke with unusual grace and eloquence," declares the same authority, "and charmed the mind of her hearers like a second Cleopatra." She was tall, not beautiful but attractive, with splendid eyes and golden hair. Her poetical gifts endeared her to a large circle of literary admirers, among whom were Girolamo Muzio, Bernardo Tasso, as we have already seen, Molza, Varchi, Fracastoro, and others. Her house was a resort for poets and scholars, and the dialogue we now have to examine has for interlocutors, besides Tullia herself, Benedetto Varchi, the famous historian of Florence, and a more obscure scholar, Lattanzio Benucci.

The scene of the dialogue is in Tullia's house at Florence, and the guests have been engaged in praising their hostess, "whose

note 22, the latter in the following note. See also the introduction to *Lettere di Cortigiane del Secolo XVI*, Alla Libreria Dante in Firenze, 1884. See also L. A. Ferrai, *Lorenzino de' Medici e la società cortigiana del cinquecento*, Milan, 1891; especially Chapters III and IX.

²⁷ I have used for my account of Tullia the introduction to her poetry by E. Celani, *Le Rime di Tullia d'Aragona*, Bologna, 1891, *Scelta di Curiosità letterarie*, CCXL; the article by Biagi cited above; and the life by Zilioli prefixed to the edition of the dialogue already mentioned. See also S. Bongi, "Il Velo giallo di Tullia d'Aragona" in *Rivista critica della lett. ital.*, Anno III, No. 3, Marzo, 1886, and the same author's *Documenti senesi su Tullia d'Aragona* in the same periodical, Anno IV, 1887, p. 187. The best edition of Tullia's Dialogue is now to be found in Zonta's *Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1912, in *Scrittori d'Italia*. The best work on Tullia's Dialogue is in the monograph of Savino cited in notes 17, 18, and 19, Vol. X, pp. 264-334. Both Zonta and Savino have, as well as earlier writers, expressed doubts of the complete originality of Tullia's Dialogue, some attributing a share in its composition to Varchi, others to Muzio. See the works referred to by Zonta, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

house has always been a universal and honored Academy, to which have flocked gentlemen, scholars, lords, princes, and cardinals, who have vied with each other in extolling her for the rare gifts of her noble and courteous mind." Just as the company were about to mention her admirers in Siena, Varchi enters and interrupts a conversation which was becoming embarrassing to the modesty of Tullia, who eagerly embraces an opportunity to divert it into another channel. After Tullia and the new-comer have exchanged greetings, which seem to us exaggerated, the former begs Varchi to solve a doubt which had arisen in the company, and the discussion of which had been postponed in view of his coming. The doubt was this: Is it possible to love for a limited time (*se si può amar con termino*)? A contest of wits then ensues between Tullia and Varchi as to the definition of *termino*, whether love and to love are one and the same thing, etc. Varchi then asks Tullia if one can live without eating, and why the dead do not eat; and when she answers: "Every one knows they cannot and do not need to, and in short because they are dead and not alive," Varchi replies: "You have just said yourself what you did not believe when I said it, and exactly so you must answer; for as the living cannot live without eating, so those in love cannot love for a limited time. And if one should cite examples ancient and modern of those who, being in love, have ceased to love, you must reply: So and so were alive and ate, now they are dead and no longer eat." Tullia: "I understand you. You mean that while love lasts it has no end, and when it no longer lasts, the question is not pertinent."

The discussion then wanders off to other related topics, as to whether there are those who love only to gratify their desires and when this is accomplished love no more. Varchi denies that this is so, and declares that the age has changed the names of things and given that of love which is the noblest that can be found, to almost the vilest thing there is. Tullia answers that the word is equivocal in as much as it signifies several kinds of love, two of which she proceeds to define, one *volgare* or *disonesto*, the other *virtuoso* or *onesto*. The former ceases as soon as it is satisfied, and often turns to hate. The latter is generated by reason, not by desire, and has for its object transformation into the beloved, and of the beloved into it, so that two may become one, or four. Of this kind of love Petrarch and Bembo have

written, and this transformation can take place only spiritually. As the two cannot become one because matter is impenetrable, so this love never attains its end, and therefore one cannot love for a limited time.

Varchi says that Tullia must have read Philo, whom he places above Plato. This leads to a discussion of the Socratic doctrine of love and the explanation by Tullia of why love of the baser kind often increases after its desires are satisfied. With this the dialogue proper ends; but Varchi wishes to know what other topics were under discussion before he arrived. Benucci, after thanking him for his share in the conversation, says that two other doubts or questions had been propounded earlier: some had declared that all love arises from selfishness, that whoever loves loves principally for his own interest and utility; others have denied this. The second doubt is as to which love is the more powerful, that which arises from destiny, or that which arises from one's own choice (see Chapter V, note 22). Varchi tries to excuse himself from judging these questions, but at last he says that in regard to the first doubt both sides were right; that all things do all that they do for their own preservation and maintenance. In regard to the second doubt Varchi confesses he does not understand it very well, and that it would be necessary to discuss fate and predestination, things no less lengthy and difficult than dangerous, and so he advises that the question be postponed.

One of the longest and most interesting of the dialogues in question, not the most interesting perhaps from a literary standpoint, but because it shows even more clearly than those already examined the continuity of discussion upon the subject of love from the time of the Troubadours to the sixteenth century, is also of interest as it is in a certain sense connected with Boccaccio, through its author, who was a devoted admirer of the great novelist and the translator into Italian of several of his Latin works. Giuseppe Betussi was born at Bassano about 1520. He lost his parents at an early age and removed to Venice, where he devoted himself to letters (he is supposed to have been engaged for a time in the printing office of the Gioliti), and won the friendship of the notorious Pietro Aretino. He afterwards became the secretary of Count Collaltino di Collalto, whom he accompanied to England and at whose suggestion he undertook the trans-

lation of Boccaccio's *De Genealogiis Deorum Gentilium*.²⁸ He soon left the service of the Count and led a wandering life, alternating between Venice, Florence, Mantua, Sienna, and Rome, in the vain hope of finding some permanent employment. He served several gentlemen as secretary and travelled on their business as far as Spain. The last position he seems to have filled was with Pio Obizzi at Padua, to whom he acted as historiographer of his family. He died about 1573, leaving a considerable number of works in prose and verse, among them translations of three of Boccaccio's works, the seventh book of the *Aeneid* in Italian verse, a life of Boccaccio, letters, *rime*, several dialogues, etc.

The work in question is entitled *Il Raverta*, from one of the interlocutors, Ottaviano Raverta.²⁹ The scene is laid in the house of Signora Francesca Baffa, whom Raverta finds reading the *Dialoghi di Amore* by Leone Hebreo mentioned above. She says that after reading many books on the subject she has been unable to find any general definition of love, and calls on Raverta to frame one. While Raverta is hesitating, Ludovico Domenichi enters and is informed of the discussion. Raverta, after dividing love into two classes, that of superiors to inferiors, as of God to man, and of inferiors to superiors, as of man to God, proceeds to define love as a voluntary wish (*affetto volontario*). This definition leads to a long debate, and is finally completed by the phrase "to share or partake in the thing known or deemed beautiful." The two kinds of love above mentioned are then still further subdivided and the various classes of beauty are considered. Beauty of mind is the highest, and the object of love is union with the mind of the beloved. Spiritual love is far worthier than corporal love, and thus there are two kinds of love, two kinds of beauty, and two Venuses.

²⁸ Besides the *De Genealogiis*, Betussi translated *De claris mulieribus*, and *De casibus virorum illustrium*. Materials for the life of Betussi may be found in Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, Vol. II, pp. 1100-1102; Zonta, "Note Betusiane," in *Giornale storico*, LII, pp. 321-366; and Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, p. 376. The best work on Betussi's *Raverta* is in the work of Savino cited in notes 17, 18, 19, and 27, Vol. X, pp. 164-264.

²⁹ For *Il Raverta* I have used the edition in Daelli's *Biblioteca Rara*, vol. XXX, Milan, 1864, and the one of Venice, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1562, 12mo. See Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, Rome, 1890-5, vol. I, p. 84. There is a good modern edition in Zonta's *Trattati d'Amore*, in *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1912. For the questions in *Il Raverta*, see Savino, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 219, 300.

It would take too long to follow Betussi in the Platonic subtleties which ensue, and extend to page 86 of the edition cited. More interesting are the 116 subsequent pages, which contain a large number of doubts or "questions," some of which are already familiar to the reader. I give them in the order in which they occur. Which is the greater difficulty, to pretend to love when not loving, or when loving to hide one's love (p. 86)? This is discussed at length, with a quotation from Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*, and it is decided that it is harder for a lover to conceal his love than for one to feign love. Signora Baffa (all the doubts are propounded by her) then asks, p. 92, Can a miser love? Domenichi replies that he can, but not while he is a miser. Again Signora Baffa asks, p. 94, Which loves the more, the timid or the bold?⁸⁰ The question is decided in favor of the timid. Which loves the more fervently, the man or the woman? demands Signora Baffa, p. 99. Man, replies Domenichi, because he is the more perfect being. Signora Baffa says he need not continue, for she should probably have to yield, and asks another question, p. 100, Which is the more constant, the man or the woman? Domenichi again replies as above, and history and poetry are ransacked to furnish examples for both sides. Again Signora Baffa yields, and asks, p. 109, What greater evidence than perseverance has a woman that she is loved? All agree that there is none. Can a lover die from excessive love (p. 113)? Signora Baffa defends the affirmative with a letter from Anton Francesco Doni, which contains a story to the point.

Among the large number of "questions" which follow are: Does love make the wise foolish, or the foolish wise (p. 133)? Which is the greater difficulty, to acquire the favor of the beloved, or to retain it (p. 137)? Can love exist without jealousy (p. 141)? Which deserves the more to be loved, a timid or a bold woman (p. 143)? How is it best to reveal one's love to the beloved, by letter, or by messenger, or by word of mouth, etc. (p. 144)? Which age is preferable in love (p. 150)? Which is the true way to make one's self loved (p. 156)? Is it better to show one's self kind or severe to a lover (p. 169)? Which is the more easily persuaded that he or she is loved, a man or a woman (p. 171)? Which is the greater spur to virtue, desire for honor, or wish to please the beloved (p. 173)? Can a man fall in love with

⁸⁰ This resembles the sixth question in the *Filocolo*.

a woman, or a woman with a man, by report (*fama*)³¹ (p. 176)? Which is the more powerful passion, love or hate (p. 186)? Would it be better or worse if love did not exist (p. 190)? Etc.

The above "questions" are all discussed, and Signora Baffa concurs with, or dissents from the decision of her visitors. The three hardly constitute a tribunal, as was the case when such "questions" were debated in larger companies as a form of social diversion, of which we shall see many examples in the following chapters.

Betussi is also the author of another dialogue on Love, or rather on Beauty, *La Leonora, ragionamento supra la vera bellezza*, Lucca, 1557, now accessible in the reprint in Zonta's *Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1912. The scene of this very rare work is laid near Melazzo, a small village in the mountains not far from Genoa and Savona, and the property of the Falletta family. There Betussi is the guest of Giovanni Francesco and Giovan Giorgio, brothers, the latter of whom is married to Leonora, daughter of Monsignor Della Croce. From her the dialogue takes its name. A company of distinguished gentlemen from various parts of Italy happened to meet at Melazzo on the day when Signora Leonora had planned to make an excursion to another property of hers and take dinner there. She invites the company to be her guests, and they all, with one exception, walk to the villa.

After dinner Signora Leonora says that her guests can amuse themselves as they like; only they cannot sleep. She suggests, however, that Signor Bernardo Capello propose some fine and worthy subject of conversation and expound it to them. Signor Bernardo excuses himself on the ground that the others present are all more worthy. The company wish to leave the choice of subject to Signora Leonora, and it is suggested that they continue a conversation begun a day or two before by Signora Leonora on the subject of true beauty, mortal and divine. After some desultory talk Signor Bernardo plucks a branch of laurel and weaving a garland places it upon the head of Leonora in token that she is the queen of the entertainment. She modestly accepts the honor, and the dialogue proper begins at this point.

³¹ Among the examples cited are those of Gerbino and the daughter of the King of Tunis (*Decameron*, IV, 4), and the classic example of Jaufre Rudel and the Countess of Tripoli.

She opens with the creation of man and the bestowal upon him by his creator of angelic nature. This leads to a long discussion of what the angelic nature is. Leonora explains it, and its result upon man, formed as to his body from the dust.

Gradually the conversation turns on a comparison of earthly and divine beauty, and the kind of love which should be given to each. Betussi remarks that it seems to him that from beauty they have come to discuss (*questionar*) Love, and Leonora replies that this is not inappropriate, since Love is born of Beauty.

We cannot follow the conversation in detail. The examples of many noble and beautiful ladies are cited, and the means (education, etc.) to attain true beauty. The dialogue ends with an eloquent outburst on the part of Leonora, in which she compares the two beauties of the body and the mind: "Eccovi adunque quanto sia misteriosa la vera bellezza nostra, la quale dobbiamo cercare d'acquistare di maniera che del corpo poco o nulla curiamo."

Betussi was also the author of another dialogue on Love, now become very rare: *Dialogo amoroso di Messer Giuseppe Betussi*. In Venetia, al Segno del Pozzo, 1543, 12mo.^{31a} The interlocutors are Madonna Francesca, Pigna, and Sansovino, and the conversation turns on the case of Pigna, who is in love and is not sure that he is loved in return. There is no formal treatise on Love, but merely pleasant talk interspersed with sonnets and anecdotes on Pigna's particular case.

A work of a nature similar to Betussi's *Il Raverta* is the *Dialogue on Love* by Lodovico Domenichi in his *Dialoghi*, Venice, Appresso Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari, 1562, 12mo. The author, famous for his quarrel with Doni, was born at Piacenza and spent his life chiefly at Florence, where he produced a large number of translations and miscellaneous literary works. He died at Pisa in 1564.

The speakers in the dialogue in question are Signora Silvia Boiarda, Signora Battista Varana, Count Hercole Rangone, and Messer Gherardo Spini. The scene is laid at Modena in 1560, through which place Signora Silvia and Signora Battista were passing on their way to Parma. They were welcomed by Signora Lucia Bertana to her house, and at supper met the gentlemen

^{31a} I have used the copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Turin. There is a copy in the British Museum.

named in the dialogue. After the meal the company sat around the fire, and the customary compliments to the ladies led the conversation to the subject of love. They had not talked long when Signora Battista propounded to the Count the following question: Since all women when they are loved are constrained to love in return, do those who are homely desire to be loved more than the fair? The Count, after the discussion on this point is finished, asks Messer Gherardo Spini whether a beautiful woman is naturally more virtuous than a homely one. Spini declares that she is not, and the Count defends the opposite view. Signora Lucia interrupts the dispute by asking: Which is believed to be loved the more easily, a homely or a beautiful woman?

In order to prolong the conversation Signora Lucia proposes her question: Can a man fall in love with a woman whom he has neither seen nor heard?^{31b} The classic example of Geoffrey Rudel is cited together with instances from Boccaccio. Messer Gherardo then asks: Which incites and inflames us the more to virtue, honor or the desire to please the beloved? The Count reminds the company that although they have discussed Love and his effects, no definition of Love has yet been given, and he asks: What is Love? The usual definitions are then given according to Plato. Signora Lucia, "to give more pleasing material for conversation," asks: Why do lovers so eagerly desire to be loved in return? This is followed by the related questions: What are the tokens by which one knows that he is loved in return? and, What are the signs of a true lover?

Signora Lucia to give the Count a little rest inquires: Why do lovers so earnestly entreat that the heart which has been taken from them should be restored? The last question is propounded by the Count: Why do we so often allow ourselves to be carried away by our desires to love what there is no hope of ever attaining? This is illustrated by the examples of Ricciardetto in Ariosto and of Boccaccio himself with Fiammetta. At this point the Count takes his leave and the company breaks up.^{31c}

Among the many other Dialogues on Love may first be mentioned a brief one by Francesco Sansovino, who was born in

^{31b} This question forms the subject of Ridolfi's *Aretafila*, to be mentioned presently, and the same topic recurs frequently in these pages.

^{31c} The same work contains a lengthy *Dialogue on the Remedies for Love*, and Love forms also to a greater or less extent the subject of two other dialogues, those on *Fraternal Love* and *Devices for War and Love*.

Rome in 1521 and carefully educated for the law by his father. Francesco, however, had an irresistible inclination for literature and abandoned his legal studies at Padua to become a corrector for the Giolito press at Venice, where he later set up as a printer on his own account. He was a most prolific writer, translator, and compiler, and his collections of letters, satires, and novels enjoyed great popularity. He died at Venice in 1586.

The Dialogue in question is entitled: *Ragionamento di M. Fran. Sansovino, nel quale brevemente s'insegna a giovani huomini la bella arte d'Amore*. Mantova, 1545, 12mo, 16 ff.^{31d} There are two interlocutors, Panfilo and Silio, and the dialogue opens with a discussion of the question whether the old should love, which Panfilo denies, avowing very frankly that the love under consideration is earthly love (*amor terreno*). Old age is defined as fifty or over, and youth in woman is by some considered as between fourteen and eighteen, although Panfilo thinks a woman of twenty-five is more worthy of being loved than a girl of the former age.

Silio then propounds the oft-debated question whether the beloved should be a widow, wife, nun, or maid. Panfilo prefers the second, and gives elaborate reasons why maidens should be avoided. Then follows the praise of married women, who are blamed if they take too young a lover. Silio asks what the proper age is, and Panfilo replies that he should not be younger than Silio, who is twenty-four.

Certain classes are not suited for love; such are merchants, those whose minds are devoted to the acquisition of wealth, the effeminate, and ecclesiastics. The proper lover and beloved are then described, and Panfilo gives directions for love-making after the suitable object has been found. These include instructions for conversation, places of meeting (at church, banquets, plays, and jousts), and dress.

Panfilo sums up his rules as follows: "Silio, this is the general rule, that when you love you should be careful not to offend your lady in anything, and that will be avoided if you live in the proper way (*regolato*) in regard to dress, friendship, manners,

^{31d} I have used my own copy of this edition, the only one I have seen. The book is apparently very rare, no copy being in the British Museum. The work is dedicated to the famous poet Madonna Gasparina Stampa in a letter dated Venice, 1545. There is now a reprint in Zonta's *Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento*, in *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1912.

words, conversation, and amusements." These things Panfilo then explains in detail and concludes by declaring that all that has been said might be condensed into a few words, by observing which one would become a complete and perfect lover. These words are: "Ama e sarai amato," "Love and you will be loved."

Another brief dialogue on Platonic love is *Dialogo d'Amore detto Anthos, secondo la mente di Platone. Composto da M. Nicolo Vito di Gozze, gentilhuomo Ragugeo. Nuovamente posto in luce*. In Venetia appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1581, 4to.^{31e} The interlocutors are Fiore Zuzori and Maria Gondola. The dialogue itself displays no originality, but deals with the usual questions concerning the nature of Love, etc., which are explained by the philosophy of Plato. Another and similar Dialogue on Beauty by the same author will be mentioned later.^{31f}

In addition to the independent dialogues mentioned above discussions on the nature of love are found in dialogue form in many other works, such as the *Cortegiano* already cited and Romei's *Discorsi*, which are fully treated in Chapter V.

Another interesting dialogue by an otherwise unknown writer of Piacenza, Bartolomeo Gottifredi, entitled *Specchio d'Amore*, preserved in a single very rare edition of Florence, 1547, has recently been made accessible by Zonta in his *Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento in Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1912. The dialogue, in two parts, is between a confidential servant, Coppina, and her mistress' daughter, Maddalena, and constitutes a complete *Ars amandi*. Love is defined, its objects described, and Maddalena is instructed in the art of winning a lover, and the means of receiving him secretly into her house. The servant is an Italian Celestina and her frank immorality and the unhesitating ac-

^{31e} See M. Rosi, *Saggio sui Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento*, Recanati, 1889, p. 63.

^{31f} Among the Dialogues on Love current in the sixteenth century was one attributed to Boccaccio: *Regole bellissime d'Amore in modo di dialogo di M. Giovanni Boccaccio. Interlocutori il signor Alcibiade et Filaterio giovane. Tradotte di Latino in volgare da M. Angelo Ambrosini*. Stampato in Venetia, 1561. The Latin original has never been found and the work is merely a version of the *De Amore* by Andreas Capellanus, which is fully discussed in Chapter I of the present work. For the dialogue attributed to Boccaccio, see Attilio Hortis, *Studj sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 878-885, and Diez, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der romantischen Poesie, Erstes Heft*, Berlin, 1825, "Über die Minnehöfe," p. 77. Diez, on the authority of Crescimbeni, *L'Historia della volgar poesia*, Venice, 1731, Vol. II, p. 90, says that there was an earlier Italian translation of Andreas Capellanus made in 1408, but does not mention whether there is any relation between this and the work attributed to Boccaccio.

ceptance of her lessons by her pupil throw a flood of light upon a side of social life reflected in the novels of the period.

Next to the subject of Love the most common topic of discussion in the sixteenth century was Beauty. This naturally grew out of the Platonic definition of Love, which was, the desire of beauty. It was necessary to define beauty, and this gave rise to an interminable literature. From a very early date an ideal of female beauty existed in the minds of painters and poets, and it is characteristic of the Renaissance in Italy that this subject was discussed in the most careful manner. For the whole question see J. Houdoy, *La beauté des femmes dans la littérature et dans l'art du XIIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1876. The mediæval period is more fully treated by R. Renier in *Il tipo estetico della donna nel medio evo*, Ancona, 1885, of which an excellent review by A. Borgognoni may be found in the *Nuova Antologia*, vol. 83, p. 593. A still more limited period and subject is treated in *Les femmes blondes selon les peintres de l'école de Venise par deux Vénitiens*, Paris, 1865. The "two Venetians" are the French scholars A. Baschet and Feuillet de Conches. Besides the work of Niphus, *De Pulchro*, analyzed by Houdoy in the book cited above, the sixteenth century possessed several elaborate treatises on the subject of which we may mention the following. Agnolo Firenzuola, who has already occupied our attention in the third chapter of this book, is the author of a work entitled *Delle Bellezze delle Donne discorsi due* (*Le Opere di Agnolo Firenzuola ridotte a miglior lezione e corredate di note da B. Bianchi*, Florence, 1484, Vol. I, pp. 239-305). In the form of a dialogue he gives a minute analysis of woman's beauty with diagrams to illustrate his meaning. He confines himself exclusively to outward beauty and does not discuss moral beauty. Nothing is known of the life of Federigo Luigini, whose book *Il libro della bella donna* was first printed by a friend of the author in 1554. I have used the edition in Daelli's *Biblioteca Rara*, Vol. XXIII, Milan, 1863. This work is also in dialogue form, and is supposed to have occurred in a dream. The vision has no importance, and the scene of the work is at a villa where the friends meet and discuss the subject of woman's beauty. The description of the outward woman occupies two books, while the third is taken up with the description of the inward woman.

Tasso, who in his *Dialogues* discussed so many topics of in-

terest to the sixteenth century, also treated Beauty in the Dialogue, *Il Minturno o vero de la Bellezza*, composed probably in 1594 (*Dialoghi*, ed. Guasti, Vol. III, pp. 549-573). The interlocutors are Antonio Minturno, Bishop of Ugento, famous for his poetry and learning, and Girolamo Ruscelli, Abbot of Monte Cassino. The dialogue is a close imitation of the *Hippias Major* attributed to Plato, and is an additional proof of Tasso's study of that philosopher and of the popularity of the Platonic philosophy in the sixteenth century.

I have examined several other treatises on Beauty which may be briefly mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Nicolo Vito di Gozze, *Dialogo della Bellezza detto Anthos, secondo la mente di Platone*, In Venetia appresso Francesco Ziletti, 1571, 4to. The dialogue takes place in a garden between Fiore Zuzori and Maria Gondola, and is dedicated to Signora Nika Zuzori in Ancona. It is the usual treatise in the Platonic style on Beauty and is of no particular interest. The author has already been mentioned in Chapter III as the composer of a work on Love; see also Rosi, *Saggio*, p. 63.

The *Lezzione di M. Francesco de' Vieri, Fiorentino, detto il Verino Secondo* has already been cited in Chapter III, Note 19, as containing a dialogue on *Idee et delle Bellezze*.^{31a}

Another more interesting and influential figure in the sixteenth century who deserves mention here is Nicolò Franco, born at Benevento in 1515 and hanged at Rome in 1570.^{31b} He led the usual stormy life of the impecunious writer of the sixteenth

^{31a} For works on Beauty see the present work, Chap. III, note 6, Chap. XIII, note 4.

^{31b} Materials for the life of Franco may now be found in *Studi di letteratura italiana*, Rome 1915, Vol. XI, pp. 61-154, "Nicolò Franco. Biografia con documenti inediti," by Giuseppe De Michiele. In an appendix of unpublished documents are given a number of Franco's letters, the famous pasquinade alluded to above, and an official report of Franco's execution, which took place on the bridge of St. Angelo at Rome. The report expressly states that Franco was not charged with heresy. A very readable general account of Franco's life is: *Nicolò Franco: La vita e le opere*, Rome, 1894, by Carlo Simiani. Sufficient analyses are given of all the works and a good bibliography. A long bibliographical note may be found in S. Bonghi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, Rome, 1890, Fasc. I, pp. 10-22. My copy of the *Dialogo delle Bellezze* is the second edition. I have seen in the Bib. Nat., Paris, a French translation of Franco's *Dialogi Piacevoli: Dix Plaisans Dialogues du S. Nicolo Franco. Traduits d'Italien au François*. A Lyon. Par Jean Beraud, 1579. The translator was Gabriel Chappuys. I do not know of any other translations of Franco's works.

I have not been able to see Giuseppe De Michele's *Il Dialogo delle Bellezze di Nicolò Franco*, Arpino, 1912; but from a brief review in the *Giornale storico*, LXI (1913), p. 150, I learn that De Michele asserts that Franco's *Dialogo*

century, sojourning at Naples, Venice, Casale Monferrato, Mantua, and Rome. At Venice he enjoyed for a time the patronage and friendship of the notorious Pietro Aretino, but a venomous quarrel between them soon broke out and lasted through Franco's life. It was his unbridled license of tongue and pen which finally led to his destruction. His lampoons on Pope Paul IV and his obscene poetry led to a long imprisonment at Rome in 1557-1559. Under Pius IV Franco enjoyed the favor of the papal court and for a few years led a happy life.

He had, however, been involved in the persecution of the Carafas and was the author of an especially vile pasquinade on the Cardinal Carlo Carafa. When Pius V came to the throne he reviewed the trial of the Carafas and pronounced them innocent. The authors of their condemnation were punished and among them Franco for the pasquinade mentioned above.

Franco was the author of letters, dialogues, a romance (*Philena*), and poetry. We are concerned here only with the *Dialogo delle Bellezze*, which exists in two editions of the same year, 1542, printed at Casale di Monferrato and Venice, in quarto and octavo respectively. The dialogue, in two parts, is dedicated to Maria Davala Aragona, wife of the Marchese del Vasto, and the scene is at Casale in the house of the illustrious Signora Buona Soarda da San Giorgio. Her niece, Violante Provana, had been recently married to Vespasiano Bobba, a gentleman of Casale, and all the distinguished people of the city were gathered at Signora Buona's. The conversation naturally turned on the beautiful and good, between which there is no difference, and soon passed to the consideration of physical beauty. First, the body as a whole is examined and the proper proportion of the parts (fol. 24); then such things as the hair (fol. 32), eyes (fol. 35), cheeks, lips, hands, etc., are minutely considered. Many examples of the views advanced are quoted from mythology and ancient history, as well as from ladies still living (ff. 52-88), whose beauties are described in great detail. The first book closes with enthusiastic praises of the manly beauty of Alfonso Davalos, governor of Milan, and of the "invittissimo" Charles the Fifth.

delle Bellezze is plagiarized from Mario Equicola's *Natura de Amore*, sometimes literally, sometimes in the idea, "solo qua e la allargandolo ed accionciandolo ai suoi scopi."

The second and shorter part (ff. 76-99) is the usual exposition of the doctrine of Platonic love, beginning with an exalted apostrophe to Beauty by one of the guests, Cinisco, and ending with the praise of the Virgin, an example of the highest and purest Beauty.

The works which I have examined above constitute but a small part of the literature of the subject.³² It is impossible even to enumerate the others. It may seem to many that I have already devoted a disproportionately large space to this topic; when, however, we consider that modern society had its rise in gallantry, and that until the French Revolution it was still the most prominent characteristic of polite society, I shall not appear to have exaggerated this side of my subject. Thus far the whole matter has been treated from a theoretical and literary standpoint; the remainder of this work will show the rôle which Love actually played in Italian society of the sixteenth century.³³

Before passing, however, to this phase of my subject, it may be well for the sake of completeness to examine another use of "questions," also literary and theoretical, although more or less connected with the employment of questions as a social diversion. I refer to the part played by "questions" in the academic life of this period. We have already seen the great literary importance of the Platonic Academy of Florence, which was a type of the academies founded in the fifteenth century. Nothing is more characteristic of the Italian Renaissance than

³² A number of treatises on Love are collected and published in the sixth volume of Daelli's *Biblioteca Rara*, Milan, 1863, under the title: *Mescolanze d'Amore, ovvero raccolta di scritti amoriosi* di Plotino, Leon Battista Alberti, Stefano Guazzo e Melchior Cesarotti. The writings are: *Ragionamento d'amore tratto dall'Enneade terza di Plotino e tradotto da Anton Maria Salvini*; *Ecatomfila che ne insegna l'ingegnosa arte d'amore* di Leon Battista Alberti; *Deifira che ne mostra fuggire il mal principiato amore dello stesso*; *Dell'onore delle donne, dialogo* di Stefano Guazzo; *Callista e Filetore, frammento d'una novella greca tradotto da Melchior Cesarotti*. All except the last belong to the sixteenth century. For a bibliography of this subject containing an account of fifty-nine works of the sixteenth century on Woman and Love, see the *Giornale storico*, Vol. XXVII (1896), pp. 372-390, G. Rossi, "La collezione Giordani della biblioteca comunale di Bologna." Rossi has selected and described fifty-nine works of the sixteenth century; among the authors represented are some who have already been treated in these pages: L. B. Alberti, Betussi, Cattani, L. Hebreo, Vito di Gozze, L. Dolce, Tullia d'Aragona, Tasso, L. Domenichi, Equicola, and Flaminio Nobili.

³³ I have of course to draw my materials from books, but many of them, like the prefaces to Bandello's novels, which I shall cite later, give an account of actual occurrences; others, while fictitious in form, present undoubtedly a true picture of real society.

the enormous number of academies which sprang into existence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which, after exerting a powerful influence upon the life and literature of Italy, served as a model for similar institutions in France and Spain, with equally momentous results for those countries. The earliest of the Italian academies seems to have been the one founded by Jacopo Allegretti, a famous Latin poet, at Rimini towards the end of the fourteenth century for the cultivation of poetry.³⁴ It was not, however, until the following century that the more general diffusion of learning gave rise to a considerable number of academies devoted not only to poetry but also to more serious studies. The earliest of the latter was that which met in the early years of the century in the Augustinian convent of the Holy Ghost at Florence.³⁵ This did not assume the name of "academy," which was first applied to the Platonic Academy of Florence mentioned above. The other learned academies of this century were usually named from their founders or patrons, as the Academy of the Cardinal Bessarione in Rome; the Academy of Pomponio Leto in the same city, which incurred the enmity of Pope Paul III, who suspended its meetings and imprisoned and tortured its members; the Academy of Pontano in Naples; and the academy of Aldo Manuzio in Venice.³⁶

The sixteenth century saw an enormous increase in the number of these academies, and a marked change in their character. Heretofore they had been largely learned bodies devoted to the philosophy and literature of Greece and Rome. They now became social organizations, still scholarly in their character, but devoted more and more to Italian literature and especially poetry. As we have just seen, the academies of the preceding century were usually named from their founders; those of the sixteenth assumed names and devices of their own, and each member had his peculiar academic name. The names chosen by the academies were for the most part ridiculous and extravagant, as: The Frozen Ones (Gelati) of Bologna; The Astounded Ones (Storditi) of Bologna; The Stunned Ones (Intronati) of Siena; The Inflamed Ones (Accesi) of Siena; The Refugees (Ricovrati) of Venice and Padua; and a host of even more absurd ap-

³⁴ See Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Florence, 1805, Vol. V, p. 611.

³⁵ See Tiraboschi, Vol. VI, p. 102.

³⁶ See Tiraboschi, Vol. VI, pp. 105-117.

pelations. The names of the individual members were in keeping with those of their academy. Here are some of the names borne by members of the famous Siense academy or *congrega* of the Rustics (dei Rozzi) of Siena to be mentioned later: Bizarre, Bewildered, Clownish, Material, etc.³⁷

Equally affected were the devices of the academies, and great were the pains and attention bestowed upon this subject. Thus The Inflamed Ones (Infuocati) of Siena had a bar of iron beaten by two hammers on an anvil, with the motto *In quascumque formas*; the Insensate Ones (Insensati) of Perugia had a flock of cranes crossing the sea with stones in their claws, and the motto: *Vel cum pondere*; etc.³⁸ The exercises of these academies consisted in orations upon solemn occasions, lectures, critical essays, the reading of poetical compositions, etc. In addition, the social and convivial element played a large part in the meetings of these bodies, in many of which women assisted both by their presence and active participation.³⁹

The use of "questions" in the Italian academies was of a two-fold nature, either as a purely academic exercise, or as a social diversion. As an example of the former I shall cite the lectures of Benedetto Varchi, the famous historian of Florence, read in the

³⁷ For lists of Italian academies see the index to Tiraboschi and E. Cléder, *Notice sur l'Académie italienne des Intronati*, Bruxelles, 1864, pp. vii et seq. A list of the Siense academies may be found in the fifth appendix to Mazzi's *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena del secolo XVI*, Florence, 1882, 2 vols.

³⁸ The classical works on devices are: *Ragionamento di Monsignor Paolo Gioio sopra i motti e disegni d'arme e d'amore che comunemente chiamano imprese* (I have used the reprint in the *Biblioteca Rara* of Daelli, Vol. V, Milan, 1863); and Scipion Bargagli, *Dell'Imprese*, Venice, 1594. The latter is a quarto volume of 573 pages, profusely illustrated. I have also a dialogue on the subject by Stefano Guazzo, in *Dialoghi piacevoli*, Venice, 1586. There is a dialogue on the same topic by Tasso, *Il Conte ovvero dell'Imprese*, in *Opere* ed. Rosini, Pisa, 1824, Vol. IX, pp. 320-399. Devices played an important part in the conversations and diversions of the day, as we shall see later. This is also true of France; see Père Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, Paris, 1671, IV. *Entretien, Les Devises*. The catalogue of the library of the Duc de la Vallière, Paris, 1788, pp. 376, 378, gives a long list of works in French and Italian on this subject; among the latter are several dealing with academic devices. See Chapters IV, note 55; VI, note 45. There is an English trans. of Gioio's work, London, 1585, by Samuel Daniel, see Miss Scott, *Op. cit.* (1916), p. 468, No. 382. For *impreses* see also an article by E. Percopo in the *Giornale storico*, Vol. XII, pp. 1-76, "Marc'Antonio Epicuro," especially pp. 36-46.

³⁹ An admirable account of Italian academic life, although of a later date than that which we are now considering, may be found in the brilliant article by Vernon Lee on "The Academy of the Arcadi. A Study of Italian Literary Life in the Eighteenth Century," in *Fraser's Magazine*, Vols. XCVII, XCVIII (N. S., XVII, XVIII), 1878, pp. 779-798, 33-59.

Florentine Academy.⁴⁰ The Platonic Academy came to a sudden end in 1522 in consequence of a conspiracy against Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, ruler of Florence since the death of his cousin Lorenzo in 1519, in which several members of the academy were engaged. Nearly twenty years later, when Cosimo I was duke of Florence, a new academy arose, called at first degli Umidi (the Humid Ones), and shortly after, the Florentine Academy. The new academy was devoted to the perfection of the Tuscan language, which object it sought to attain chiefly by the study of Petrarch's poetry, although other Tuscan writers were not neglected. Hence a mass of the most inane literature consisting in the minute investigation of individual sonnets, with a wealth of pedantic citations of authorities.

Among the shining lights of the Florentine Academy was Benedetto Varchi, born in Florence in 1503. As a child he seemed dull to his teachers, and his father, a lawyer, set him to learn the wool trade. He found this most distasteful and neglected his business to read romance and history, greatly to his father's disgust. One day an old servant of the family, seeing the father more than usually vexed, said: "Why don't you buy the lad a Latin grammar?" The father took the hint and gave the boy to Guasparri Marescotti to educate. Benedetto turned out to be a brilliant scholar, and when only eighteen was forced by his father to study law at Pisa. Two years later, in 1523, he lost his father and was free to devote himself entirely to literary studies. He was involved in the political troubles which led to the downfall of the commonwealth of Florence, and lived in exile from 1535 to 1543, when he returned to his native city at the solicitation of the duke, Cosimo I, who was henceforth his patron and friend and for whom he wrote the history of Florence, which is his principal title to fame. We are concerned now only with Varchi's academic lectures, of which there are seventeen on Dante, eleven on Petrarch, and nineteen on various topics. Among the latter is one on "Seven Doubts concerning Love," read in the Academy on the first Sunday in June, 1554.⁴¹ The doubts are: To what artist does it belong to treat of Love?

⁴⁰ I have used two editions of the lectures: *Lezioni di M. Benedetto Varchi*, Florence, 1590, 4to, and *Opere di Benedetto Varchi*, Trieste, 1858, 2 vols. I shall cite the latter as the more accessible of the two. For Varchi's lectures and his relations to Tullia d'Aragona see Savino's work cited in note 17, etc., Vol. X, pp. 331 *et seq.*

⁴¹ See *Opere*, II, p. 525.

Are the beautiful and the good the same thing? Are all things beautiful also good? Whence it is that we love and hate one more than another, often without knowing why? Why do lovers desire so much to be always with their beloved? Why do lovers fear so greatly and revere the presence of the beloved? Why are lovers ashamed to confess they are in love? This lecture is followed by four containing twenty "questions."⁴² The first contains an elaborate introduction on Love in general with reference to those who had previously written on this subject. Three "questions" are treated in the first lecture: Which is the nobler, the lover or the beloved? Which is the stronger and more powerful passion, love or hate? Must every beloved one necessarily love in return?

Seven "questions" are discussed in the second lecture: Is every one who is loved obliged to love in return? Are passions felt in virtuous love? Can one be enamoured or love without hope? Can love exist without jealousy? Can one be enamoured only by fame and report?⁴³

The third lecture, read in the Academy on the fourth Sunday in April, 1554, contains five "questions": Can more than one be loved at the same time? Can one love another more than himself? Can one fall in love with one's self? Can a lover refrain from loving solely by an act of the will? Can love be healed in any way?

The fourth and last lecture contains seven "questions": Can love be ruled by reason? Does love arise from destiny or choice?⁴⁴ Can the dead love or be loved? Can love remain firm in the same state without increasing or diminishing? Which is the better and more worthy, friendship or love? Who love the more, the young or the old? Can love be feigned or hidden, and which of the two is the easier?⁴⁵

Far more extensive are the "questions" contained in the academic discourses of another Florentine scholar, Anton Maria Salvini, born in Florence in 1653. Like Varchi he studied law at Pisa, but soon relinquished it to devote himself entirely to

⁴² See *Opere*, II, pp. 531-561.

⁴³ This question was discussed in Betussi's dialogue *Il Raverta*. See Chapter III of the present work, p. 133.

⁴⁴ A similar question was proposed to Varchi in Tullia d'Aragona's dialogue on *The Infinity of Love*. See Chapter III of the present work, p. 130.

⁴⁵ This question was discussed in *Il Raverta*. See Chapter III of the present work, p. 132.

letters. He obtained a Greek professorship at Florence at the early age of twenty-three, and until his death in 1729 he enjoyed the greatest celebrity in his native city for his academic discourses and translations from the Greek and Latin authors. He contributed largely to the famous dictionary of the della Crusca Academy, and was also prominent in the Academy of the Apatisti (The Apathetic Ones, or, more properly speaking, The Dispassionate Ones), founded in 1631 by Agostino Coltellini. One of the exercises of this academy was the discussion of questions or doubts proposed by the presiding officer or by individual members. Those debated by Salvini fill three quarto volumes⁴⁶ and contain two hundred and forty-three discourses, often on the most trivial subjects, *e.g.*, Is tobacco beneficial or injurious? Whether a wise cavalier should allow himself to be beaten when playing games with ladies. Whether black eyes are preferable to blue ones in a handsome face. Blond hair or black? Etc.

Among the questions relating to love are the following: Which is the greater passion, love or hate? (I, Disc. IX.) Which prevails more in love, pleasure or sorrow? (I, Disc. XVI.) Which is the more vehement, anger or love? (I, Disc. XXVI.) Can love exist without jealousy? (I, Disc. XXXVI.) Is love the result of choice or destiny? (I, Disc. L-XXV.) Does love end in pleasure or sadness? (I, Disc. XLII.) Whether the flame of love is kindled more by the sight of the beloved's smiles or tears. (II, Disc. XVI.) Whether it is preferable to see the beloved without being able to speak to her, or to speak to her without being able to see her.⁴⁷ (II, Disc. XXXI.) Which is the most powerful remedy against love? (II, Disc. XLIX.) Whether it is better for a jealous lover to conceal his passion or to disclose it. (II, Disc. LIII.) Etc.

The above constitute but a small part of the topics discussed in these volumes: Should we believe in dreams? (II, Disc. XXI.) Is the invention of firearms worthy of praise or blame? (II, Disc. LII.) Whether it is good for women to study. (III, Disc. II, XVIII.) Whether Caesar is more estimable by his pen or by his sword. (I, Disc. C.) Did Nero display greater cruelty in burning Rome or in killing Seneca? (I, Disc. XC-

⁴⁶ I have used *Discorsi Accademici di Anton Maria Salvini*, Florence, 1725, 3 vols., 4to. I have also seen the edition of Naples, 1786, 6 vols., 8vo.

⁴⁷ This "question" is found also in the *Cancionero de Baena*, II, p. 83. See Chapter I of the present work, p. 17.

VII.) These are a few additional subjects which remind us of the modern debating society.

One of the most interesting of the academic discussions of Love has already been referred to in speaking of Flaminio Nobili's *Treatise on Human Love*. In 1570 Lucrezia d'Este, sister of the Duke of Ferrara, was married to Francesco Maria della Rovere, afterwards the last duke of Urbino, and the wedding was celebrated with the usual festivities. Tasso composed three poems on the occasion, and published a challenge containing fifty questions concerning Love, inviting all to oppose and discuss them at a session of the Academy of Ferrara.^{47a} It was to prepare himself for this debate that Tasso studied the treatise of Nobili already described. The debate took place on the 18th of January, and the 1st and 6th of February, in the presence of the court. The last date being the Monday before Ash Wednesday, all were present in masks, and Tasso records "lo strepito e l'applauso di quello quasi teatro di donne e cavalieri." The names of but two of Tasso's opponents have been preserved; of one he says: "non gli fu picciol avversario"; the other was Orsina Bertolaia Cavalletti, a lady of some reputation as a poet, who combated the XXI. *Conclusion* or question: "l'uomo in sua natura amar più intensamente e stabilmente che la donna."

The *Conclusioni amorose*, as these questions are called, are fifty in number,^{47b} and deal with such topics as the following: Love is the desire of union, through the fondness for beauty; Human love embraces in itself all kinds of love which become all beings, hence it is properly called Love, and he is called enamoured who loves according to it (all the following questions or conclusions are understood as relating to this love); Love does not presuppose choice, nor does it follow that it is the result of Fate, but resemblance between the lover and the beloved is necessarily presupposed; Man from his nature loves more deeply and lastingly than woman; The eyes are the beginning and end of Love; The memory of past happiness brings joy and not sorrow to the lover who is in grief; Jealousy is a most certain token of

^{47a} See Solerti, *Vita di Tasso*, Vol. I, pp. 128 *et seq.* Such academic discussions were common in Italy during this century. Solerti, *op. cit.*, p. 130, mentions among others a later one held at Ferrara in 1588, of which he gives a reprint of the challenge or invitation in his *Ferrara e la Corte Estense*, Città di Castello, 1891, p. 1.

^{47b} The *Conclusioni amorose* may be found in the *Dialoghi*, *ed. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 310, and in *Le Prose Diverse*, *ed. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 65.

ardent love, and increases it, at the same time it cannot be denied that Jealousy destroys Love; Whether more enjoyment arises from the favors the lover steals from the beloved, or from those which she freely grants; etc.

Many years later, in 1590, Tasso wrote in memory of the above debate a dialogue entitled *Il Cataneo*,^{47c} from Danese Cataneo, the sculptor and writer, a dear friend of the poet and known to him when he was pursuing his studies in Padua. The scene of the dialogue is in that city in the house of the poet's friend, and besides the two the only other speaker is Paolo Samminiato, who had been Tasso's adversary in the debate, and had acquainted Danese with the matter.

Danese begins by expressing his surprise that Tasso, while still young, should have exposed his reputation to danger in such a dispute, "where a friar or scholar with the weapons of logic can easily force a poet to retire from the field." Samminiato replies to him that "if the field had been that of truth, the poet might easily have been overcome by his opponents, but in the field of love, who could defeat an enamoured poet and with what weapons, his lady herself sitting there among others as a judge, from whom he could courteously win the palm in the debates of love?"

Tasso replies that Signor Samminiato has anticipated his answer and continues to say that he was no slight adversary, and excuses himself for defending his questions poorly on the ground that he was inexperienced and had little time to make ready for the debate. Most of the *Conclusioni* were written by Signor Antonio Montecatino, who had also prepared him for the discussion. It was no wonder then that in the judgment of his lady he was worsted. He would like, however, his arguments to be "dispassionately considered," and without the noise and applause of what might almost be called a theatre of ladies and gentlemen, "wherefore not satisfied with oral delivery, in which, from an impediment in speech, he was little favored by nature, he concluded to commit his views to writing. Samminiato and Tasso then discuss at length the Platonic views of Love, and Tasso asks what topic should be debated anew by them. Samminiato replies that Tasso left almost untouched several of his conclusions, among them the one containing the definition of

^{47c} *Dialoghi*, ed. cit., Vol. III, p. 277.

Love: "Love is the desire of union through fondness for beauty." Tasso answers that this was not opposed, as the definition was drawn by Signor Montecatino from some treatise on Love, to the authority of which all yielded. Had he defended it he should have done so as the opinion of others, and with the arguments afforded by others, but his own opinion would perchance have been different. This reply leads to a fresh debate on the question, Tasso basing his opinions on the views of Dionysius the Areopagite.

A new subject for discussion is then chosen in the XII. *Conclusione*: Hate is not the opposite of Love, but follows it. Samminiato declares that hate destroys love and is in turn destroyed by it; therefore, hate and love are contraries. Tasso denies that hate ever destroys love and the debate ensues. At its end Tasso confesses that these *conclusioni* were propounded in jest as an exercise of love, "which arouses sleepy wits." When asked whether any of the *Conclusioni* represented his own opinions, he acknowledged that the XVII. did: "Love does not presuppose choice, nor does it follow that it arises from Fate, but resemblance between the lover and the beloved is necessarily presupposed." A long and abstruse discussion of Fate from the philosophical standpoint then follows and concludes the dialogue.

Tasso is also the author of a brief *Discourse on Two Questions of Love*, first published in 1586,^{47a} and directed to Signor Torquato Rangone, who had asked the poet's opinion. The two questions,

^{47a} *Le Prose Diverse*, ed. cit., Vol. II, p. 227. Zonta, *Studi med.* III, p. 626, note I, has the following note: "Del resto questa questione posta così, oppure sotto l'altra forma corrispondente: 'Può l'amore continuare senza gli ultimi abbracciamenti?' ha avuto una fortuna grandissima, perchè il suo nocciolo è costituito dalla eterna divisione dell'amore in volgare e divino, colle corrispondenti conseguenze. E già in sostanza accennato nel partimento di Bertan (de Preissac?): 'En Bernartz, gran cortezia' (75, 2. Cfr. *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, VII, 181) e in quello di Peirol: 'Gaucelm, digatz m'ai vostre sen' (Mahn, *Werke*, II, 33) e in quello di Rofin: 'Rofin, digatz m'ades' (Raynouard, *Choix*, V, p. 437). Anche dal Cappellano viene discussa. Ha qualche somiglianza estrinseca il XVI giudizio, ma la questione sostanziale è discussa o risolta a p. 213, 218, 255. Per dare un'idea della fortuna di questa questione reco una nota dei testi che la discutono nel nostro Cinquecento. Cfr. Equicola, *Della natura d'Amore*, 1562, p. 381; Bembo, *Asolani*, 211; Speroni, *Opere*, 1740, I, 8, 23; Firenzuola, *Opere*, 1848, I, 99; Varchi, *Sopra alcune questioni d'Amore*, 1880, 311; Tullia d'Aragona, *Infinità d'Amore*, 1547, 39; Parabosco, *Diporti*, 1558, 83; Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, 1766, 290, 292; Ringhieri, *Cento giochi*, 1553, X, 76; G. Bruno, *Eroici furori*, II, 331 e 300, ecc., ecc. Esteriormente è assai simile alla questione di R. Vidal anche quella trattata da Ginevra nel *Peregrino* di J. Caviceo, 1533, p. 80."

or rather the one question in two parts, is: Can a lover after long service, when he is sure that it is impossible to win his lady's last favor, resolve to serve no longer, his object having ended? and What are the sufferings he must endure resolving, or endeavouring, to abandon his undertaking? Tasso thinks a lover can resolve not to love, but in that case he must be a continent and not an incontinent lover. As to the sufferings of a lover in the above case, they may consist of tears, and sighs, and lamentations, but more often do consist of anger, scorn, and other similar passions.

The fondness for academic debates gave rise to a curious literature of Paradoxes and Doubts, of which only the most important can be mentioned here. In some cases the paradoxical questions were debated in the Academies; in others they were propounded by individual members and discussed in dialogue form. To this latter class belongs *Dieci Paradossi degli Accademici Intronati da Siena*. In Milano appresso Gio. Antonio degli Antonii, 1564, 12mo, ff. 52. The ten paradoxes, each discussed by two academicians, are: Love does not exist in lovers; The unlike love and the like hate each other; Evil is necessary; Tyrants do not do what they wish, and have no power; We should grieve at the birth of children and rejoice at their death; It is more harmful to do wrong than to receive it; He who does not love must be more loved than he who loves; Reason in man is harmful; A woman should love an ugly man more deeply than a handsome one; and, Love longs only for the things which are virtuous. These questions are debated by the two speakers in each dialogue, and at the conclusion one of the interlocutors generally acknowledges the superiority of the other.

In 1608, Giovan Battista Manso, the friend and biographer of Tasso already mentioned, published at Milan, appresso G. Bordoni, in 4to, *I Paradossi o vero dell'Amore*. The Paradoxes are: Love is, and is not what the ancient philosophers believed; Love is not the power of destiny or the choice of the one who loves; Goodness and virtue and nothing else are the object of human love; The least fair woman should be loved the most; and, Women should love most those who love them the least. Two of these paradoxes are repeated, with the addition of two new ones, in the remarkable work by the same author entitled: *Erocallia, o vero dell' Amore e della Bellezza, Dialoghi XIII*,

Venice, 1628, 4to. The third division (*Quaderno*) of this curious book, the most extensive treatise on Love to be found in any language perhaps, contains four Paradoxes in as many dialogues: The east fair women should be loved the most; Women should love the most those who love them the least; Love alone is the instrument of love; and, There is no true love unless it be a consolation for the dead.

The most famous collection of Paradoxes was that of Ortensio Lando, a writer who deserves more than a passing notice.^{47e} This eccentric person was born about 1512 in Milan, where he received his early education, and afterwards studied medicine at Bologna. He led a wandering life, roaming over Italy, France, and Switzerland. He seems to have had no permanent abode, although he spent much time at Venice and was in the service of Lucrezia Gonzaga at her castle della Frata. The date of his death is not known, but it probably occurred in 1553 or shortly after. His whole life is involved in obscurity and he owes his little fame as a heretic in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* compiled by the Fathers of the Council of Trent, to a confusion with another Geremia Landi of Piacenza. Lando was the author of several satirical works in Latin and Italian, among the latter a remarkable collection of funeral sermons on various animals.

The Paradoxes were printed for the first time at Lyons in 1543, in two books. I have not seen the work and can only quote what Sanesi says of it: "The most extravagant things are maintained in these Paradoxes: that it is better to be poor than rich, ugly than handsome, ignorant than learned, blind than enlightened, foolish than wise; that drunkenness is better than sobriety, want than abundance, war than peace, a narrow life than a splendid and sumptuous one; that it is not bad for a prince to lose his state; that it is better to have a sterile wife than a fruitful one, to live in exile than in one's country, to be weak and ailing than strong and healthy, to be born in the smallest towns than in populous cities, to dwell in humble houses than in great palaces; that it is not a detestable thing to have an unvirtuous wife, nor a bad thing to be beaten and wounded,

^{47e} There is an excellent monograph on Lando by Ireneo Sanesi: *Il Cinquecentista Ortensio Lando*, Pistoia, 1893, and a good article, with bibliography, by W. E. A. Axon in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, Vol. XX, Part III, p. 159.

nor blameworthy to be a bastard, nor should one sorrow if his wife dies: all things, in short, most extravagant, and absurd, imagined and demonstrated in a way the opposite of what is generally thought and demonstrated, true and real 'sententie fuori del comun parere,' as the title says, in a word, 'such as only the brain of Ortensio Lando could devise them.'"

Some time later (the work has no date, place, or name of printer), Lando published a confutation of the above work under the title: *Confutatione del libro de' Paradossi nouamente composta, et in tre orationi distinta*, in which he confutes his Paradoxes with the same wealth of erudition with which he sought to maintain them.

Of similar nature are the collections of "Doubts," which were so popular at this period, and which furnished a storehouse of questions for debates academical and private. The most famous of these collections is also by Lando. The edition which I have used bears the title: *Quattro Libri de Dubbi con le solutioni a ciascun dubbio accomodate. La materia del primo e amorosa, del secondo è naturale, del terzo è mista, ben che per lo più sia morale, e del quarto è religiosa*. In Vinegia appresso Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1556, 12mo.^{47f} The work is divided, as its

^{47f} The first edition of the *Dubbi* appeared at Venice appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1552 in 8vo. Although the *Third Book of Doubts* relating to Love is mentioned on the title-page it is omitted in the body of the work, because the printer, as he says at the end of the book, could not obtain permission to print it. This permission was obtained the same year and the *Dubbi* above referred to appeared separately in *Varii Componimenti di M. Hort. Lando. Nouamente venuti in luce*. In Vinegia appresso Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari e Fratelli, 1552, 8vo. The *Dubbi* here and henceforth termed "Quesiti amorosi" occupy pp. 5-72. In 1556 appeared the edition of the *Dubbi* cited in the text, which contains all four books entire and is the rarest and most sought for of all the editions. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, Rome, 1890-5, Vol. II, p. 499, says that permission to print the "Quesiti amorosi" was withdrawn from the edition of the *Varii Componimenti* of 1554. For translations and imitations of the *Dubbi*, see Sanesi, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 et seq., and Bongi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 369. I have myself seen the following: *Questions Diverses, et Responses d'Icelles, Divisées en trois liures: Assavoir, Questions d'Amour, Questions Naturelles, Questions Morales et Politiques, Nouuellement traduites de Tuscan en Francoys*, A Lyon. A l'Escu de Milan, Par Gabriel Cotier, 1558, 12mo; the author is not named. *Delectable demaundes, and pleasaunt Questions, with their seuerall Answers, in matters of Loue, Natural causes, with Morall and politique deuises. Newly translated out of Frenche into Englishe, this present yere of our Lorde God*. 1566. Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde by John Cawood for Nicholas Englande. 4to; another edition of this was "Printed by Thomas Creede, 1596," 4to. The questions are in Roman, the answers in black letter. The French translation is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the English ones are in the British Museum. Miss M. A. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 479, cites: *Curiosities: or the Cabinet of Nature: containing*

title indicates, into four books, the first devoted to subjects connected with Love, the second with Nature, the third miscellaneous, but for the most part moral, and the fourth with Religion. The *Dubbi* (in the first book termed *Quisiti*) are propounded by various persons whose names are given, and answered, presumably, by the author of the book, who nowhere gives his name.

It is impossible in the space at my disposal to give any adequate idea of the varied contents of Lando's work. The common-places of Love are here repeated, as (p. 35) How many kinds of Love are there? Two, one of which, according to Plato, is heavenly, the other vulgar and earthly. How does Love arise in us, by choice or Fate? Generally by choice, since judgment usually precedes Love. Which is the better love, that of a maid, of a married woman, or of a widow? That of a maid is more constant, of a widow more pleasant, and of a married woman cause of greater scandal. On pp. 63-64 is explained the meaning of the various modes in which Love is painted. Among the multitude of questions relating to Love every topic, moral and physical, is discussed, although many of the latter class may be found in the second book. It is impossible to follow the author into the realms of Nature, Ethics, and Religion, in which he displays the widest erudition, the questions covering ancient and modern history as well as literature.

Lando's work became popular at once, received the honor of translation into French, Spanish, and English, and was pillaged and imitated by others.

A similar collection, but of less magnitude and confined to one class of questions, is *De' Cento Dubbi Amorosi di Hieronimo Vida Justinopolitano*, Padua, appresso Gasparo Crivellari, 1621, 4to. The book is dedicated to Girolamo Lando, ambassador of Venice to Great Britain, by Agostino Vida, a relative of the author. He says in the Address to the Reader (the Dedication is dated Padua, March 25, 1621) that the *Dubbi* were composed thirty years before by Vida, who died at the early age of twenty-eight, and who was a philosopher and "Poeta Academico Olimpico."

Philosophical, Naturall, and Morall questions fully answered . . . Translated out of Latin, French and Italian Authors, by R. B[asset] Gent. Never before published. N. & I. Okes. London. 1637. 12mo. British Museum. I have not seen this book, but it is probably a later edition of Lando's *Dubbi*. Suchier in the article cited in Chapter I, note 106, mentions eight French and two English translations and cites from Brunet a Spanish translation, Antwerp, 1575.

The Tavola states that the author maintained these *Dubbi* publicly in the Academy of Capo d'Istria. The *Dubbi* themselves are naturally the familiar ones already described; the first is: Whether Love is good or evil, and whether one should avoid or pursue it. Which is more worthy of being loved, the soldier or the scholar? Which is the happier, the blind or the dumb lover? Which is the sweeter, to see the beloved rarely and speak with her, or to see her frequently and not speak with her? Which is the stronger, first or second love? Although there is a necessary likeness between Vida's work and that of Lando, they are entirely independent of each other. The *Dubbi* propounded by Vida are defended by him at length with a great display of erudition, whereas Lando's are answered by a brief sentence.

The popularity of this class of literature survived the sixteenth century and we find *Dubbi* in the following one. Of these I shall mention only Gio. Francesco Loredano's *Sei Dubbi Amorosi trattati academicamente ad istanza di dama nobile*, Venice, 1656, appresso li Guerigli. The author, usually called "il giovane," was a member of the famous Venetian family, and was himself a senator, and filled various offices in the state. He founded the Academy degli Incogniti and wrote a large number of mediocre works, of which the best known is *La Dianea*, a collection of stories frequently reprinted and translated.⁴⁷⁰ The six *Dubbi* are: Whether from reading some composition, one can fall in love with an unknown person, and the cause of this. Whether men and women can love modestly. Whether it is possible to love without hope of being loved in return. What is the greatest pledge of love that a noble maiden can give her beloved? What reward can she who is the first to love justly claim from her beloved? Can a noble and modest lady after long silence reveal her love? These *Dubbi* are supposed to have been propounded to Loredano by an unknown lady, and are discussed in the usual academic style with copious citations from the ancient and modern writers. The work is followed by various letters on the subject as well as by a series of poetical compositions (in one case in Latin) solving the above *Dubbi*.

The passion for debate was not confined to the academies, but extended into polite literature, and a number of works devoted to the discussion of a single question are to be found during this

⁴⁷⁰ See Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

period. Two of these, the *Questión de Amor* and the *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella*, were originally composed in Spanish and will be examined more fully in Chapter V of this work. Of the Italian books of this class I will mention here but two: *Il Rinaldi o vero Dialogo del Paragone tra il Verno e la State composto nuovamente dall'Accademico Bramoso* [Cipriano Giambelli] *dell' Accademia de' Solleciti di Trevigi*, Venice, 1589, 12mo, and *Aretefila, Dialogo, nel quale da una parte sono quelle ragioni allegate, le quali affirmano, lo amore di corporal bellezza potere ancora per la via dell' udire pervenire al cuore: et dall' altra quelle che vogliono lui havere solamente per gl'occhij l'entrata sua: colla sentenza sopra cotal quistione*. In Lione, appresso Guliel. Rovillio, 1560, 4to.

The first named work need not detain us long. It takes its title from an illustrious Trevisan, Alberghetto Rinaldi, who is the principal interlocutor in the dialogue, the other speaker being Francesco Bressa. The claims of the two seasons, summer and winter, to superiority, are discussed with a great display of erudition, ancient and modern physicians, philosophers, and poets being freely cited. The debate is not decided, Francesco Bressa, who takes the side of winter, concluding with the words: "Con tutto cio, voglio che di questo ne lasciamo il giudicio a più savi, et a più dotte. Bastaci dunque d'haver fatto il paragone tra il Verno, e la State. Hora chiunque sia, che giustamente dii la sentenza, e giudichi con retto, e sincero giudicio qual di queste due stagioni sia la migliore, sia da noi sempre lodato." Alberghetto replies: "Così sia."

The *Aretefila* deserves a more detailed mention. Its author, Luc' Antonio Ridolfi, is now remembered only as the editor of Petrarch (Venice, Giorgio Angelieri, 1586) and the compiler of a *rimario* to that poet's works.

Ridolfi states in the preface (signed Lyons, March 4, 1557) that he has been asked to write out the dispute that took place in Lyons between two Italian gentlemen in the presence of a French lady over the question mentioned in the title of the work, viz., "Whether the love of corporeal beauty can reach the heart by way of the hearing, or only through the sight." Like Boccaccio in the *Decameron* and Bembo in the *Asolani*, Ridolfi has disguised the names of the interlocutors. The lady is said in the course of the conversation (p. 14) to be the one to whom Messer Benedetto Varchi dedicated one of his "lezioni d'amore, per

quelle cagioni, che racconta egli medesimo nella lettera posta dinanzi a cotale lezzione." The dedication in question (*Lezzioni di M. Benedetto Varchi*, Florence, F. Giunti, 1590, p. 343) is as follows: "alla non men dotta che gentile e virtuosa Damigella, Damigella Margherita du Bourg, Lionese et Dama de Gage."

One of the two gentlemen, Federigo, supports the proposition that one can be enamoured by hearsay, and illustrates it by many interesting stories and citations from the poets. Especially remarkable is the use made by him of stories from French romances, thus; pp. 39-43, he narrates at length the tale of Pietro, the son of the Count of Provence and the fair Magalona, daughter of the King of Sicily.^{47h} The story of "Gianfre Rudel," lord of Blaia, and the Countess of Tripoli is also quoted as the classic proof of the power of fame to inspire love. The Romances of Chivalry, such as *Primaleone* and *Amadis of Greece*, are cited and a number of examples are drawn from the latter romance, which was so popular in Italy in the sixteenth century. Federigo's argument extends from p. 28 to p. 75; Lucio's from p. 77 to p. 161, and is necessarily more philosophical than Federigo's. He dismisses the examples cited from the Romances of Chivalry as without foundation, declaring that the knights-errant mentioned in them are "those who fill volumes with dreams." He bases his own arguments on the statements of the ancient philosophers and poets, and also draws freely from the Italian poets Dante, Petrarch, Alamanni, Bembo, Poliziano, and others.

At last the dispute is ended and Aretefila is called upon to pronounce judgment. She decides against Federigo's proposition, saying: "Beauty cannot exist without bodies, and bodies cannot be seen except by colors, and colors can only be perceived by sight; hence it naturally follows that as love is the desire of beauty, no one can be enamoured without sight. The proposition that one can fall in love by hearsay would be equivalent to saying that the ear can judge of colors."

The work is written in an attractive manner, is full of interesting illustrations, and contains some important references to contemporary literature, as for instance on p. 137, where the

^{47h} This is the famous story of Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne; see *Bibliothek älterer deutscher Uebersetzungen herausgegeben von A. Sauer, Die schöne Magelona aus dem Französischen übersetzt von Veit Warbeck, 1527, herausgegeben von Johannes Bolte, Weimar, 1894*, with admirable introduction and bibliography. The version of the story in Ridolfi's work is reprinted by A. d'Ancona in *Poemetti popolari italiani*, Bologna, 1889, pp. 453-55.

question of the introduction of the sonnet form into France is discussed at length.⁴⁷ⁱ

The "questions" just enumerated served, it is evident, merely as the text to academic discourses, and the tradition of their social use seems to have been entirely forgotten. This was not the case in the academy of the Rustics at Siena, where the use of "questions" formed a part of the social diversions of the members.⁴⁸ The Academy, or more correctly the Congregation (La Congrega), of the Rustics of Siena grew out of a company of Sienese burghers famous for their skill in writing and performing comedies. The oldest articles of association do not go further back than 1531. The early history of the Congrega was a troubled one, and it was several times suppressed.⁴⁹ It had an elaborate organization and a constitution of seventeen chapters, extended to thirty-three in the reform of 1561. The order of proceedings was briefly as follows:⁵⁰ the members met, read something, discussed the compositions presented to them, rehearsed plays before performing them in public, played society games,⁵¹ and if the weather permitted went out of the city to play various kinds of ball (*palla*, *la piastrella*, or *le palline*).

From the earliest times the Congrega found diversion in the game of "questions," called also "cases" or "doubts."⁵² A special officer of the society, *lo Scrittore*, was deputed to write down and preserve these questions,⁵³ which were debated in the

⁴⁷ⁱ *Op. cit.*, p. 137: "ma il primo [to transport the sonnet from Italian into French] veramente credo, che fusse uno, il cui nome è Monsignor di Sangeles [Mellin de Saint-Gelais] . . . Bene è vero, che il primo, il quale cose Latine, e Toscane nella nostra lingua Franzese traducesse, credo che fusse Clemente Marot: ma quanto al sonetto, non solamente quei due, che io hora nominati vi hò, l'hanno elegantemente nella nostra lingua trasportato, e per quel medesimo nome, che fate voi, chiamatolo; ma molti altri ancora, de' quali vene voglio per hora nominare solamente tre eccellenti, come che tutti gl'altri pero siano di molta lode degni: e questi tre sono, il Tiarre [Pontus de Thyard;] il Ronsardo; et il Bellai," etc.

⁴⁸ An excellent account of everything concerning the Congrega dei Rozzi of Siena may be found in the work of Mazzi cited in note 37 to the present chapter.

⁴⁹ See Mazzi, I, p. 62.

⁵⁰ See Mazzi, I, p. 353.

⁵¹ The subject of society games will be treated fully in Chapter V.

⁵² Mazzi, I, p. 124, says of the game of "questions": "Il quale forse d'origine è senese, ma non sappiamo se nato tra i Rozzi," etc. The origin of "questions" goes back, as we have seen, to a far earlier date; but as a society game the use of questions may have been revived in Siena in the sixteenth century. Mazzi says that other popular associations indulged in this game. See the work cited, II, p. 371.

⁵³ The original MS. is still in the municipal library of Siena, and a copy at Rome. See Mazzi, I, pp. 128, 130. I have a partial copy of the Siena MS.

following manner. One of the members read or related a story or anecdote, from which were taken one or more questions to be debated by some other until the presiding officer of the Congrega pronounced his sentence.

These questions are in prose and verse and for the most part consist of *novelle*, often of a coarse nature. The following will give some idea of their subjects. Which is the greater sinner, one who blasphemes from anger or sloth or pride or some similar reason, or one who blasphemes from pleasure without any cause (fol. 15)? Sentence of death having been pronounced upon one of the two, her husband or son, which should a woman save (fol. 15)? Which are the more bitter, the tears shed for love, or for the death of a father arising from some strange accident (fol. 19)? Which is the more powerful passion, love or hatred (fol. 28)? A brother and a lover quarrel and fight a duel to the death; which one should the sister, who is the object of the other's love, desire to save (fol. 34)? A youth unable to see his beloved because she is so carefully guarded, meets one day three fairies: one gives him power to become a lion, another, an eagle, and the third, an ant; to which of the three fairies is he the most indebted (fol. 52)? Each of two companions gives a lady a flower; one she fastens to her bosom, the other she holds in her hand; the two companions quarrel as to whose flower was placed in the more honorable post (fol. 68, this question is in verse). A youth was prevented for good reason from seeing his beloved for several days; at last, anxious to know the cause of his absence, she sent him a letter written by a confidant; the lover, who knows that she cannot write, is overcome with jealousy, and the question is, which has given the greater cause for jealousy, the lover by absenting himself, or the beloved by sending a letter not written by her own hand (fol. 96)?

In the Academy of the Insipid Ones (Gli Insipidi) in 1588 the following question among others was discussed: Which is more difficult, to love and pretend not to love, or not to love and pretend to love?⁵⁴ This question we have already encountered twice.⁵⁵

(Biblioteca Comunale Cod. H. XI, 7), from which the examples in the text are taken.

⁵⁴ See Mazzi, II, p. 371.

⁵⁵ In *Il Raverta* and in Varchi's *Lectures*. See pp. 132, 145 of the present chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

Polite Society essentially courtly—First manifested in the Castles of Southern France—In Italy the Cities were the centres of Polite Society—Polite Society developed to its highest point in Capitals of kingdoms or of petty tyrannies—Character of Italian society—Slight influence of the Feudal System in Italy—Development of Municipal life—The Palace takes the place of the Castle—Social diversions little changed—Fondness for the Villegiatura in Italy—Social life must be considered not only in the city palace, but also in the country villa—First, the more formal life of the Palace—History of the Duchy of Urbino—Life of Frederick—Palace and Library at Urbino—Life of Guidobaldo—Meeting with Baldassare Castiglione—Life of Castiglione—Society at the Court of Urbino—The Duchess of Urbino—Emilia Pia—The interlocutors in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*—Origin and literary history of the *Cortegiano*—Castiglione's models—The Introduction to the *Cortegiano*—Analysis of the *Cortegiano*—Influence of the *Cortegiano* on Europe—Imitations of the *Cortegiano* in Italy.

We have already seen that Polite Society is essentially courtly and first manifested itself in the castles of Southern France, which were small courts. Municipal life on the other hand was not calculated to develop the conditions requisite for Polite Society, and, in France at least, the cities played no part in social life. In Italy the conditions were entirely different and the Italian cities were centres of Polite Society. Still, a distinction must be made even here between the cities which were the capitals of republics or commonwealths and the cities which were the courts of despotic rulers. In some of the former class the courtly requisites for Polite Society were not wanting, owing to the prominence of certain families, as the Medici at Florence, who for many years really governed the city before it lost its nominal independence. It was, however, either in the capitals of kingdoms like Naples, or in the capitals of the petty tyrannies like Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino, that Polite Society was developed to its highest point.

The character of Italian society in the period in which we are now interested was profoundly modified by certain conditions, which were lacking in other countries. In the first place, the Feudal System did not produce such a marked division in society as in France. In the latter country the nobles lived in their

castles in the country and the society at these castles was composed almost exclusively of one class. In Italy the nobles early deserted their castles for residence in the cities: in many cases they were compelled to do so by the citizens themselves. This fact broadened society, and less stress was laid upon nobility of birth than elsewhere. Good manners and education became requisites for admission to society. This changed view of society was largely due to the influence of the Renaissance, which altered the character of life and profoundly modified all social relations. The material side of life also underwent an enormous change. The gloomy castle, a fortress in its nature, gave way to the stately palace with its inner court surrounded by graceful loggie, thus ensuring air and light to all apartments. The walls were covered with tapestry or painted with frescoes or incrustated with mosaics. Pictures and statuary adorned the spacious rooms, which were the fitting scene for the brilliant company which gathered there.

It is interesting, however, to note, as we shall constantly have occasion to do, how little, after all, the forms of social diversion changed. During the mediæval period the castle was the sole abode of the noble owner, both in summer and in winter. In Italy, on the other hand, the Roman fondness for the *villeggiatura* had never been lost, and at the period of the Renaissance it revived with increased strength. We must therefore bear in mind that in Italy we have to consider social life not only in the city palace but also in the country villa.

How the Italians of the Renaissance regarded the Villa may be seen from the following enthusiastic outburst of one of the interlocutors in Alberti's *Dialogo della Famiglia* (Bk. III, ed. Bonucci, Vol. II, p. 284): Lionardo: "What man is there who does not take delight in the villa? It affords the greatest, most virtuous, and surest utility, whereas any other exercise encounters a thousand dangers. The villa alone above all others is found grateful, gracious, trusty, true; if you manage it diligently and lovingly, it will never seem to have satisfied you; it will ever add reward to rewards. In spring the villa gives you endless pleasures, grass, flowers, perfumes, songs; it strives in every way to rejoice you; it smiles upon you, and promises you an ample harvest; it fills you with good hopes and many pleasures. Then, how bounteous you find it to you in the summer! It sends

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home to you now one, now another fruit; it never leaves your dwelling void of some liberal gift. When autumn comes, the villa repays boundlessly your pains and your deserts, and how freely, and how abundantly, and with what loyalty! Even in winter it does not forget to be liberal: it sends you wood, oil, juniper and laurel boughs to give you a joyous and redolent flame when you return home from the snow and wind. . . . And if the villa asks from you some labor, it does not require, like other exercises, that you should be burdened with sad and gloomy thoughts, nor does it wish you to become tired and weary; but the villa likes your work and exercise to be full of joy, and it is no less conducive to your health, than useful for its culture. . . . And besides, you enjoy at the villa those breezy, pure, unconfined, and happy days. . . . You have a most delightful prospect, beholding those wooded hills and green plains, and those clear springs and rivulets, which leap and lose themselves among the grass." Giannozzo: "Yes, by Heaven! a very Paradise! And, too, what is most pleasant, one can at the villa escape from the noise, uproar, and tempest of the city, square, and palace. . . . How happy the sojourn at the villa will be! a delight hitherto unknown!" We have seen the large part played by the garden in social life, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; we shall find the same thing in the sixteenth century; but before coming to it we must consider the more formal life of the palace.

Among the various courts of Italy in the sixteenth century none is more worthy of attention than the court of Urbino. The other courts were stained by bloodshed and cruelty and often dishonored by the grossest immorality. The court of Urbino was relatively free from such stains, and its rulers were not the usual type of Italian despots, but were enlightened princes whose tenure was cheerfully acknowledged by their devoted subjects. Owing to a happy conjuncture of circumstances, which I shall presently describe, Urbino became, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the centre of the most refined and elegant society of Italy, and exerted a powerful influence over the rest of the land. We are fortunate in possessing a picture of this society by one of its most conspicuous representatives, a picture which is one of the masterpieces of Italian literature as well, the *Courtier* of Count Baldassare Castiglione. Before examining in detail

this remarkable work from a standpoint somewhat different from that of previous critics, an account of the scene of the work and the life of the author will be necessary. The former will involve a brief sketch of the duchy of Urbino and its circumstances at the time of Castiglione's description of its social life.¹

The duchy of Urbino was originally a fief held by the lords of Montefeltro, who took their name from the town of San Leo, situated upon the top of an almost inaccessible mountain. The town took its first name from the Roman appellation, Mons Feretrius, from a temple consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius. During the strife between the Church and the Empire, the lords of Montefeltro adhered to the latter, as was usually the case with the feudal nobles, and Buonconte and his brother Taddeo for the services rendered to Frederick II and his father, were raised to the rank of count and granted the fief of Urbino (1213). The first of the family who extended his domain and prepared the way for the future glory of his name was Count Guido (surnamed *il Vecchio*), a famous warrior and known to the readers of Dante, who doomed him to Hell for the evil counsel which he gave to Pope Boniface VIII.² With the history of the succeeding counts of Urbino we have nothing to do until Count Oddantonio, born in 1426, who was created Duke of Urbino by Pope Eugenio IV in 1443. The new Duke reigned little over a year and was then assassinated by his own subjects, whom he had enraged, it is said, by his shameful life. With him the legitimate line of the Montefeltri became extinct. Oddantonio's father Guidantonio had, however, left a natural son, Frederick, who was legitimated by Pope Martin V in 1444, and who was destined to confer immortality upon his name and the little mountain city which he made famous in art, literature, and society.

¹ For the history of Urbino, I have consulted: Filippo Ugolini's *Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino*, Florence, 1859, 2 vols., and James Dennistoun's admirable *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, London, 1851, 3 vols. See also Von Reumont's article "Die Herzoge von Urbino" in *Beiträge zur Ital. Geschichte*, Berlin, 1855, Vol. III, pp. 355-494. Dennistoun's book has long been out of print and very difficult to procure. In 1909 a new edition also in three volumes with many additional notes and illustrations by Edward Hutton was published by John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and John Lane Company, New York.

² See *Inferno*, XXVII, 67 and following lines. Scartazzini in a long note to his edition of the *Divine Comedy*, Leipzig, 1874, gives a documentary biography of Count Guido, and shows that Dante has stated nothing but the historical truth.

Frederick was born the 7th of June, 1422, of a mother now unknown.³ The child was reared at the castle of Gaifa until the death of Guidantonio's wife, when he was brought back to Urbino and publicly educated as the Count's son. His father afterwards married Catarina Colonna, who treated Frederick with great affection until her own son, the unfortunate Oddantonio, was born in 1427. When Frederick was only eight years old he was betrothed to Gentile Brancalone, whose father ruled a fief in the territory of Urbino, whose petty capital was Mercatello. On his death the Pope granted the temporary administration of the fief to Count Guidantonio with the promise of the investiture to his son Frederick, on condition of his marriage with Gentile. After the betrothal, Frederick was carefully educated by his bride's mother, the Lady Giovanna. When he was eleven years old he was attacked by a malignant ulcer in the cheek and narrowly escaped death. The child had scarcely recovered from this dangerous illness when he was sent by his father as a hostage to Venice, in settlement of a quarrel between Pope Eugenio IV and the Colonna family, with which Count Guidantonio was connected by marriage. After a residence of fifteen months in Venice, it being feared that the plague was about to break out there, Frederick, through his father's intervention, was transferred to Mantua, where ruled at that time the Marquis Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, connected by marriage with Count Guidantonio. At Mantua Frederick lived two years and there received the most important part of his education. The Marquis himself was his tutor in all that pertained to military exercises, while for his mental accomplishments he enjoyed the instruction

³ Materials for the life of Frederick may be found in the histories of Urbino cited above, and also in Bernardino Baldi's *Vita e fatti di Federigo di Montefeltro, Duca di Urbino*, Rome, 1824. I have used the second edition, Bologna, 1826, 3 vols. Baldi wrote his work, as well as the life of Guidobaldo to be mentioned later, at the behest of Francesco Maria II, the last duke of Urbino. The work is prolix, and impartiality was not to be expected. An important source for the life of Frederick is the rhymed chronicle by Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father, edited from the Vatican MS. for the first time by Dr. H. Holtzinger, 1893, 4to. It consists of nearly twenty-three thousand verses in terza rima, and was probably written between 1482 and 1494. The events chronicled by Santi occurred during his lifetime, but were not witnessed by him, with the exception of such as took place at Urbino. He drew very largely on a Latin biography of Frederick composed by his secretary and companion Pier Antonio Paltroni. The original is now lost and survives only in citations by subsequent historians, and in the rhymed chronicle of Santi.

of Vittorino da Feltre, the most remarkable teacher of his day.⁴ In spite of a life devoted almost exclusively to war, Frederick never forgot the lessons of Vittorino, nor lost his interest in literary studies. On the contrary, he was the most learned prince of his day, and we shall have occasion later to refer to the remarkable library collected by him at Urbino.

After the differences between the Pope and Count Guidantonio had been settled, Frederick was recalled to Urbino, where his father gradually gave him opportunity to practice the art of government. In 1437, when he was fifteen, his marriage with Gentile was celebrated, and he took possession of the state which his wife brought him in dower, and which consisted of some twenty castles and towns. His rule was so successful that Baldi (I, p. 14) says: "It was doubtful which was the greater, the charity and love he displayed for his people, or the reverence and honor they had for him." A year after his marriage, Frederick began his long career as a soldier, a career in which it is impossible to follow him here. While engaged in one of his campaigns, Frederick heard of the murder of his brother (July 22d, 1444). The people of Urbino at once united in electing Frederick as their lord and for thirty-eight years were his loyal and affectionate subjects. It was not until 1474 that he was created duke by Pope Sixtus IV. He was twice married, first to Gentile Brancalone as stated above, the second time in 1460 to Battista Sforza, daughter of the Lord of Pesaro, and niece of the Duke of Milan. Frederick had no children by his first wife, and but one, Guidobaldo, born in 1472, by the second.

Although the whole of Frederick's long life was passed in military exploits, he did not neglect his state. On the contrary, the large sums which he received from the various princes of Italy in payment for his services were spent in embellishing his capital and in works of charity. His fame attracted to Urbino many guests who were lavishly entertained, but it does not seem that the society of his court was renowned for its elegance or

⁴ See Jacob Burckhardt's *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, 3d edition, by L. Geiger, Leipzig, 1877, 2 vols., Vol. I, pp. 255, 341, where the various biographies of Vittorino are mentioned. There is now an excellent monograph by W. H. Woodward: *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators: Essays and Versions. An introduction to the history of classical education*. Cambridge, 1897. A pleasant essay by Oreste Antognoni may be found in *Appunti e Memorie*, Imola, 1889, pp. 39-62, "Vittorino da Feltre e un suo biografo," and pp. 201-3, "Ancora di Vittorino da Feltre."

gaiety. It was perhaps too soon to expect that, but he prepared the way for his son and successor Guidobaldo, whose court is immortalized in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.

The scene of that great work is laid in the palace constructed by Frederick, which was considered at the time one of the finest princely residences in Italy.⁵ Here Frederick housed the remarkable library collected by him at lavish cost, which was long the largest and most valuable collection of books in Europe.⁶ In this palace and among these books, Frederick passed the scanty leisure he won from his military service. His life was one of great simplicity, and is described in an admirable and affectionate manner by his contemporary, Vespasiano da Bisticci, the famous Florentine bookseller, who contributed largely to the increase of the ducal library, and wrote the biography of his princely patron.⁷

While engaged in the war of Ferrara in 1482, Frederick was attacked by fever and died on the 10th of September, leaving as his successor Guidobaldo, his son by his second wife, Battista Sforza. Guidobaldo, whose mother died two months after his

⁵ For the palace at Urbino, see Baldi's description, in *Vita e fatti di Federico*, Bologna, 1826, II, pp. 249-325, reprinted in Rigutini's edition of the *Cortegiano*, Florence, Barbèra, 1889, pp. 297-327. The most accurate modern account of the palace is Arnold's *Der herzogliche Palast von Urbino*, Leipzig, 1856, fol. A pleasant account will be found in J. A. Symonds's *Italian Byways*, London, 1883, pp. 129-155, "The Palace of Urbino." See also Dennistoun's *Memoirs*, I, pp. 157 *et seq.*, and an important note in Luzio-Renier, *Mantua e Urbino*, p. 10, note 1. Two other works relating to Urbino and the ducal palace may be mentioned here. The first is: *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino*, Rome, 1724, fol. This handsome but unsatisfactory book was prepared under the auspices of Cardinal Annibale Albani, and largely written by Bernardino Baldi. It contains many illustrations and plans, but they are not arranged for accurate reference, and a large part of the work is taken up with a verbose description of the sculptured ornaments of the court, which were of no value. Much better, but still disappointing, is Prof. Egidio Calzini's *Urbino e i suoi monumenti*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1897, 4to. The work contains chapters on the new monument to Raphael, the Ducal palace, various churches, the Palazzo Albani, and an account of the art of Urbino during the Renaissance. There is no plan of the Palace and the photographic reproductions are very poorly executed. There is a very disappointing account of Urbino in Sir Thomas Graham Jackson's *A Holiday in Umbria with an account of Urbino and the Cortegiano of Castiglione*, London, 1917. The book is largely taken up with an analysis of the *Cortegiano* and the account of the city and palace is disappointing.

⁶ For the ducal library, see Dennistoun, I, pp. 155 *et seq.*; Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di Uomini illustri del secolo XV*, Bologna, 1892, I, pp. 297 *et seq.*; *Giornale storico degli Archivi Toscani*, VI (1862), pp. 127-147, VII (1863), pp. 46-55, 130-153, for the inventory made by Veterano, the ducal librarian, during the reign of Frederick.

⁷ This life is found in the work by Bisticci cited in the preceding note, I, pp. 265-302, especially pp. 302 *et seq.*

birth,⁸ was born on the 24th of January, 1472,⁹ and was consequently nearly eleven years old at the time of his father's death. His early education was entrusted to Ludovico Odoasio of Padua, who found in him a willing pupil.¹⁰ Castiglione says of his early studies: "In illa enim aetate qua pueri nucibus indulgent, litteris, ac disciplinae militari incumbens, brevi tantum profecit, ut non modo inter aequales et pueros, sed inter viros natu grandiores prodigii loco haberetur."¹¹ The same writer gives a detailed statement of Guidobaldo's learning, from which it appears that he was an excellent Latin and Greek scholar, well versed in classical poetry and history, as well as in cosmography, of which he displayed an amazing knowledge.¹² He was carefully trained in bodily exercises, but seems to have inherited some disease, called gout by his biographers, which attacked him when only twenty-one, and soon crippled him. After the fashion of the day he was early betrothed to Lucrezia of Aragon, but for some unknown reason the engagement was never fulfilled.¹³

On the death of his father, Guidobaldo peacefully succeeded to his states, and likewise entered upon a military career, which, however, owing to his physical disabilities, was not brilliant. When he was sixteen he married Elisabetta Gonzaga, daughter of Frederick, Marquis of Mantua, and of Margaret of Bavaria.¹⁴ She was born the 9th of February, 1471, and was consequently a year older than her husband. Nothing is known in regard to her education, but she was one of the most cultivated and charm-

⁸ For life of Guidobaldi, see the histories of Urbino cited above, and Bernardino Baldi, *Della vita e de' Fatti di Guidobaldo I da Montefeltro, Duca d'Urbino*, Milan, 1821, 2 vols. The character of the work is the same as that of Baldi's life of Frederick. Other authorities are mentioned below. There is an admirable article on the dispossession of Guidobaldo by Cesare Borgia in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, April 1, 15, 1918, by Robert de la Sizeranne: "Les Masques et les Visages . . . Une Violation de Neutralité au XVIe Siècle . . . César Borgia à Urbino . . . I. L'Invasion; II. L'Occupation."

⁹Baldi, *Vita e Fatti di Guidobaldo*, I, 6.

¹⁰ He survived his pupil and pronounced his funeral oration, which Bembo has inserted in his dialogue on Guidobaldo and his wife: "Petri Bembi ad Nicolaum Teupolum de Guido Ubaldo Feretrio, deque Elisabetha Gonzagia Urbini Ducibus, Liber," in *Opere del Cardinale Pietro Bembo*, Venice, 1729, 4 vols., Vol. IV, pp. 273-302. Baldi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 12 *et seq.*, gives a prolix account of Guidobaldo's education, which contains very little of value.

¹¹ In his letter to Henry VIII of England, *Opere*, Padua, 1733, pp. 377-390.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 381 *et seq.*

¹³ Baldi, *op. cit.*, I, p. 14, says: Non so se perchè la fanciulla si morisse anzi il tempo, ovvero perchè variandosi, come fanno bene spesso le cose di questo mondo, e particolarmente de' principi, ella fosse destinata ad altro marito.

¹⁴ See especially the work of Luzio and Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, cited above.

ing women of the Renaissance, of spotless character in an immoral age, and under circumstances which might easily have been regarded as palliating a life of less strict virtue.¹⁵

After a year spent in the usual diversions of the time, Guidobaldo was called upon to render military service to the Pope in the war between the French and Spaniards concerning the kingdom of Naples. At the battle of Soriano in 1498, Guidobaldo was taken prisoner and held until a heavy ransom, amounting to 40,000 ducats, had been paid.

More serious misfortunes were soon to overwhelm him. The papal throne was occupied at this time by Alexander VI, whose object was to provide establishments for his children. Lucrezia was married to Alfonso of Ferrara, and Caesar was to be provided with a state in Central Italy. In pursuance of this plan, he invaded Urbino in June of 1502, and Guidobaldo saved his life by a perilous flight to Ravenna, and thence to Mantua by way of Ferrara. A few months later, in October, the Duke recovered his state, but was obliged to surrender it almost immediately as he could not alone resist the Pope and his son. A second flight, longer and hardly less perilous, brought him to Rovigo. This second exile, spent partly in Mantua and partly in Venice, was terminated by the death of Alexander VI on the 18th of August, 1503. As soon as the news of the illness of the Pope and his son reached Venice, Guidobaldo at once started for Urbino, which city he reached August 28, and was received with universal rejoicing.¹⁶ Alexander VI was followed by Pius III, who reigned but twenty-six days. He was succeeded by Julius III, whose brother, Giovanni della Rovere, prefect of Rome and Lord of Sinigaglia, had married Guidobaldo's sister Giovanna. A more fortunate event for the Duke of Urbino could not have been imagined, and the brief remainder of his reign was passed in peace and prosperity.

The Pope at once summoned him to Rome and kept him there during the winter, naming him Gonfaloniere of the Church and

¹⁵ Castiglione in the letter to Henry VIII cited above says: "*Cujus eximia virtute, moribus, et paene divina pulchritudine maritus ab omnibus felicissimus habebatur.*"

¹⁶ In the letter to Henry VIII cited above, Castiglione says: "*Occurrebant redeunti puerorum examina ramos olivarum tenentium; canebant auspicatissimum regis adventum; occurrebant tremulo gradu longaevi senes prae laetitiae lacrimantes, viri, feminae, matres cum infantibus, turbae acervatim cujuscumque sexus, cujuscumque aetatis, ipsa videbantur saxa exsultare, et quodammodo gestire.*"

employing him in various military operations in the Romagna. It was at this time that Guidobaldo first met Baldassare Castiglione, who shortly after entered his service and shed such lustre on his court. This is perhaps the most suitable place to give an account of this remarkable man, who by many was supposed to be the original of the famous *Cortegiano*.¹⁷

Baldassare Castiglione was born November 6, 1478, at Casatico in the territory of Milan, of a noble family.¹⁸ His father, Christopher, was in the military service of the Marquis of Mantua, and his mother, Luigia di Antonio Gonzaga was an intimate companion of Isabella d'Este. His early education was received

¹⁷ In my account of Castiglione I have followed C. Martinati's *Notizie storico-biografiche intorno al Conte Baldassare Castiglione, con documenti inediti*, Florence, 1890. There are lives by Pietro Serassi (often reprinted, recently by G. Rigutini in his edition of the *Cortegiano*, Florence, 1889), and B. Marliani (reprinted in *Opere volgari, e latine del Conte B. Castiglione*, Padua, 1733, presso G. Comino). Biographical materials may also be found in Castiglione's letters published by P. Serassi, Padua, 1769, 2 vols.; for additional letters, see Martinati cited above, and *Il Propugnatore*, New Series, Vol. V, Fasc. 25-26, pp. 346-369, "Alcune lettere inedite di B. Castiglione," where a bibliography of the letters is given.

Since this chapter was written three works on Castiglione have appeared in English, two of them in the same year. The first in the order of time is: *The Book of the Courtier*. By Count Baldesar Castiglione (1528). Translated from the Italian and annotated by Leonard Eckstein Opdycke. With seventy-one Portraits and fifteen Autographs reproduced by Edward Bierstadt. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901, 8vo, pp. xiii, 421. This sumptuous volume is the work of an American scholar and is in every way worthy of its subject. The translation is accurate and easy and the annotations are numerous and display wide reading. It does not pretend to contain a biography of Castiglione, but a sufficient account of the author is given in the notes.

The two other works are by well known writers on Italian subjects: *Courts and Camps of the Italian Renaissance*. Being a Mirror of the Life and Times of the Ideal Gentleman Count Baldassare Castiglione derived largely from his own Letters and other Contemporary Sources, to which is added an Epitome of his famous Work "The Book of the Courtier" with Appreciations and Annotations. By Christopher Hare. Illustrated. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, 12mo, pp. xv, 297. The Epitome of the *Cortegiano* occupies seventy-nine pages. The remainder of the work is devoted to a biography of Castiglione. The book is very readable but does not throw any new light on the subject of social observances and the relation of the *Cortegiano* to other works of the kind.

The last work and the most extensive is: *Baldassare Castiglione. The Perfect Courtier. His Life and Letters. 1478-1529*. By Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady). In two volumes. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1908, 16mo, pp. xxviii, 460; xii, 507. The book is fully illustrated and is based on inedited material to a considerable extent. There is no analysis of the *Cortegiano* and the writer is not acquainted with the extensive literature of which it is a part. The work is, however, invaluable as an account of Castiglione and his times from a historical standpoint.

For Castiglione's relations to Isabella d'Este see Luzio-Renier, "Coltura e relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este," in *Giornale storico*, Vol. 34, pp. 1-97, pp. 71 *et seq.*

¹⁸ Martinati, p. 9.

from his parents, especially from his mother, for whom he always felt unusual love and respect.¹⁹ While still young, Baldassare was sent to Milan, where a branch of his family was settled, various members of which filled important places in the church and state. Castiglione entered the service of the Duke Ludovico il Moro and completed his education both as a gentleman and a scholar. He had as his teachers of Latin and Greek Giorgio Merla and Demetrio Calcondile, and as his guide and counsellor Filippo Beroaldo.²⁰ He says of his education in the letter to the Bishop of Viseo, which serves as preface to the *Cortegiano*:²¹ "Some also say that I have believed that I was describing myself, being persuaded that the qualities which I attribute to the Courtier are all in me. In answer to these I will say that I do not deny that I have attempted all that I would have the Courtier know; and I think that no one who did not have some knowledge of the things treated of in the book, no matter how learned he might be, could have written it; but I am not so ignorant of myself as to presume that I know all that I think desirable."

His stay was short at the court of Milan, Ludovico having been deposed and imprisoned by Louis XII in October, 1499. Castiglione was present at the entrance of the French King into Milan, which he described in a letter to his brother-in-law, M. Jacopo Boschetto.²² After the change in the government of Milan, Castiglione returned to Mantua and entered the service of the Duke, who took sides with the French in the war with Spain and was present at the battle of the Garigliano, December 27, 1503, where the French experienced a crushing defeat. The Duke obtained leave to return home on the ground of illness, and Castiglione accompanied him as far as Rome, and remained there by his permission in order to visit more thoroughly the city. During his stay in Rome, Castiglione met for the first time Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, of whose court he was to be one of the principal ornaments, and where he laid the scene of his immortal work.

¹⁹ Martinati, p. 9.

²⁰ Martinati, p. 9.

²¹ Ed. Rigutini, p. 6, and *Il Cortegiano del Conte B. Castiglione annotato e illustrato da V. Cian*, Florence, 1894, p. 8. This latter edition of the *Cortegiano* is incomparably the best in existence, and I have used it in preparing this chapter, while consulting the others. The first edition of the *Cortegiano*, Venice, Aldo Romano, 1528, is in the library of Cornell University.

²² Oct. 8, 1499, ed. Serassi, I, p. 3, the first letter in that collection.

Guidobaldo had been deprived of his state in 1502 by Caesar Borgia and had saved his life by flight to Mantua, where his brother-in-law, the Marquis Francesco, gave him shelter. A year later the death of Alexander VI enabled Guidobaldo to return to his duchy. He was now at Rome at the instance of Pope Julius II, who wished to employ his services in his schemes for the aggrandizement of his temporal sovereignty. In Guidobaldo's suite was Caesar Gonzaga,²³ a cousin of Castiglione, on whom he afterwards lavished affectionate praises at the beginning of the fourth book of the *Cortegiano*.²⁴ Castiglione was thus brought into intimate relations with Guidobaldo, to whom he became so attached that he asked leave to enter his service and follow him to Urbino. Permission had first to be obtained from the Marquis of Mantua, who granted it, but, for some reason not now clear, nourished for many years a feeling of anger against Castiglione, which may have been the cause or the result of Castiglione's transfer of allegiance to the Duke of Urbino.²⁵

Castiglione arrived at Urbino the 6th of September, 1504,²⁶ where he was received with special favor by the Duchess.²⁷ In December of the same year Castiglione was at Ferrara for some purpose unknown to his biographers, and which he does not himself mention in his letters to his mother.²⁸ Shortly after, he accompanied the Duke, who was summoned to Rome by Pope Julius II, to consult in regard to the latter's scheme for the capture of the Romagna. While in Rome, the Duke informed Castiglione of his intention to dispatch him to England to act as his proxy in the investiture of the Order of the Garter, which Henry VII desired to confer upon him. The journey, however, was postponed until the following year, owing partly to the Duke's absorption in other business, and partly to an injury to Castiglione's foot caused by a fall from horseback at the siege of Cesena.

Meanwhile the Duke sent Castiglione to notify the Marquis of Mantua of the Pope's designs on the cities of the Romagna;

²³ See Dennistoun, II, p. 53, Serassi, *Lettere*, II, p. 228, and *Cortegiano*, ed. Cian, p. xxii.

²⁴ Ed. Cian, p. 350.

²⁵ Castiglione's biographer, Serassi, in Rigutini, p. xxiv, considers it the result, and this is the general opinion; see Martinati, p. 12.

²⁶ He wrote to his mother on the 9th of his safe arrival, Serassi, I, p. 7.

²⁷ Serassi, I, p. 8: "La Signora Duchessa mi ha fatto e fa continuamente molte carezze più ch'io non merito."

²⁸ Serassi, I, pp. 10-11.

but when Castiglione reached Ferarra he was warned not to enter the territory of Mantua as the Marquis was still angry with him and would surely seize this opportunity to punish him. As it was, Castiglione escaped capture by the Marquis only through the efforts of his cousin Caesar Gonzaga.

The winter of 1506 was spent at Urbino, where Castiglione amused the Duchess and her court by his eclogue entitled *Tirsi*.²⁹ Guidobaldo was absent from the duchy, which his wife governed in his name until his return later in the year. At the end of the following summer, Castiglione finally set out for England by way of Lyons,³⁰ and reached London the 1st of November.³¹ The king (Henry VII) showed him great kindness and honor. The ceremony of installation, at which Castiglione represented the Duke, is described by Dennistoun.³² Castiglione returned at once to Italy and reached Milan the 9th of February, 1507, whence he asked leave of the Marquis of Mantua to visit his mother at Casatico. The Marquis had apparently laid aside his anger and granted Castiglione permission to enter his state with security. He spent some days with his mother at Casatico and arrived at Urbino in March.³³

While Castiglione was absent in England, Guidobaldo received a visit from the Pope, who after a few days passed on to the capture of Bologna. There he stayed keeping the Duke of Urbino with him until March of 1507, when he paid another brief visit to Urbino, where the Duke remained. It is at this time that Castiglione places the action of his *Cortegiano*.

The society of Urbino during the reign of Frederick, as has already been remarked, was not renowned for its elegance or gaiety. The picture which Vespasiano da Bisticci draws of it shows a life almost conventual in its seriousness and regularity. Next to war, the Duke's absorbing passion was the collecting of books and the study of the classics. His court represents the earlier stage of the Renaissance, the revival of letters and the passionate cultivation of classical studies. The interval between his death in 1482 and Guidobaldo's in 1508 saw the second stage of the Renaissance, the application of the new culture to

²⁹ See Serassi, *Lettere*, II, pp. 206, and 244. It may also be found in *Opere*, 1733, p. 311, and in Rigutini, p. 284.

³⁰ Serassi, I, p. 27.

³¹ Serassi, I, p. 28.

³² Dennistoun, II, pp. 443 *et seq.*

³³ Serassi, I, p. 29.

life and society. This stage is marked by scholars like Bembo, who combined deep learning with elegance of manners and sparkling wit. Although many of the forms of social diversion belong to an earlier period, they are developed and refined; and conversation assumes a prominence it everywhere held until the French Revolution ushered in a new phase of society. The society we are now considering owed its rapid development and characteristic forms to the changed social position of woman. We have already seen that mediæval society was based upon the reverence for woman which was due to the spirit of Chivalry. In Italy in the sixteenth century, woman was not considered, as in the times of the Troubadours and *Trouvères* and early Italian lyrical poets, as the object of a secret and mystical adoration, but as the social equal and companion of man. She was educated with her brothers and often displayed extraordinary aptitude for study. She was withal free from pedantry, and, in the circle we are about to consider, at least, was distinguished by her charming manners and social tact.

In the introduction to the *Cortegiano*, Castiglione enumerates some fifteen persons as permanent members of the court, and six others as frequent visitors. In the dialogue of the *Cortegiano* there are twenty-five interlocutors, embracing both classes mentioned above. A rapid survey of the most prominent of these will give some idea of the varied character of the society of Urbino, and show its wide difference from the mediæval society which has already been considered. Only four ladies are introduced in the dialogue, and of these only two play a prominent part. They are the Duchess herself and her inseparable friend and companion, Emilia Pio.

The former has already been mentioned, and her manifold charms sufficiently described. Her friend was the daughter of Marco Pio de' Signori di Carpi. She had married Antonio, Count of Montefeltro, a natural brother of Duke Guidobaldo, but left a widow at an early age, she continued to live at the court of Urbino, where she was the intimate friend of the Duchess and was admired and respected by the frequenters of the court.³⁴

³⁴ Letters from Bembo to her may be found in *Opere*, Venice, 1729, Vol. IV, Parte Prima, pp. 317, *et seq.* Cian, *Cortegiano*, p. xxiv, says that Bembo in the *Dialogue De Urbini Ducibus* calls her "magni animi, multi consilii foemina, summaeque tum prudentiae, tum pietatis." See also Luzio-Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, pp. 282-3, and Dennistoun, II, pp. 66 *et seq.*, where is engraved a medallion of Emilia.

The Duchess placed in her hands the management of the social diversions of the court, and she occupies a prominent position in the pages of the *Cortegiano*, as will be seen later. The other ladies are Costanza Fregoso and Margherita Gonzaga.

The former was the sister of Federico and Ottaviano Fregoso, to be mentioned later. She, too, was a friend of Bembo, who was the godfather to her son (she married Count Marcantonio Landi of Piacenza), and later his counsellor and guide in his studies.³⁵ She appears in the *Cortegiano* merely as one of the Duchess's companions and takes no part in the discussions. The same rôle is played by the remaining lady, Margherita Gonzaga, niece of the Duchess, being the natural daughter of her brother Francesco. She was for many years one of the ornaments of the court of Urbino.³⁶

Although Castiglione was at Urbino at the time when the conversations embodied in the *Cortegiano* took place, he feigns that he was absent in England on the mission described above. The object of his pretended absence was to absolve him from the necessity of taking part himself in the discussion. His name is mentioned but once, and that only casually in connection with the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry VIII of England. The Duke is likewise absent from the conversation owing to the state of his health, which obliged him to retire to his chamber soon after the evening meal. The talk was naturally freer in his absence and it would have been difficult to assign him a suitable rôle in the work.

It is not easy to classify the remaining twenty-two interlocutors, one of whom, Pietro Bembo, has already been sufficiently characterized. Of the rest, some were great noblemen like Giuliano Medici, Francesco Maria della Rovere (Guidobaldo's heir and successor), and Ottaviano Fregoso (afterwards Doge of Genoa): others were soldiers like Ettore Romano, Caesar Gonzaga (Castiglione's cousin), and Ludovico Pio. The Church was represented by Bibbiena, Canossa, and Federico Fregoso. Orazio Florido and Niccolo Frisio were statesmen and diplomats. Two only were professional men of letters: Accolti, the celebrated

³⁵ See Bembo's letters in *Opere*, ed. cit., IV, *Parte Prima*, pp. 331 et seq. Cian, *Cortegiano*, p. xxi, cites other letters.

³⁶ See Cian, *Cortegiano*, p. xxiii, who cites Luzio, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla Corte di Giulio II," Rome, 1887, in *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, Col. IX.

improvisatore, and Calmeta, a mediocre poet and littérateur. The Arts were represented by Giovanni Cristoforo Romano, sculptor, musician, and also poet, and possibly by Pietro da Napoli. That indispensable adjunct of a court, the buffoon, was not wanting, and that rôle was played by the monk Fra Serafino. The courtier pure and simple is represented by Morello, a man of somewhat advanced age and an accomplished musician.³⁷

We are struck in glancing over this brilliant assembly with the fact that warriors and scholars, poets and statesmen, artists and noblemen, met on the same footing of equality which characterized the society of the Renaissance, where genius was ample compensation for the lack of noble birth, and where love of letters and appreciation of art were found in the soldier as well as in the scholar. The outward forms of society had always been more refined in Italy than elsewhere. War had not played so prominent a rôle as in feudal France and the conditions were such as to refine manners. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, to find outside of Italy such a group of courtiers as that gathered at Urbino and described in the pages of the *Cortegiano*, to which we now turn as affording the best idea of the person briefly characterized above. Some account of the origin and literary history of the work will be necessary to its complete understanding.³⁸

In the dedicatory letter to Don Michel de Silva, Bishop of Viseo in Portugal, Castiglione says:³⁹ "When the Lord Guid' Ubaldo of Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, passed from this life, I, together with some other cavaliers who had served him, remained in the service of the Duke Francesco Maria della

³⁷ Three or four of the interlocutors of the *Cortegiano* are not included in the above classification. They are the Ceva brothers, noblemen of the true Renaissance type, cultivated and cruel, Pallavicino, the woman hater, and Roberto da Bari, one of the Duke's gentlemen.

³⁸ The only separate work on the subject is E. Bottari, *B. Castiglione e il suo libro del Cortegiano*, Pisa, 1874. It is not necessary to cite the various literary histories which contain accounts of the *Cortegiano*. Their standpoint is different from ours and does not deal to any extent with the social aspect of the work. For the *Cortegiano* as a treatise on Love and its relations to other fifteenth century treatises on the same subject see L. Savino, "Di alcuni trattati e trattatisti d'amore italiani della prima metà del secolo XVI.," in *Studi di letteratura italiana*, Napoli, 1914, Vol. IX, pp. 334-435. This article, contains precious materials for the date of the composition of the *Cortegiano* the various editions published in Italy and elsewhere, and the character of the Love of which it treats.

³⁹ Ed. Cian, p. 1.

Rovere, his heir and successor in the state; and as the odor of the virtues of the Duke Guido was fresh in my mind, and the satisfaction which in those years I had felt in the friendly company of such excellent persons as were then at the court of Urbino, I was incited to write these books of the *Courtier*, which I did in a few days, with the intent to correct in time those errors which arose from my desire to repay this debt at once. But fortune for many years has always kept me involved in such continual labors, that I have never been able to take the time to accomplish it, so that my weak judgment should be satisfied. While in Spain, I was informed from Italy, that Signora Vittoria della Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, to whom I had formerly given a copy of the book, had had a large part of it transcribed contrary to her promise. I could not but feel some vexation, fearing the many annoyances which may arise in such cases. Nevertheless I trusted that the wit and prudence of that lady (whose virtue I have always venerated as something divine) would suffice to prevent my obedience to her commands from being prejudicial to me. I finally learned that that part of my book was in the hands of many in Naples, and as men are always greedy for novelty, it seemed that an attempt would be made to print it. Frightened by this danger, I determined to make the slight correction of the book which time permitted, intending to publish it, deeming it better to let it appear slightly corrected by my hand than greatly mangled by the hand of others. . . . In order, therefore, not to delay the payment due to the memory of so excellent a lady⁴⁰ and of others no longer living, induced also by the danger to which the book was exposed, I have had it printed and published in such a fashion as the brevity of time has permitted."

The book is addressed to the author's friend Alfonso Ariosto, second cousin of the greater Ludovico, who died still young in 1526. The author states at the beginning: "I have long doubted in my own mind, my dearest Messer Alfonso, which of two things would be the more difficult, to refuse what you have often asked me so earnestly, or to grant it."⁴¹ The book thus

⁴⁰ The Duchess of Urbino, widow of Guidobaldo, who died in 1526.

⁴¹ In the edition of the letters published by Serassi, Padua, 1769, there is, I, p. 181 *et seq.*, a long *proemio*, quite different from the brief introduction in the printed editions. In the former, Castiglione says: "Which of two things

begun and hastily written, as the author declares in the letter above cited, remained uncorrected in Castiglione's hands until 1518. At this time the Duke of Urbino, Francesco della Rovere, was making desperate efforts to recover his states, of which he had been dispossessed by Pope Leo X. Castiglione's share in these efforts is not clearly known, but he probably retired to Mantua, where he completed his book. On the 20th of September, 1518, he wrote from that city to Jacopo Saldoletto, one of the secretaries of Leo X, and afterwards appointed by him to the bishopric of Carpentras. Castiglione, after congratulating him upon this appointment, adds: "Amid many labors I have written that dialogue of mine on the *Courtier*, of which I have spoken to you before, and although it does not please me, I am compelled by the importunity of some friends, who perhaps do not know much, to publish it; and because it seemed to me a good excuse when I remembered that you had seen it, I beg you to glance at it and tell me your opinion in regard to concealing it or publishing it, for the authority of those who ask it from me against my will, will have little weight with me when you advise me to hide it; and if you advise me to publish it I shall be sure and free from that doubt which it seems reasonable to me to have."⁴² A month later, the 20th of October, 1518, he wrote to his friend Bembo: "I fear, Signor Messer Pietro, that my *Courtier* will prove nothing but a burden to me and an annoyance to my friends; for the fact that it is written having come to the knowledge of many, I am urged to publish it, and as I know that it will not equal their expectations, and I do not know what else to do with it, I think I will share this burden with my friends, and especially with those who are learned and will advise me faithfully, of whom, although they are few, you stand at the head of the list. My lord the Bishop of Bajus having been

would be the more difficult, to refuse what you have often asked me so earnestly, and on behalf of so great a king, or to grant it?" Serassi says in a note that M. Alfonso Ariosto, a Bolognese gentleman, was a favorite courtier of the Most Christian King Francis I, and that it appears from this *proemio* that the Count was induced to write his book to please the king of France, and that later he omitted this *proemio*, because he had espoused the Imperial side. Martinati, on the contrary, pp. 19, 31, declares that the king meant was Louis XII, who died in 1515. The *Cortegiano* was certainly begun shortly after the death of Duke Guidobaldo, which occurred on April 11, 1508, while Louis XII was still alive. Cian in his edition of the *Cortegiano*, p. 91, note, distinctly states that Castiglione undertook his work to please Francis I, whom he had met in Bologna, as early as 1515, after the victory of Marignano.

⁴² Martinati, p. 83.

pleased to take the trouble to carry it to Rome and also to send it back to me at Mantua, I beg that you will take the pains to read it, wholly or in part, and inform me of your opinion, in order that if the book can not be free from many errors, they may at least not be infinite in number. Do not regard the writing, for that will be another's care; and if you do not like what I say, or that manner of saying it, I will change, suppress, add, as you please."⁴³

Again on the 15th of January, 1520, Castiglione wrote once more to Bembo from Mantua: "Signor Messer Pietro, some days ago I wrote to you, grieving at the misfortune which happened to me through our lord the Bishop of Bajus,⁴⁴ which was the loss of the letter which you wrote me about my *Courtier*, and I begged you to condescend to reply something about its contents. As I have not had any reply, I thought it best to write this and to beg again of you the same thing: for I am in too great doubt, not having at least any idea in general, unless possibly in particular, of your judgment upon this poor *Courtier*. Deign then to favor me with it."⁴⁵

Castiglione could not yet decide to publish his book and became more and more involved, as we have seen, in business cares. He learned in Spain⁴⁶ that Signora Vittoria Colonna to whom he had given a copy of the book, had not kept it secret, but had communicated a large part of it to her friends, who thought of printing it. The author wrote a long letter to her, dated Burgos, September 21st, 1527, in which he says that he first learned of her "theft" of the book from her husband, the Marchese del Vasto, and that later a Neapolitan gentleman then in Spain had told him that some fragments of the *Cortegiano* were in Naples and that the person who had divulged them said he had received them from Signora Vittoria Colonna. Castiglione added that he had at first grieved at this like a father who sees a son ill treated, but on reflection he perceived that the fragments did not deserve any greater care and merited to be left in the streets. He had decided to leave them there, but

⁴³ Castiglione, *Opere*, Padua, 1733, p. 279.

⁴⁴ For the Bishop of Bajus or Bajusa, *i.e.*, Bayeux, see Serassi, *Lettere*, I, p. 161, n. 1, and II, p. 274. He was the Count Ludovico da Canossa; see also Cian, p. xviii, and the *Cortegiano*, I, xiii and passim.

⁴⁵ *Opere*, ed. cit., p. 282: "non avendo almen qualche scintilla in generale, se non si può in particolare."

⁴⁶ See the letter to the Bishop of Viseo cited above.

some persons more inclined to pity than the author had recently compelled him to have the book copied, "such as the brevity of time has permitted me to do," and sent to Venice to be printed, which had been done. Castiglione concludes the letter with the polite words that so far from having cooled his ardor for her service the matter had increased his obligations to her, "because the necessity of having it printed at once has relieved me of the fatigue of adding many things which I had already arranged in my mind, which could only have been of little moment like the rest, and so the reader's fatigue and the author's blame will be lessened."

The work was sent to Venice to be printed at the Aldine press.⁴⁷ Castiglione's friend Cristoforo Tirabosco had charge of the edition, which consisted of 1000 copies, besides 30 on *carta reale*, and one on parchment.⁴⁸ The work appeared in April, 1528, and has since then been frequently reprinted and translated.⁴⁹

It is not strange that Castiglione has followed a classical model in his work. The very form into which it is thrown, the dialogue, was, as we have already seen, a favorite one in the sixteenth century, and was based upon classical models. Casti-

⁴⁷ Martinati, p. 34, note 2, says that there are two letters from Castiglione written in Spain in regard to the printing of the *Cortegiano*.

⁴⁸ Martinati, p. 34.

⁴⁹ See the edition of Castiglione's works cited above, Padua, 1733, pp. 415 *et seq.*, where is given a list of the editions and translations of the *Cortegiano* down to 1732. This list may be increased by reference to the catalogue of the British Museum. The important point for us is that there are numerous French translations of that century, one of 1603, and two of the eighteenth century, 1727, and 1729.

For English trans. of the *Courtier* see Miss M. A. Scott, *op. cit.* (1916), p. 445, No. 372, also in Opdycke's translation.

The first English translation was by Sir Thomas Hoby, London, 1561, of which there is a copy in Cornell University Library. A reprint of this first edition has recently appeared in the *Tudor Translations* edited by W. E. Henley, XXIII: *The Book of the Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione: done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby anno 1561*. With an introduction by Walter Raleigh. London. Published by David Nutt. 1900. I have examined at the British Museum the beautiful edition printed by François Iuste at Lyons in 1538. This translation was made by Jacques Colin, secretary to King Francis I, and revised by Etienne Dolet. An elaborate article on the influence of the *Cortegiano* in France may be found in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. 104, pp. 75-121, by P. Toldo, "Le courtesan dans la littérature française et ses rapports avec l'oeuvre du Castiglione." This is the first of several articles. A very interesting account of the vogue of the *Cortegiano* in France may also be found in Antoine Héroet. *Oeuvres poétiques. Edition critique publiée par Ferdinand Gohin*, Paris, 1909, *Société des textes français modernes*. The *Notice biographique* is very valuable for the introduction of Platonism into France and the influence of Castiglione's work.

glione, however, goes further than this and has in a general way based his work upon Cicero's *De Oratore*, a work of the same form and purpose as the *Cortegiano*.⁵⁰ The object of Cicero's work was to give an idea of the qualifications of the perfect orator. This he accomplished in a dialogue in which he introduces as the principal speakers the famous Roman orators Crassus and Antonius. Cicero like Castiglione is absent from the conversation, which takes place at the Tusculan villa to which Crassus had retired for a brief rest from his agitated Roman life. Here in the shady garden, in a scene which purposely recalls the setting of Plato's *Phaedrus*, the friends discuss during the morning of one day, and the whole of the following one, the subject of the perfect orator.

Castiglione has imitated Cicero not only in the general idea of his work but in many details, notably in the long digression of the second book devoted to the treatment of *facezie*, which are divided into three classes: *festività* or *urbanità*, *detti* or *arguzie*, and *burle*. The last class is unknown to Cicero, but Castiglione follows the great Roman orator in his consideration of the other two, borrowing even many of his examples. All this, however, does not impair the true originality of the Italian work, whose author resembles the writers of the Renaissance who were so deeply imbued with classical learning that their productions, like those of the great French writers of the seventeenth century, instinctively follow classical models; yet the *Cortegiano* is not a slavish imitation, but a natural assimilation of the classical elements.

The substance of Castiglione's work, like that of Cicero, was drawn from his own experience. He was undoubtedly acquainted with the literature of the subject so far as it existed in the works which have already been cited; but none of them combined so perfectly the theory with the practice, and none of them gave such a vivid picture of the society in which their scene was laid.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See L. Valmaggì, "Per le fonti del Cortegiano," in the *Giornale storico*, Vol. XIV, pp. 72-93. The article treats almost exclusively of the imitation of Cicero by Castiglione in that part of the *Cortegiano* where *facezie* are discussed, Book II, xlii-xcvii.

⁵¹ For example, he must have known the various treatises on love cited in the third chapter of this work. He cites one of the authors, Francesco Diaceto, in the first book, xxvii, as a writer of pure Tuscan. Cian in his edition of the *Cortegiano*, p. 28, note to line 29, cites the Spanish work, *Questión de Amor*,

It is time now to turn to the book itself and consider Castiglione's account of the circumstances which gave rise to the discussion, of which the author feigns that he has given a faithful report. I shall give Castiglione's own words in detail and make no apology for the length of the recital, as it illustrates many interesting points in the society of the sixteenth century, and shows how this society still resembled that described in the earlier chapters of this work.

"On the slopes of the Apennines, almost in the middle of Italy on the side towards the Adriatic, is situated, as every one knows, the little city of Urbino, which although among mountains, and not so pleasant as some others which we see in many places, still has been so favored by heaven that the country roundabout is most fertile and full of fruit, so that besides the salubrity of the climate, there is an abundant supply of every thing needed for human life. But among the greatest blessings which can be attributed to it, I believe this is the principal one, that for a long time it has always been ruled by excellent lords, although in the universal calamities of the wars of Italy, it was deprived of them for a time.⁵² Not to go any further back, we can prove this by the glorious memory of the Duke Frederick, who in his day was the light of Italy; nor are lacking true and numerous witnesses who are still living, of his prudence, kindness, justice, liberality, invincible mind, and military prowess: the last quality is especially shown by his many victories, the storming of impregnable places, his sudden readiness in his campaigns, his having defeated with few soldiers large and powerful armies, his never having lost a battle: so that we may compare him to many famous heroes of ancient times. Among other praiseworthy deeds of his, he constructed on the rough site of Urbino a palace, the most beautiful in all Italy according to the opinion of many, and furnished it so well with every needful thing, that it did not seem a palace, but a city in the form of a palace; and he furnished it not only with what is ordinarily used, as silver plate, hangings of rich cloth of gold and silk for the chambers, and

as a book which Castiglione probably had in his hands; and which afforded him an example of conversations, and questions of love. This curious work is fully discussed elsewhere, and it need only be said here that it could not have been of any considerable assistance to the author of the *Cortegiano*.

⁵² From June, 1502, to August, 1503; see the sketch of Guidobaldo's life in this chapter, pp. 165, *et seq.*

other similar things, but he added by way of ornament a great number of antique statues of marble and bronze, rare pictures, musical instruments of all kinds; nor would he have anything there that was not rare and excellent. Afterwards at great expense he collected a large number of rare and excellent books, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, all ornamented with gold and silver, deeming them the supreme honor of his great palace.

“ He then, following the course of nature, died gloriously as he had lived, at the age of sixty-five, and left as lord after him, a little motherless boy of ten, the only son he had, who was Guidobaldo. This boy seemed to have inherited all his father's virtues as well as his state, and at once with remarkable disposition began to give such promise as it did not seem right to hope from mortal man; so that people thought that of the famous deeds of the Duke Frederick none was greater than having produced such a son. But Fortune, envious of such great virtue, opposed w'th all its might so glorious a beginning, so that before the Duke Guido had reached the age of twenty, he was attacked by the gout, which, increasing with the most cruel pains, in a short time so fettered all his limbs, that he could neither stand nor move; and thus one of the handsomest and strongest bodies in the world was deformed and ruined in the flower of its age. Not satisfied with this, Fortune was so adverse to him in all his plans, that he rarely accomplished what he wished, and although he was wise and courageous in his designs, it seemed that whatever he began, either in military enterprises, or in anything else great or small, always turned out badly; and this is shown by his many and diverse calamities, which he always bore with such fortitude, that his virtue was never overcome by Fortune: nay, scorning with valiant mind its attacks, in illness as if well, and in adversity as if fortunate, he lived with the greatest respect and esteem of every one: so that although he was weak of body, as has been described, he served under the most honorable conditions the most severe kings of Naples, Alfonso and the younger Ferdinand; afterwards the Pope Alexander VI, and the Venetians and Florentines. When Julius II assumed the tiara, he was made Captain of the Church: at which time, according to his custom, he strove above all things to fill his palace with noble and valiant gentlemen, with whom he lived very intimately, enjoying their conversation: in which the pleasure he gave to others was

not less than that which he received from them, because he was most learned in both Greek and Latin, and had in addition to his affability and agreeableness a boundless knowledge of things: and, besides this, the greatness of his mind so incited him, that although he could not personally practice the exercises of knight-hood, as he once had done, still he took great pleasure in seeing them performed by others; and correcting or praising by his words each according to his merits, he revealed clearly his judgment in such matters; whence in jousts, and tournaments, in riding and handling all sorts of weapons, as well as in festivals, games, and music, in short in all exercises befitting noble cavaliers, every one endeavored to show himself such that he should deserve to be deemed worthy of so noble a companionship.

“All the hours of the day were divided among honorable and pleasant exercises as well of the body as of the mind; but because the Duke constantly, on account of his infirmity, went to bed very early after supper, every one ordinarily at that time went where the Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga was; there was always to be found the Lady Emilia Pio, who, as you know, because she was endowed with so lively a wit and judgment, appeared the mistress of all, and it seemed as if every one assumed from her sense and virtue. Here then were heard pleasant conversations and seemly jests, and on the countenance of every one was seen depicted a merry cheerfulness, so that that palace might certainly be called the abode of joy: nor do I believe that ever elsewhere was enjoyed so greatly the pleasure which arises from a company we love and prize, as was there enjoyed for a time; for, not to speak of what an honor it was for each of us to serve such a lord as I have already described above, there sprang up in the minds of all the greatest satisfaction whenever we met in the presence of the Duchess; and it seemed that this was a chain that united us all in love, so that never was there greater harmony of will or more cordial love among brothers than that which there prevailed among all. The same existed among the ladies, with whom there was a free and virtuous intimacy; for each could address the one he wished, and jest and laugh with her, or sit by her; but so great was the respect for the wishes of the Duchess, that liberty itself was a great check, nor was there any one who did not deem it the greatest pleasure in the world to be able to please her, and the greatest grief to displease her.

For which reason, the most seemly customs were here united to the greatest liberty, and the games and jests were in her presence seasoned, not only with the sharpest wit, but with a pleasing and serious decorum; for that modesty and greatness which composed all the acts and words and gestures of the Duchess when she jested and laughed, caused even those who had never seen her before to recognize that she was a great lady. Thus imprinting her image upon the bystanders, it seemed as if she fashioned them all according to her quality and form; whence each strove to imitate her style, taking his model of elegant manners from the presence of so great and virtuous a lady, whose admirable qualities I do not now intend to describe, as it is not my purpose, and because they are well known to the world, and much better than I could express with tongue or pen; and those qualities which perchance would have been somewhat concealed, Fortune, as it were the admirer of such unusual virtues, has wished to reveal by many adversities and pangs of misfortune, to show that in the tender breast of a woman remarkable beauty might be accompanied by wisdom and fortitude, and all those virtues which are uncommon even in the sternest men.

"But not to dwell further upon this point, I say, that it was the habit of all the gentlemen of the palace to betake themselves immediately after supper to the Duchess, where, among the other pleasing festivities and music and dancing which were constantly in use, sometimes interesting questions were propounded,⁵³ sometimes ingenious games⁵⁴ were played at the pleasure of one and another, in which under various figures the bystanders often disclosed in an allegorical way their thoughts to whom it most pleased them. Sometimes other disputes arose on diverse subjects, or they attacked each other with quick repartee; often they composed devices,⁵⁵ as we nowadays call them: where

⁵³ The origin of "questions" as a social diversion has been fully discussed in the second chapter of this work, and we have seen in the following chapter the persistence of this custom. It will also occupy our attention in the remaining chapters of this book.

⁵⁴ Games will form the subject of Chapter VI.

⁵⁵ Devices were in great demand in the pseudochivalric age, the fifteenth century, and the following one, for decorative purposes in tournaments, etc. Abundant examples are afforded by such books as the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, by Ginés Perez de Hita, the first part of which was written between 1589 and 1595, and the *Questión de Amor*, already referred to. In Italy during the sixteenth century devices played an important part in social diversions, as we shall see in the chapter devoted to games; and also in the academic life of the period, which has been noticed briefly in connection with

marvellous pleasure was taken in such discourses, because, as I have said, the palace was full of noble wits; among whom, as you know, were most famous: Signor Ottaviano Fregoso, his brother Messer Frederico, the Magnificent Giuliano Medici, Messer Pietro Bembo, Messer Caesar Gonzaga, the Count Ludovico da Canossa, Signor Gaspar Pallavicino, Signor Ludovico Pio, Signor Morello da Ortona, Messer Roberto da Bari, and many other noble cavaliers, besides many, who, although usually they did not remain there constantly, still spent the

"questions." Each academy had to have its device, and this gave rise to much discussion. There is an extensive literature of the subject, of which only a few of the most important works can be mentioned here. The classical Italian treatise is by Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, and is entitled: *Ragionamento sopra i moti e disegni d'arme e d'amore che comunamente chiamano imprese*, Rome, 1555. I have used the reprint in Daelli's *Biblioteca Rara*, Vol. V, Milan, 1863. Much more extensive is Scipion Bargagli's *Dell'Imprese*, Venice, 1594, a quarto volume of nearly six hundred pages, with many handsome engravings. The author will be considered in Chapter VI. Devices were also the subject of numerous dialogues, of which I have seen the following: *Dialoghi piacevoli del Signor Stefano Guazzo*, Venice, 1586, "Delle Imprese"; and *Dialoghi di M. Lodovico Domenichi*, Venice, 1562, p. 151, "L'Imprese d'Armi, et d'Amore." The subject was also a popular one in France in the seventeenth century, as is shown by the conversation on devices in *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, Paris, 1671, by Bouhours. A long list of similar works may be found in the *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque du Duc de la Vallière, Seconde Partie, Tome Troisième*, pp. 373 et seq. See also the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. XII, pp. 36-46, "Marc'Antonio Epicuro," by E. Pèrcopo. See Chapters III, note 38; VI, note 45. For English trans. of Giovio's work see Miss M. A. Scott, *op. cit.* (1916), p. 468, No. 382.

A game of *Imprese* is mentioned in Lodovico Frati's *La vita privata di Bologna dal secolo XIII. al XVII. con appendici di documenti inediti e sedici tavole illustrative*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1900. The date of the game is not given, but from the context it was probably in the fifteenth century.

A very valuable article on *Imprese* is to be found in the *Giornale storico*, XXXVIII (1901), pp. 310-363. "Imprese e divise d'arme e d'amore nel Orlando Furioso," by Abd-el-Kader Salza. This article contains many very important notes on the literature and social use of *Imprese*.

In 1594, the year before his death, Tasso wrote at Naples a dialogue on Devices, which may be found in *I Dialoghi di Torquato Tasso a cura di Cesare Guasti*, Florence, 1859, Vol. III, p. 363. The scene of the dialogue is at Rome, and Tasso himself, under the name of "A Neapolitan Stranger," is one of the interlocutors. The dialogue is a lengthy discourse on the various classes of Devices and the rules of the art. The poet concludes by citing the laws laid down by Giovio, which must be obeyed by all who desire to attain perfection in this art. The popularity of Giovio's work is attested by many translations. I have seen at the British Museum the following: *The Worthy tract of Paulus Iovius, containyng a Discourse of rare inuentions, both Militarie and Amorous called Imprese. Whereunto is added a Preface containyng the Arte of composing them, with many other notable deuises.* By Samuëll Daniell late Student in Oxenforde. At London, Printed for Simon Waterson, 1585, 8vo. *Dialogue des Devises d'Armes et d'Amours du S. Paulo Iovio, Avec un Discours de M. Loys Dominique sur le mesme subiet. Traduit d'Italien per S. Vasquin Philieul. Auquel auons adiousté les Devises Heroïques et Morales du Seigneur Gabriel Symeon.* A Lyon. Par Gvillavme Roville, 1561, 4to.

greater part of their time there; as Messer Bernardo Bibiena, the Unique Aretine, Joan Cristoforo Romano, Pietro Monte, Terpandro, Messer Nicolo Frisio: so that poets, musicians, and every sort of entertaining men, and the most excellent in every talent to be found in Italy, flocked there.

“Pope Julius II then, having by his presence and with the help of the French compelled Bologna to acknowledge the authority of the Apostolic throne in 1506, on his return to Rome, passed through Urbino, where he was received as honorably as possible, and with as magnificent and splendid pomp as could have been displayed in any other noble city whatever of Italy: so that, besides the Pope, all the cardinals and other courtiers remained perfectly satisfied; and there were some who, led by the sweetness of that company, tarried for many days at Urbino, after the departure of the Pope and his court: during this time not only did the ordinary festivities and pleasures continue in the usual style, but every one strove to enhance every thing, and especially in the games, in which they engaged almost every evening. And the order of these was such, that, as soon as they reached the presence of the Duchess, each seated himself in the circle according to his pleasure, or as chance willed; the gentlemen and ladies sat next each other, as far as the ladies went, for the number of the men was almost always greater: then they did as seemed good to the Duchess, who generally left this duty to Signora Emilia. Thus the day after the Pope's departure, the company having gathered in the usual place at the wonted hour, after many pleasant words, the Duchess wished Signora Emilia to begin the games; and she, after having declined for some time this undertaking, spoke thus: ‘My Lady, since it is your pleasure for me to begin the games this evening, and as I cannot with reason refuse to obey you, I mean to propose a game, from which I think to have little blame and less trouble; and it will be this: that every one shall propose according to his mind a game not hitherto played; afterwards the one will be selected which seems most worthy of being played by this company.’ And thus speaking she turned to Signor Gaspar Pallavicino, charging him to tell his. He replied at once: ‘It is for you, Signora, to tell yours first.’ Signora Emilia answered: ‘You see that I have done so, but you, Signora Duchess, command him to obey.’ Then the Duchess laughing said: ‘In order that every one may

have to obey you, I make you my *locum tenens*, and bestow my full authority upon you.'

" 'It is curious,' replied Signor Gaspar, 'that women are always allowed this exemption from trouble, and it would certainly be reasonable for us to wish at all hazards to understand the cause of it; but in order not to be the first to disobey, I shall leave this for another time, and say now what it is my place to say'; and he began: 'It seems to me that our minds judge differently in love as well as in other things; and therefore it often happens that what is most pleasing to one is most hateful to another, but nevertheless all agree in prizing most dearly the thing they love: so much so that often the excessive affection of lovers deceives their judgment, for they deem the person they love the only one in the world endowed with every excellent virtue, and without any fault; but because human nature does not admit of such complete perfection, nor is there any person who does not lack something, it is impossible to say that these are not deceived, and that the lover is not blinded about his beloved. I would like then our game this evening to be; that each should say with what virtue he would particularly wish the person he loves to be endowed, and, since it is necessary that all should have some fault, what vice he would prefer her to have: to see who can discover the most praiseworthy and useful virtues, and the most excusable vices, and those least injurious to the lover and the beloved.'^{55a} After Signor Gaspar had thus spoken, Signora Emilia made a sign to Madonna Costanza Fregoso, because she was the next in order, to continue. She was preparing to speak, when the Duchess suddenly said: 'Since Madonna Emilia does not wish to trouble herself about inventing any game, it would be right that the other ladies should share that privilege, and be excused this evening from such labor, especially as there are so many men present that there is no danger of our lacking games.' 'So shall we do,' replied Signora Emilia, and imposing silence upon Madonna Costanza, turned to Messer Caesar Gonzaga, who sat by her side, and commanded him to speak: and he thus began:

" 'Whoever diligently examines our actions, always finds in them various defects; and this arises because nature, in this as

^{55a} A game similar to that proposed by Signor Gaspar may be found in G. Bargagli's *Dialogo de' Giuochi*, p. 26, No. 6, "Best quality which a lover can have"; see also p. 174, No. 124, same game repeated.

in other things, has given to one the light of reason in one thing, and to another in another: wherefore it happens, that one knowing what another does not know, and being ignorant of what another understands, each perceives easily his companion's error and not his own, and we all think we are very wise, and perhaps the more so in the thing in which we are the most foolish; for which reason we have seen it happen in this palace, that many who at the beginning have been deemed very wise, in the course of time have been recognized as very foolish: which has arisen from nothing else but our diligence. For, as they say that in Apulia with those bitten by the tarantula, they employ many musical instruments, and make trial of various sounds until that humor which causes the disease, by a certain harmony which it has with some of those sounds, when it hears it, suddenly is moved, and agitates the sick man until he is restored to health by that movement: so we, when we have felt some hidden virtue of folly, so subtly and with such varied persuasions have we stimulated it, and in such diverse ways, that at last we have understood whither it tended; then, having recognized the humor, we have agitated it so well, that it has been to the perfection of public folly: and one has turned out mad in poetry, another in music, one in love, another in dancing, one in composing ballets,⁵⁶ another in riding, one in fencing, each according to the vein of his metal; whence, as you know, we have afterwards had great enjoyment. I therefore hold it certain, that in each of us there is some seed of folly, which when it is quickened can be almost infinitely increased. I would therefore wish that our game this evening should be the discussion of this matter, and that each should say: If I were to become mad in a public manner, with what kind of madness one believes I would be mad, and in regard to what thing; judging this result from the sparks of madness which I am every day seen to emit. The same is to be said of all the others, observing the order of our games, and each

⁵⁶ The word used in the original is *moresche*, and which Cian, in his edition of the *Cortegiano*, p. 24, thus explains: A sort of dance, often quite complicated and magnificent, frequently employed in the festivals of our courts from the second half of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and which usually served as an introduction to a play, or as an intermezzo between two acts. Cian cites the well known letter of Castiglione, in which he gives an account of the first performance of the *Calandria* at Urbino, February 6, 1513. An English translation of this letter is given in Dennistoun, II, pp. 141-145. The original is in Serassi, Vol. I, p. 158.

shall try to base his opinion upon some true token and argument.^{56a} And thus from this game of ours we shall each of us reap some fruit in recognizing our faults, whence we shall be better able to guard against them: and if the vein of folly which we discover shall be so abundant that it seems to us hopeless, we shall offer our aid, and, according to the doctrine of Friar Mariano, we shall have won a soul, which is no little gain.' This game aroused much laughter, nor was there any one who could refrain from speaking; one said: I would become mad in thinking; another, in looking; one said, I am already mad in love, and so on.

"Then Friar Serafino, laughing after his fashion, said: 'This would be too long; but if you want a fine game, make every one give his opinion why it is that almost all women hate mice and love serpents; and you will see that no one will guess the truth but myself, who know this secret in a curious way.' And he had already begun to tell his stories; but Signora Emilia silenced him, and passing over the lady who sat there, made a sign to the Unique Aretine, who was next in order; and he, without awaiting further orders, said: 'I should like to be a judge with power to extort the truth from evildoers by every sort of torture: and thus to discover the deceptions of an ungrateful woman, who, with the eyes of an angel and the heart of a serpent, never harmonizes her tongue with her mind, and a deceiver with feigned pity, is bent on nothing else than to dissect hearts; nor in sandy Libya is found so poisonous a serpent and so fond of human blood as this false woman, who not only by the sweetness of her voice and honeyed words, but by her eyes, her smiles, her looks, and all her manners is a perfect Siren. But since I am not allowed to use, as I should like, chains, racks, or fire to learn the truth, I wish to learn it by a game, which is this. That every one should say what he believes to be the meaning of the letter S which the Duchess wears on her brow; because, although this is certainly an artful veil to enable her to deceive, perchance some interpretation will be given to it not thought of by her, and it will be found that Fortune, pitiful observer of the sufferings of men, has led her by this little token to disclose unwittingly her secret desire to slay and bury alive in sorrow whoever beholds her or serves

^{56a} Cesare Gonzaga's game may be found in Bargagli, *op. cit.*, p. 87, No. 76, "Game of the greatest madness of a lover."

her.⁵⁷ The Duchess smiled, and the Unique, seeing that she wished to defend herself against his accusation, said: 'Do not speak, Signora, for it is not now your place to speak.' Then Signora Emilia turned and said: 'Signor Unique, there is no one of us who does not yield to you in every thing, but especially in knowing the mind of the Duchess; and as you know it better than the others by your divine wit, you love it better than the others, who, like those weak-sighted birds which cannot fix their eyes upon the sun's sphere, are unable to recognize clearly how perfect it is; wherefore every attempt to clear up this doubt would be vain, except your judgment. Let this undertaking then be yours alone, as of one who alone can successfully accomplish it.' The Unique, after a short silence and a renewed injunction to speak, finally recited a sonnet on the subject in question, declaring what that letter S signified. Many deemed the sonnet improvised, but, because it seemed more ingenious and polished than the shortness of the time warranted, some thought that it was the result of study.⁵⁸

"After the sonnet had been loudly applauded and discussed, Signor Ottaviano Fregoso, whose turn it was, began, smiling, in this wise: 'Gentlemen and ladies, should I declare that I had never experienced the passion of love, I am sure that the Duchess and Signora Emilia, although they did not believe it, would pretend to believe it, and would say that it was caused by my despair of ever inducing any woman to love me; which in truth I have not thus far tried with such persistency that I should reasonably despair of being able one day to accomplish it. Nor have I refrained from doing it because I valued myself so highly and women so little as not to deem many of them worthy of being loved and served by me; but rather terrified by the continual lamentations of certain lovers, who, pale, sad, and silent, seem ever to have their own unhappiness depicted in their eyes: and, if they speak, accompanying each word with certain threefold sighs, talk of nothing but tears, torments, despair, and desire for death: so that, if sometimes some spark of love has been

⁵⁷ This speech of the Unique Aretine finds its counterpart in the language of the *Précieux* in France a century later. What the letter S was which the Duchess wore on her brow is not clear. It was probably a gold ornament in the shape of a monogram, but its meaning is not known. See Cian, p. 26.

⁵⁸ The sonnet is question is given in the editions of Rigutini and Cian. It is remarkable only for its conceits.

kindled in my heart, I have at once taken every pains to extinguish it, not from any hatred which I have for women, but for my own welfare. Then I have known some others entirely different from these sorrowers, who not only rejoice and are happy in the pleasant looks, sweet words, and lovely faces of their ladies, but season all their ills with joy; so that they deem most sweet their ladies' repulses, anger, and scorn. For which reason these latter seem to me much more than happy. For if in the scorns of love, which others deem more bitter than death, they find such sweetness, I think that in the tokens of love they should feel that extreme beatitude, which we seek in vain in this world. I would like then this evening our game to be, that each should tell, in case the one he loves were angry with him, what cause he would wish for her anger. For if there are some present who have experienced these sweet scorns, I am sure that they will from courtesy wish one of those causes which makes them so sweet; and I perchance shall be emboldened to go a little further in love, in the hope that I, too, shall yet find this sweetness where some find bitterness; and thus these ladies here will no longer be able to reproach me for not loving.'

"This game pleased greatly, and every one was preparing to speak on the subject; but as Signora Emilia said nothing, Messer Pietro Bembo, who was next in order, spoke thus: 'Gentlemen and ladies, no little doubt has been awakened in my mind by the game proposed by Signor Ottaviano, in which he speaks of the scorns of love: which, although they are of varied nature, have always been very bitter to me, nor do I believe that from me could be learned any seasoning sufficient to sweeten them; but perchance they are more or less bitter according to the cause from which they spring. For I remember having formerly seen the lady I served angry at me either from a vain suspicion of my faith, which she had conceived in her own mind, or from some other false idea inspired by the words of others to my harm; so that I believed that no grief could equal mine, and it seemed to me that the greatest sorrow I experienced was suffering unjustly, and enduring this affliction not for my own fault, but on account of her slight love. At other times I saw her vexed at some mistake of mine, and knew that her anger proceeded from my fault; and at that moment I felt that the former affliction was light in comparison with that which I then suffered; and it seemed to me

that having displeased by my own fault the only one I desired and sought so zealously to please, was the greatest torture and beyond all others. I wish then our game to be, that each should declare, in case the person he loves has to be angry with him, from whom he would like the cause of the anger to arise, from her, or from himself; in order to know which is the greater sorrow, to displease the one who is loved, or to be displeased by her.'

"Every one awaited Signora Emilia's reply, but she, without further words to Bembo, turned and made a sign to Messer Federico Fregoso to tell his game; and he at once began: 'Signora, I wish I might be allowed, as is sometimes the case, to leave the matter to the judgment of another, because for my part I would willingly approve of any of the games suggested by these gentlemen; for in truth it seems to me that all would be amusing: still not to transgress the order, I say, that whoever should wish to praise our court, leaving out of question the merits of the Duchess, who by her divine virtue would suffice to raise from earth to heaven the basest spirits in the world, might easily without suspicion of flattery say that in all Italy perhaps with pains might be found cavaliers so extraordinary, and, beyond the principal profession of chivalry, so excellent in various things, as are now found here: wherefore if there are anywhere men who deserve to be called good courtiers, and to know how to judge what appertains to the perfection of courtesy, it is reasonable to believe that they are here. To check therefore many foolish ones, who believe they can acquire the name of good courtier by being impudent and silly, I should like our game this evening to be, that one of the company should be chosen, and he should be charged with forming in words a perfect courtier, explaining all the conditions, and peculiar qualities requisite for one who deserves this name; and in those things which shall not seem suitable it shall be lawful for every one to contradict, as in the schools of philosophy where one is defending a thesis.'

"Messer Federico was about to continue his discourse, when Signora Emilia interrupting him said: 'If it please the Duchess, this will be our game at present.' The Duchess replied: 'It pleases me.' Then almost all the bystanders began to say to the Duchess and among themselves that this was the finest game that could be invented; and without awaiting one another's reply, urged Signora Emilia to select the one to begin it. She, turning

to the Duchess, said: 'Command, Signora, to whom you would prefer to entrust this undertaking; for I do not wish, by choosing one rather than another, to seem to judge whom in this matter I deem more competent than another, and so wrong any one.' The Duchess answered: 'Do you make this choice, and be careful not to set an example to the others by your disobedience, that they too should be little obedient.'

"Then Signora Emilia said smilingly to Count Ludovico da Canossa: 'To lose, then, no more time, you, Count, shall be the one to undertake this matter as Messer Federico has described; not indeed because it seems to us that you are so good a courtier that you know what belongs to one, but because, saying every thing contrariwise, as we hope you will do, the game will be better, for every one will have something to answer you; whereas if another who knew more than you had this duty, he could not be contradicted in anything, because he would speak the truth, and so the game would be dull.' The Count replied at once: 'Signora, there would be no danger that one who told the truth should lack contradiction, if you were present,' and after they had laughed at this reply, he continued: 'But in truth I would very gladly shun this labor, which seems to me too difficult, and knowing that what you have said of me in jest is very true, namely, that I do not know what is suitable for a good courtier; and this I do not seek to prove by any other argument than this, that not performing the deeds of a courtier, it may be inferred that I do not know what one should be; and I believe that I should incur less blame, because it is undoubtedly worse not to wish to do well, than not to know how. Still, since it pleases you that I should assume this burden, I cannot, nor do I wish to, decline it, in order not to disregard your command and your judgment, which I value more highly than my own.' Then Messer Caesar Gonzaga said: 'Because a good part of the night has passed, and many other kinds of pleasure are ready here, perhaps it would be well to postpone this conversation until the morrow, and give the Count time to think of what he must say; for in truth it is a difficult thing to improvise in such a matter.' The Count answered: 'I do not want to do like the one who in his vest did not jump as far as in his coat; wherefore it seems to me very fortunate that the hour is late, because by the shortness of the time, I shall be compelled to speak briefly,

and my not having reflected upon it will excuse me, so that I shall be allowed to say without blame whatever comes first to my lips. In order, therefore, not to keep this obligatory burden longer on my shoulders, I say that in every thing it is so difficult to discover absolute perfection, that it is almost impossible; and this by the diversity of opinions. So there are many who like a man who talks much, and call him amusing; some are more pleased with modesty; some others with a man who is active and restless; others with one who displays quiet and reflection in every thing; and thus each blames and praises according to his judgment, always concealing the vice under the name of the approximate virtue, or the virtue under the name of the approximate vice: as for example, calling an arrogant man frank, a modest man dry, an ignorant man good, a bad man prudent, and so on. Still, I deem that every thing has its perfection, although it be hidden; and this can be learned in reasonable discourse from one who is acquainted with such things. And because, as I have said, the truth is often hidden, and I do not boast of possessing this knowledge, I can only praise that kind of a courtier which I most value, and commend the one who seems to me most like the true one, according to my poor judgment. This one you will imitate if he seems good to you, or you will hold to your own, if he is different from mine. Nor shall I assert that mine is better than yours; for not only may you think one thing and I another, but I myself may think now one thing, now another.'"

The discussion which follows occupies the remainder of that evening and the three following ones, and cannot be adequately described in any mere analysis of the work. The dialogue is undoubtedly a true reproduction of the conversations at the Court of Urbino, and is a masterpiece of its kind. In it all the interlocutors preserve their individuality, and no one is allowed to talk so long as to become tiresome. Interruptions at the proper time, and lively debates on the views advanced by the various speakers, prevent the discussion from degenerating into pedantic lectures. Nothing but a translation of the whole work could do justice to Castiglione's conception and execution of his work, which is perhaps the most important and characteristic work of the century in the field in which we are at present in-

terested. An analysis, however, is necessary to show the social ideals of the day, and will throw much light also upon the manner in which they were realized in the early part of the Sixteenth Century.

First, as to the Courtier's physical qualifications. He must be of noble birth and good family. Besides nobility, he should have by nature not only wit and good bodily form and countenance, but a certain grace which makes him agreeable at first sight (Book I, xiv-xvi). The Courtier's principal and true profession should be arms, but he should avoid playing the "bravo," or displaying ostentation and braggadocio (xviii). He should be trained in bodily exercises (xx), know how to wrestle, be acquainted with the rules of honor, not enter rashly into quarrels, but when he cannot withdraw honorably he should display deliberation, readiness, and courage (xxi). He should be acquainted with other exercises, which, while they do not depend immediately upon arms, are suited to them and require manly strength. The chase is the principal one of these. He should also know how to swim, leap, run, throw stones, play ball, ride skilfully. He should also cultivate more quiet and peaceful exercises, and know how to laugh, jest, and dance. He should avoid affectation (xxii-xxviii), especially in his speech, and if, for example, he is a Lombard, he should not try to talk French or Spanish, or the Roman dialect. This declaration of Canossa's precipitates a long discussion upon the Italian language extending through ten chapters (xxix-xxxix), on which, although of considerable philological interest, we cannot dwell here.⁵⁹

Canossa then passes to a consideration of the Courtier's mental qualifications. He should be a good and upright man: in this are comprised prudence, goodness, strength, and temperance of mind and all the other qualifications which befit so

⁵⁹ The long discussion on the Italian language which occupies chapters xxix to xxxix seems to us out of place in such a work, and we are surprised that Signora Emilia did not sooner interrupt the disputants. At the beginning of chapter xxxix, she says: "It seems to me that the dispute is now too long and tiresome, and that it would be well to postpone it to another time." It should be remembered, however, that the subject was still fresh, and, owing to the superior education of the day, was a matter of interest to polite society, and a topic of general conversation. This is true also of France in the seventeenth century; see Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, Paris, 1671, pp. 52-212, "La langue françoise." Not to mention the more learned works of the same author, *Nouvelles remarques sur la langue françoise*, and *Suite de nouvelles remarques*, and the more scholarly treatises of Ménage and Vaugelas.

honored a name (xli). But besides goodness, the true and principal ornament of the mind is letters. The Courtier should be more than slightly learned, at least in those studies called the humanities. He should know not only Latin, but also Greek, be versed in the poets and not less so in the orators and historians, and be practiced in writing verse and prose, especially in Italian (xlv). This statement leads to a discussion between Canossa and Bembo of the question whether arms or letters should have the preeminence (xlvi).⁶⁰ The Courtier should know music, not merely by ear, but by note, and be able to play various instruments (xlvii). He should know how to draw, and be acquainted with the art of painting (xlix). A dispute here arises between Canossa and Giovan Cristoforo Romano in regard to the superiority of painting or sculpture (l–liii), which is interrupted by the arrival of the Prefect, the Duke's nephew and successor, who had accompanied the Pope a part of the way on his return to Rome. The evening's discussion then ended with music and dancing, and the consideration of the practical application of the qualities of the Courtier already described was postponed until the following evening, and assigned by Signora Emilia to Federico Fregoso.

The company met the next evening as usual in the Duchess' chamber and continued the discussion, which had been the absorbing topic of conversation during the day. Signor Federico first stated some general rules: the Courtier should avoid affecta-

⁶⁰ The dispute as to the preeminence of arms or letters is as old as classical times, and constituted a favorite "question" for debate during the sixteenth century. See Cian, *Cortegiano*, p. 98, n. 5. I have also seen Guazzo, *Dialoghi piacevoli*, Venice, 1586, VI, "Del Paragone dell' arme et delle Lettere," and Camerata, *Questione dove si tratta chi meriti più honore o il soldato, o il letterato*, Bologna, 1567. The memorable discourse of Don Quixote on this point (I, xxxviii) will occur to the reader.

J. Bowle in his edition of *Don Quixote*, Salisbury, 1781, Vol. III, p. 122, cites: *Discorso di Francesco Bocchi sopra la lite delle Armi et delle Lettere*, Florence, 1580; and D. Clemencin in his edition of the same work, Madrid, 1833, Vol. III, p. 132, mentions several Spanish books on the subject. See also A. Bartoli, *Scenari inediti della Commedia dell'Arte*, Florence, 1880, p. xxvi, note 7, where are cited several instances of the debate between arms and letters in the Italian drama. We shall find in the next chapter an interesting debate on the above topic in Solerti's *Ferrara e la Corte Estense nella seconda metà del secolo XVI.*, pp. 261–286.

The same subject is also treated in *Due Primi Dialoghi, di M. Pompeo della Barba da Pescia, Nell'uno de'quali si ragiona de' Segreti della Natura; nell'altro se sieno di maggior pregio l'Armi o le Lettere.* In Venegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1557, 8vo. I have not seen this work and owe this reference to Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, Rome, 1895, Vol. II, p. 446.

tion, should consider well what he does and says, the place, the person, the time, the cause, his age, profession, end, and means (Book II, vii). Some bodily exercises as jousting, etc., are always performed in public; so the cavalier must be well equipped, and regard the above rules (ix). Other exercises may be performed both in public and private, as dancing; here the Courtier should use discretion (xi). So with music: he should perform as for pastime, and as if compelled, and not in the presence of ignorant people or of a crowd. Old courtiers should not dance or make music in public (xii-xiv). The Courtier should have a gentle and amiable manner in his daily intercourse. It is difficult to give rules for this on account of the infinite and various things which arise in society. He must use his judgment and adapt himself to the different persons with whom he has to do (xvii). The most important of the relations of the Courtier are those with his prince; and elaborate directions are given for winning and preserving his esteem (xviii-xxiv). In reply to a question by Giuliano Medici, Fregoso describes what the dress of the Courtier should be, not out of the fashion or unsuited to his profession (xxvi-xxvii). The Courtier should be careful in the choice of his friends, because a man is known by the company he keeps (xxix). Gasparo Pallavicino says he should like some more detailed rules as to the Courtier's mode of entertaining his friends, for those given seem to him too general. It is a matter of importance, considering that most of the time is spent at courts in the society of ladies and gentlemen. Federico replies that the Courtier has been endowed with knowledge of so many things, that he can very well vary his conversation, and accommodate himself to the quality of the persons with whom he has to talk, presupposing that he has good judgment, and governs himself by that, and according to the times now attends to things serious, now to those which are festive and to games. This leads to a discussion of the games suitable for a Courtier. He may play games with cards and dice; also chess, although the latter requires too much study (xxxi). The force of preconceived opinions and of first impressions is very great; the Courtier, therefore, needs to make his good name precede him (xxxii-xxxv). The Courtier should take care then to give a good impression of himself, and should especially avoid the danger into which those who wish to be very amusing are apt to fall. Such per-

sons acquire a certain liberty to say and do what they please without reflection. Often they become involved in things from which they can extricate themselves only by raising a laugh. Sometimes in the presence of honored ladies they use foul and indecent words, and the more they see them blush, the more they deem themselves good courtiers. Often they run against each other on the stairs, throw wood and bricks at each other's backs, throw dust into each other's eyes, make horses fall into ditches and pits; and at table throw soup and sauces into each other's faces. There are some even who vie with each other in eating and drinking the most loathsome and disgusting things (xxxvi). In conclusion, the Courtier should know perfectly what has been said to be suitable to him, so that every thing possible should be easy to him, and every one should wonder at him, and he at no one. He should, however, not be proud, but should praise the good deeds of others. If he excels in anything he should know how to avail himself of it, and do himself honor in it; but if he is mediocre in anything, he should touch it lightly, so that it may be believed that he knows more about it than he shows. In those things in which he is entirely ignorant, he should not seek to acquire fame, but frankly confess that he does not know them (xxxviii). The safest thing in the way of living and associating with others is to govern oneself always with a certain seemly mediocrity, which is the firmest shield against envy. He should be careful to avoid the reputation of falsehood and vanity, and, finally, he should never lack good words suited to those with whom he is talking, and know how with a certain gentleness to amuse the minds of his hearers, and lead them to smile and laugh by pleasing and facetious words, so that, without tiring, he may continually afford delight (xxxix-xli).

The remainder of this book is taken up with an elaborate discussion of the part played by *facetiae* in the Courtier's life.⁶¹ This subject is assigned by Signora Emilia to Messer Bernardo Bibiena, who follows closely, in the first part of his discussion, Cicero's treatise mentioned above. It is impossible to give any

⁶¹ It has already been said that in the part of his work relating to the use of *facetiae*, Castiglione follows very closely Cicero's *De Oratore*. This long excursus is more in place than that on the Italian language in the first book. The sixteenth century was especially fond of *facetiae*, which were used to season conversation. The same was true of France in the following century; see Callières, *Des bons mots et des bons contes*, Paris, 1699.

idea of this part of the work in an analysis. It is very valuable as showing the taste of the day, but does not convey a very high idea of the wit most praised at this period.

The discussion of *facetiae* ended in a dispute in regard to the tricks played by women on their husbands. This gave occasion to Signor Gaspar Pallavicino to attack woman in general, and to Giuliano to defend them. Signora Emilia decided that before debating the question whether women are as virtuous as men, a Lady of the Palace should be formed with all the perfections which had been attributed to the perfect Courtier.^{61a} This task she assigns to Giuliano Medici for the following evening. The company then broke up to meet as usual the next night and resume the discussion.

At the beginning of the conversation, Messer Gasparo said that the same rules which had been given for the Courtier would

^{61a} The qualities of a Lady of the Palace form the subject of a treatise by Lodovico Domenichi: *La Donna di Corte. Discorso di Lodovico Domenichi, Nel quale si ragiona dell'affabilità et honesta creanza da doverli usare per Gentildonna d'Honore*. Al S. Domenico Ragnina, Gentiluomo Raguseo. In Lucca per il Busdrago, 1564, Ad istanza di Bernardin Fagiani, sm. 4to, ff. 23. Domenichi begins by saying that some think that the same qualities which are suitable for a courtier should be required of the Lady of the Palace. This is a mistake, for buffoonery, jesting, and idle talk to cause laughter, which are proper for courtiers, are not fit for ladies. The two principal virtues suited to ladies and by which they make themselves amiable and pleasing are: modesty, which is accompanied by temperance, continence, abstinence, sobriety, and reserve; and simplicity, which has in its train silence, truth, and sincerity. How ladies can make themselves affable to private gentlemen and also to princes, is shown by a series of witty replies by ladies to gentlemen who sued for their affections. Conversations on the subject of love are dangerous between courtiers and maids of honor, but may be tolerated with old men. It is clear, the author says, that such conversations between courtiers and ladies of the court should be blamed and banished from the courts of good princes; but as they are permitted and princes themselves foster and desire them, it remains to be seen how far they are to be permitted and how they can be seemly and virtuous. All turns on the two questions: whether courtiers and maids of honor can love each other without unseemly desire, and whether the sensual appetite is always to be blamed. After a discussion of these topics, Domenichi returns to the question already discussed: whether Ladies of the Court can indulge in talk of love. In France this is permitted and ladies are allowed even to kiss both old and young men. Domenichi is willing to allow such conversations with virtuous old men. Whether they should be permitted with the young is a different question. The remainder of the work is filled with a multitude of anecdotes of virtuous replies to suitors, and a letter which Domenichi says he received from a gentleman on the subject of affability and social intercourse. This letter is replete with anecdotes and concludes with an account of the origin of Love according to the Platonic philosophy. A lengthy explanation is given on f. 21 ver. of why Cupid is represented young, blind, winged, etc. Domenichi does not mention Castiglione in his work, which is a very inferior production. See Héroet's *La Parfaite Amye* in Chapter IX of the present work.

do for the Lady of the Palace. This statement is denied by Giuliano Medici, who says that although some qualities are common and as necessary to a man as to a woman, still there are others more suitable to a woman than to a man, and some befitting a man which are quite foreign to a woman. The same is true of the exercises of the body; above all, a woman should be entirely different from a man in her words, gestures, bearing, and manners. A man should show a certain firm virility; a woman, a delicate softness and womanly sweetness in all her movements, so that in her going and staying and speaking she should always appear a woman and never a man. Bearing this in mind, many of the rules that have been given for the Courtier are suitable for the Lady of the Palace. She should avoid affectation, be noble, endowed by nature with grace in all her actions, of good manners, frank, prudent, not proud, not envious, not slanderous, not vain, not quarrelsome, not silly, knowing how to win and preserve the favor of her mistress, and all others, and performing well and gracefully all the exercises befitting women. She needs beauty more than the Courtier, for in truth, a woman lacks much who lacks beauty.⁶² She must also be more circumspect, and careful not to give occasion for ill to be spoken of her, and to act so that not only she may not be at fault, but not even suspected of it (Bk. iii, iv). Leaving then the qualities in common with the Courtier, as prudence, magnanimity, continence, and many others; and especially those qualities which are becoming to all women, as being good and discreet, knowing how to manage her husband's property, and her house and children when she is married, and all that a good mother of a family should possess; she should, above all things, have a certain pleasing affability, by which she can entertain all kinds of men with pleasing and seemly conversation, suited to the time and place and rank of the persons with whom she is speaking, all her actions being accompanied by quiet and modest manners, and that seemliness which must always compose all her actions. In addition to this, she must have a ready wit, free from all grossness, but with such a sort of goodness that she make herself esteemed not less modest, prudent, and kind than

⁶² Castiglione does not discuss the subject of woman's beauty, partly because it did not enter into his plan, and partly because the ideal of the age was well known. There is a very interesting and voluminous literature upon this topic, which is mentioned in note 6 to Chapter III.

pleasing, witty, and discreet. To do this, she must observe a certain difficult mediocrity, composed, as it were, of things contrary, and reach exactly certain bounds, but not overstep them. Rules then follow for her behavior in company when the conversation is somewhat free. She should not withdraw, for it might be suspected that she was assuming a strictness which was not real. On the other hand, she should not display a certain freedom herself or use unseemly words to make herself seem pleasing; but when she is present at such conversations, she should listen with a little blushing and shame. She should not listen willingly when ill is spoken of other women. A good and virtuous woman is revered even by bold and bad men; and a word, a smile, an act of kindness, no matter how small it be, from a virtuous woman is more prized than all the demonstrations and caresses of those women, who without reserve show little shame, and if they are not immodest, seem to be so by their dissolute laughter, their loquacity, insolence, and such scurrilous manners (v).

The following chapter (vi) contains a brief account of what the conversation of the Lady of the Palace should be. Because words which do not contain some subject of importance are vain and puerile, the Lady of the Palace, beyond judgment in discerning the quality of the one with whom she is speaking, in order to entertain him affably, should know many things. She should know how to choose things which are suitable to the rank of the one with whom she is speaking, and she should be careful not to utter involuntarily words to offend him. She should take care not to be tiresome in praising herself indiscreetly or at too great length. She should not mingle serious things in a pleasing and amusing discourse, nor jests and jokes in a serious one. She should not pretend to know what she does not, but should modestly seek to do herself honor by what she knows, avoiding, as has been said, affectation in all things.

As to bodily exercises, she should practise only those which are suitable to her sex, and even those she should perform carefully and delicately. So with dancing, and singing and playing, her gestures should not be too bold and strong; and there are certain musical instruments which it would not be suitable for her to use. She should not be too ready to perform, but should make herself urged somewhat, and display a certain timidity

which reveals that noble shame which is the opposite of impudence. Her dress should also be suited to this intention, and of such a sort that she should not seem vain and light-minded. But because a woman can and should care more for her beauty than a man, she should have the judgment to know what garments increase her grace, and are most suitable to the exercises which she intends to perform at that moment and make use of those which are in harmony with her peculiar style of beauty (viii).⁶³ She should further be acquainted with those things which these gentlemen wish a Courtier to know; and of those exercises which are not suitable to her she should have that judgment which persons can have of things which they do not perform; and this in order to be able to praise cavaliers more or less, according to their merits. She should be acquainted with letters, music, painting, dancing, and merry-making (ix).

Then follows a long discussion on the relative dignity and perfection of man and woman, which, with the examples cited, fills chapters x-xxxvi.⁶⁴ This leads to further debate of the

⁶³ Castiglione does not dwell at any length on the subject of woman's dress or on the secrets of the toilette, which are discussed very fully in many works of this century. The best general view of the topic is to be found in a series of articles by Luzio and Renier in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vols. 147 and 148, "Il lusso di Isabella d'Este, Marchesa di Mantova," in which are discussed in detail her wardrobe, toilette, and furniture. A collection of toilette receipts may be found in *Recettario galante del principio del secolo XVI., edito per cura di Olindo Guerrini*, Bologna, 1883 (*Scelta di curiosità letterarie*, CXCV). The most extensive collection of the kind to be found anywhere was published by Pier Desiderio Pasolini in the third volume of his *Caterina Sforza*, Rome, 1893, *Documenti*, pp. 601-793, "Gli Esperimenti di Caterina Sforza." The beautiful blonde hair of this period, so much admired in the paintings of the Venetian School, was produced artificially, and elaborate directions for it are given in the collections above mentioned. The excessive use of perfumes and cosmetics is blamed in many writers of this time; see Federigo Luigini, *Il Libro della Bella Donna*, Milan, 1863 (*Biblioteca Rara pubblicata da G. Daelli*, Vol. XXIII), pp. 48-77, where there is a long digression on the subject. Some further details may also be found in J. Houdoy, *La beauté des femmes dans la littérature et dans l'art du XIIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1876, and in Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, ed. cit., II, pp. 111 et seq.

⁶⁴ The question of the relative merits of man and woman is as old as antiquity, and has been discussed ever since. There is an extensive literature on this subject, which our space will not permit us to treat at length. For the bibliography of the subject see *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 272-390, "La Collezione Giordani della Biblioteca Comunale di Bologna." To the works in this collection may be added: Girolamo Ruscelli, *Che la Donna sia di gran lungo più nobile e più degna dell'Uomo*, 1552; Moderata Fonte, *Meriti delle Donne*; and, Lucrezia Marinella, *La Nobiltà e l'Excel-lenza delle Donne, con Difetti e Mancamenti degli Huomini*, Venice, 1601. The last three are cited by W. Knörich in his excellent edition of Molière's *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Leipzig, 1890. Additional material may also be found in the recent work by R. De Maulde La Clavière, *Les Femmes de la Renaissance*,

question already discussed, whether women are more continent than men, and the greater dangers to which woman's virtue is exposed (xxxvii–xlix). This part of the book ends with fresh praises of woman and additional examples of female excellence and beneficent virtue (li–lii).

The remainder of the book (liii–lxxvii) is devoted to an elaborate examination of the relation of the Lady of the Palace to lovemaking, and while much of the discourse is nothing but an adaptation of Ovid's *Ars amandi* to modern conditions, still there is much that is very characteristic of Italian society in the sixteenth century. The introduction (liii) is especially important as showing the purely conventional nature of much of the gallantry of the day. Federico Fregoso asks Giuliano Medici how the Lady of the Palace should behave in regard to one important matter; for, "although the excellent qualities attributed to her by you include wit, learning, judgment, skill,

Paris, 1898, and in a series of articles by Vitt. Amedeo Arullani in *La Biblioteca delle Scuole Italiane*, Vol. II, 1890, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 12: "La Donna nella poesia del Cinquecento; La Donna nella prosa del Cinquecento; and La Donna in alcune scritture speciali del Cinquecento." Of the large number of independent works and dialogues or essays on this subject I can mention only a few which I have examined. Of the first class is an anonymous work, *La difesa delle donne*, Bologna, 1876 (*Scelta di curiosità letterarie*, CXLVIII). As its title indicates it is a defense of Woman against certain calumnies, with examples of women excellent in letters, prophecy, in the state and arms, in painting and sculpture, in invention, in chastity and martyrdom, in modesty, love and faith, etc. The illustrations are largely taken from ancient history and the Scriptures, and throw little light on modern times. Of the dialogues the most important are: *Della dignità delle donne*, and *In lode delle donne* by Speroni in *Opere*, Venice, 1740, Vols. I and II. There is also an extensive literature in regard to Woman's education, thus anticipating the question of the "Femmes savantes" by over a century. The most curious work of this class is the famous *La Raffaella ovvero della bella creanza delle donne* by Alessandro Piccolomini, of which I have used the reprint in Daelli's *Biblioteca Rara*, Milan, 1862, Vol. I. The book is an elaborate account of the education deemed necessary for a *femme galante*, although many of the precepts, of course, may apply to the virtuous woman. More serious in its nature is Lodovico Dolce's *Institutione delle donne*, Venice, 1545. Another example of the dispute in regard to the relative merits of man and woman may be found in Chapter V, p. 235. An interesting illustration of the vogue of the question of the relative merits of men and women is to be found in a work issued in 1904–5 by the Roxburghe Club: *The Nobility of Women*. By William Bercher, 1559. For the curious history of the manuscript of this book see *Times Literary Supplement*, July 22, 1904, p. 231, and January 20, 1905, p. 17. A brief analysis of the work is given in *The Athenæum*, October 8, 1904. Bercher (whose name was really Barker) based his work on Ludovico Domenichi's *La Nobiltà delle Donne*, of which I have used the edition of Venice, 1551, printed by Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarrii e Fratelli. Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, No. 394, pp. 479–82, mentions two of the sources of Domenichi: Cornelius Agrippa's *Declamation on the Nobility of Women*, translated several times into English; and Capella's *Della Eccellenza et Dignità delle Donne*, apparently not translated into English.

modesty, and so many other virtues, by means of which she should reasonably know how to entertain all kinds of persons on all kinds of subjects, I think that more than any other thing she should know what pertains to love-making; because, as every gentle cavalier uses as a means of acquiring the favor of ladies those noble exercises, elegance of dress, and fine manners, which have been mentioned, for this purpose likewise he employs words; and not only when he is constrained by passion, but often also to do honor to the lady to whom he is speaking; it seeming to him that to pretend to love her is proof that she is worthy of it, and that her beauty and merits are so great that they compel every one to serve her. Therefore I should like to know how this lady should converse discreetly on this topic, and how she should answer one who loves her truly, and how the one who makes a false show of it, and whether she should feign that she does not understand, or correspond to his love, or refuse him, and how she should behave."

It is impossible to give a full analysis of the discussion which follows; it is important to note, however, that Giuliano Medici maintains (lvi) that one should love only the unmarried. The manner of obtaining and preserving the love of woman, the effects of this love and its demonstrations are described, as well as the secrecy which should be observed in love (lx-lxxiii). Signor Gasparo Pallavicino as usual accuses women of revealing the love made to them out of vanity and cruelty (lxxiv-lxxv), and is answered by Ottaviano Fregoso, who judges that in the preceding contest Pallavicino has slandered ladies more than was right, and that Giuliano Medici and Caesar Gonzaga had praised them too highly; besides, the length of the discussion had caused the company to lose sight of the principal topic, which was the Courtier. Ottaviano is then charged with discussing the other qualities, which, according to him, will render the Courtier more perfect. Thereupon the company broke up to meet as usual the next evening.

The fourth book need not detain us long. Its importance from a social standpoint is not as great as that of the others. It may be divided into two parts: the first (iii-xlvi) treats of the Courtier in his moral relations to his prince; the second (xlix-lxxiii) discusses the questions whether the Courtier should love; the danger of sensual love, greater in the young than in the old,

who may also love, but in a manner more rational and in conformity with their age; true beauty; how the Courtier not young should love; and how much happier reasonable love is than sensual. Then follows the discourse on Platonic love referred to in Chapter III. Bembo is made judge of the question whether women are capable like men of divine love, and the discussion as usual is postponed to the following evening. One of the company calls attention to the fact that the day is already breaking; the windows are thrown open and the rising sun is seen tinging with rose the summit of Monte Catria. The stars have all disappeared except Venus, the sweet ruler of the sky, who occupies the boundaries between the night and day, from whom it seemed that a sweet breath were blowing, which, filling the air with a sharp coolness, began to awaken sweet notes of birds among the murmuring woods of the neighboring hills. With this lovely picture the book closes, with the vague promise of the continuation of the conversation another evening. That evening, alas, never came. The good Duke died soon after the supposed date of the book, and the members of his brilliant court were scattered throughout Italy and the rest of Europe. We cannot follow further here the fate of the duchy of Urbino, or of Castiglione himself; but the *Courtier* is an imperishable monument to both, and will be read with delight as long as Polite Society shall be a matter of interest and cultivation.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Guidobaldo was succeeded by his adopted son Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of Pope Julius II. We cannot follow Castiglione through the complicated events of the next few years. The young Duke was created general of the papal army and took part in the war resulting from the League of Cambray. He enlarged his domain by the annexation of the city of Pesaro, and bestowed on Castiglione a castle in the new territory with the title of count (the deed of investiture is given by Martinati, p. 24).

Julius II died February 21, 1513, and was succeeded by Giovanni de' Medici, under the title of Leo X. The Duke of Urbino had thrown his influence in favor of the election of Giovanni, and the new Pope had confirmed him as Captain-General of the Church and reinvested him with the duchy. Above all, the Pope was under every obligation of gratitude for the kindness shown to his family when in exile by the last duke of Urbino. Nevertheless the Pope was only waiting for a pretext to ruin him and seize upon his duchy for his own nephew Lorenzo. Before this happened, however, an important event in the life of Castiglione had taken place. After several matches had been proposed and fallen through, Castiglione married in 1516, Ippolita, daughter of Count Guido Torello di Montechiarugolo. This marriage was a singularly happy one and was terminated in an untimely manner by the sudden death of the Countess on the 25th of August, 1520.

The same year that saw Castiglione married saw his lord expelled from his state. He made an attempt the following year to recover it, but was compelled to abandon his undertaking and retire to Mantua. What part Castiglione

The history of the influence of the *Cortegiano* on the various countries of Europe remains to be written. Sir Walter Raleigh in his introduction to the recent reprint of Sir Thomas Hoby's translation has collected some valuable materials for the influence of the *Cortegiano* in England. The readers of Boswell's Johnson know how high an opinion Dr. Johnson had of the book. " 'I observed,' says Boswell, 'that, at some courts in Germany, there were academies for the pages, who are the sons of gentlemen, and receive their education without any expense to their parents.' Dr. Johnson said, that manners were best learned at those courts: 'You are admitted with great facility to the prince's company, and yet must treat him with much respect. At a great court, you are at such a distance that you get no good.'

took in this enterprise is not known. Serassi (p. xxviii, ed. Rigutini) says that in 1517 at the feast of the Ascension he took to Venice his wife and sisters, who were received with great honor. From there he returned to Mantua, where he completed his immortal work. The subsequent history of Castiglione must detain us but a moment. At the fall of the Duke of Urbino, Castiglione entered the service of the Marquis of Mantua and was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the Pope and was able to assist his former master, the Duke of Urbino, to recover his state. When Giulio de' Medici was elected Pope in 1523 under the title of Clement VII, Castiglione was asked by him to accept the position of papal nuncio at the court of Charles V of Spain. The Duke of Mantua signified his consent and Castiglione started on a mission which was to shorten his days and bring an honorable and useful life to an unhappy end. The sack of Rome by the Imperial army in 1527 and the imprisonment of the Pope in the castle of St. Angelo was a heavy blow to Castiglione, who had been kept in the dark as to the Emperor's plans, and was unable to warn his master. He excused himself to the Pope in a dignified and manly letter, saying, among other things, "that it was not surprising that he had confided in the words uttered by the Emperor's own mouth, repeated to him many times and more forcibly than can be written."

The Emperor endeavored to soften the effect of his duplicity by offering to Castiglione one of the most important bishoprics in Spain, that of Avila. It is not known with certainty whether Castiglione accepted the offer or not. His health had not been good since his arrival in Spain, and his bodily troubles were doubtless augmented by his grief at the deception practised upon him by the Emperor. He grew worse while at Toledo at the beginning of 1529, and died there on the 7th of February. His body was brought to Mantua and was interred in a chapel of the neighboring church called La Madonna delle Grazie.

After the restoration of Francesco Maria della Rovere to his duchy in 1521, the history of the state of Urbino is uneventful, and its importance as a social centre was greatly diminished. The dukes still continued to patronize arts and letters, but the declining condition of Italy under her foreign invaders was not favorable to either. Francesco Maria died in 1538, and was the last of the dukes of Urbino to occupy a commanding position in Italy. He was succeeded by his son Guidobaldo, who reigned until his death in 1574, and was followed by his son, the second Francesco Maria, the last Duke of Urbino. On his death in 1631, without heirs, his duchy was incorporated with the Ecclesiastical States. The famous library was carried to Rome, where it is now one of the most important parts of the Vatican library; and the palace is now the government residence and the depository of the archives.

I said, 'Very true: a man sees the court of Versailles, as if he saw it on a theatre.' He said, 'The best book that ever was written upon good breeding, *Il Corteggiano*, by Castiglione, grew up at the little court of Urbino, and you should read it.' " (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by George Birkbeck Hill, Oxford, 1887, Vol. V, p. 276.) In a passage in his *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 428, he says: "To teach the minuter decencies and inferiour duties, to regulate the practice of daily conversation, to correct those depravities which are rather ridiculous than criminal, and remove those grievances which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation, was first attempted by Casa in his book of Manners, and Castiglione in his *Courtier*; two books yet celebrated in Italy for purity and elegance."

It is impossible to mention here the multitude of works which were called into existence by the *Courtier*; some dealing with society in general will be examined in Chapter VII; the best known of the others are: Augustino Nifo's Latin treatise *De re aulica*, Naples, 1534, 4to; Sessa, *Il Cortegiano*, Genoa, 1560, 8vo; M. Timotei, *Il Cortegiano*, Rome, 1614, 4to; *Del Governo della corte di un Signore in Roma*, Rome, 8vo; *Dialogo del gentiluomo Veneziano*, Venice, 1566, 12mo; B. Pino, *Del Galantuomo*, s.l. et a., 8vo; and G. B. Giraldi, *Discorso intorno a quello che si conviene a un giovine nobile*, Pavia, 1569.

It must not be forgotten that Tasso, who has been mentioned so often in the last chapter, has left an elaborate dialogue on the subject of Court Life. It is entitled: *Il Malpiglio o vero de la Corte* (*I Dialoghi di Torquato Tasso a cura di Cesare Guasti*, Florence, 1859, Vol. III, pp. 3-21), written in the Hospital of St. Anne in 1583. The dialogue takes its name from Vincenzo Malpiglio, a gentleman of Lucca, who had resided for many years at Ferrara. The scene is laid in his house, and the interlocutors are Malpiglio, his son Giovanlorenzo, and Tasso under his usual disguise of "Neapolitan Stranger." Young Malpiglio desires to hear Tasso discourse of courts, for although he knows the *Cortegiano* almost by heart, he wishes to hear something new, because he has heard that courts change with the times. Tasso complies with his desire and discourses of the way to obtain the favor of the prince and avoid the envy and ill-will of the courtiers. Among the means of acquiring the prince's favor Tasso mentions proficiency in bodily exercises, valor, virtuous habits,

and intellect. These qualities are, however, the very ones which arouse envy, and so Tasso seeks to show how this may be avoided. At the conclusion of the Dialogue, young Malpiglio says he will remember what has been said since he is too young yet for a courtier. His father remarks that his son must now apply himself more to study than to the court, and Tasso ends by saying that he should first gain knowledge and then use it in a way proper for a courtier, "in whom excellence of letters is not so much needed as prudence and cleverness in knowing how to show his learning at the right time; one without the other appears imperfect."

In 1585, while still in the Hospital of St. Anne, Tasso composed another dialogue (*ed. cit.*, III, pp. 119-129) entitled *Il Beltramo o vero de la Cortesia*, which takes its name from the abbot Beltramo. The speakers are the Abbot, Count Tassone, a Captain P. M., and Tasso as "Neapolitan Stranger." This dialogue concerns court life only so far as courtesy is involved, which is not "to be deemed a particular virtue, but all virtue, in which liberality is contained as a part." Courtesy, like justice, is a virtue no less for a prince than a courtier, and it is shown, in conclusion, that even in the particular kinds of justice, courtesy is found.

CHAPTER V.

Society in the South of Italy—The Spaniards in Sicily and Naples—The *Questión de Amor*—Society at the Court of Ferrara—Romei's *Discorsi*—Life of Matteo Bandello—Analysis of the prefaces to Bandello's *Novelle*—Parabosco's *I Diporti*—Other *Novelle* containing "Questions."

No other court in Italy can boast of any work equaling in interest and merit Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. We shall study later in this chapter an inferior imitation of Castiglione's immortal work and see how society as well as its representation in literature had changed towards the end of the century, a change due largely to the predominance of the French and especially of the Spanish dominion in Italy. The Spaniards obtained a foothold in Italy in 1442, when Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Sicily, captured Naples. Sicily had become a Spanish state in consequence of the Sicilian Vespers, and Queen Joanna II of Naples, being childless, adopted Alfonso V as her successor. She later revoked this disposition in favor of Louis III of Anjou. War followed between the French and Spanish parties and, as has been said, Alfonso V captured Naples and died in 1458 King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily. The French claim was revived in 1494 and led to the fatal expedition of Charles VIII into Italy. After various vicissitudes which cannot be related here, Ferdinand of Aragon finally united Naples and Sicily to the Spanish monarchy, a union which lasted for two centuries.

The Spanish rule in the North of Italy was the consequence of the rivalry between Francis I and the Emperor Charles V, which grew out of the French claim to the duchy of Milan. The battle of Pavia in 1525 established the dominion of Spain, which lasted for nearly two centuries. Thus throughout the sixteenth century the north and the south of Italy were in the hands of the Spaniards and their influence was deeply felt at many of the Italian courts.¹ We are now concerned with the earlier part of the century, which produced a characteristic Spanish work, which was not without its influence on Italian

¹ See Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, Vol. III, pp. 240-243. One of the princes of Urbino, afterwards Duke Francesco Maria II, spent nearly three years (1565-8) at the court of Philip II.

society and literature, and which itself displays the influence of the country in which it was written.

The work in question is the anonymous *Questión de Amor*, which is often printed with the *Cárcel de Amor* by Diego de San Pedro and has been attributed incorrectly to that author.² The edition I have used, Venice, 1553, is dedicated by the printer, Alonso de Ulloa, to the Licenciado Duarte Gomez. In the prologue it is said that the writer has concealed his name "in order that those who with sharper wits may wish to amend anything in it can do so the more readily and enjoy the author's share of glory." The Argument declares that the author has concealed his name for the reason given above and also that detractors may the sooner satisfy their evil tongues, not knowing whom to attack. For the same reason he has changed the names of the knights and ladies introduced in the work, as well as the titles, cities, etc., mentioned in it. The initial letters of the false names are, however, those of the true ones, and by these and the colors of their dresses the ladies and their suitors may easily be recognized. These false names may make the work seem suspicious, but all the ladies and gentlemen introduced in it were present at the time in Naples, where the book was composed, and each gentleman in fact served the lady mentioned in it. The author, it is true, has mingled some fiction with the truth in order to impart more grace to his work.^{2a}

² For the *Questión de Amor*, see Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, Boston, 1872, Vol. I, pp. 449-51. The printer, Alonso de Ulloa, was a Spaniard who settled in Venice, where he printed many Spanish books. A modern reprint of the *Questión de Amor* may be found in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Orígenes de la Novela*, vol. II, p. 41-99. A full account of the work on the question is in the first volume of the *Orígenes de la Novela*, pp. cccxxvi.

Bongi, *Annali*, Vol. II, p. 475, says; "Un'ampia illustrazione della *Questión de Amor* comparve nell' *Archivio Storico per le provincie Napoletane*, an. 1894, pp. 140-163, per opera di Benedetto Croce, intitolata Napoli dal 1508 al 1512 da un antico romanzo spagnuolo. Egli spiega anche i nomi dei personaggi storici che vi figurano. Belisena è p. e. Bona Sforza poi Regina di Polonia . . . El medesimo Croce nell'altro suo scritto *La Corte delle tristi regine a Napoli*, Napoli, 1894, p. 24, ragionando della poesia intitolata *Dechado de Amor* hecho por Juan Vasquez suppone con buon fondamento che autore della *Questión* sia lo stesso Vasquez, intorno al quale raccolse alcune notizie, che rimasero ignote al suddetto Croce, Domenico Tordi in un Supplemento da lui pubblicato in appendice al Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna raccolto da E. Ferrero e G. Muller. Torino, Loescher, 2a ediz."

^{2a} Croce in the article cited by Bongi identifies the disguised names in the *Questión de Amor* as follows: Places: Todomir = Toledo? Ciracunda = Saragozza; Valdeana = Valenza? Felernisa = Palermo? Noplesano = Napoli; Virgiliano = ? As to persons, Croce says: "E non senza curiosità i lettori sentiranno che l'argomento principale del libro è l'amore cavalleresco di un

The plot of the story is as follows. At the time when King Charles VIII of France entered Italy and won the kingdom of Naples (1495), a Spanish gentleman named Vasquiran, a native of the city of Todomir, visiting the court of the Most Serene and Catholic King Don Fernando, which at that time was at Ciracundo, fell violently in love with a lady of that city called Violina. His love was returned, but her parents would not consent to the match, and Vasquiran was compelled to abduct his lady love one night at the great risk of their lives and honor. They fled to the city of Valdeana, where Vasquiran had a sum of money which would enable him to live according to his rank, and then embarked for Italy. They landed at Felernisa, where Vasquiran purchased an estate. Here they lived contentedly and happily for some time and Vasquiran often saw a great friend and fellow townsman of his, Flamiano, who was then living in Noplesano, an Italian city where also dwelt many Spanish and other foreign gentlemen, who saw each other when they could, and when they were separated they never failed to correspond by letter.

Now it happened that the Duchess of Meliano, a very noble widow, came to live for some time at Noplesano, with her daughter Belisena, a lady of perfect virtue and beauty. Flamiano fell desperately and hopelessly in love with Belisena. Unable to assuage his grief by his own resources he determined to seek consolation in his friend Vasquiran. He was on the point of informing him of his sorrow, when he learned that Vasquiran had just lost his wife. Flamiano grieved for his friend so that he almost lost his mind, and after many varying thoughts as to what he should do, he resolved to dispatch to Vasquiran his servant Felisel to condole with him and to explain his master's inability to visit him in person.

gentiluomo spagnuolo per Bona Sforza, la giovenetta figliuola d'Isabella d'Aragona. Perchè Bona Sforza, e non altra è la Belisena del romanzo . . . Chi non riconosce tutti questi personaggi sotto i pseudonimi abbastanza trasparenti, coi quali prendono parte alle giostre e alle cacce? Il Conte Davestino è il Conte d'Avellino; il Priore di Mariana è il Priore di Messina; il Duca di Belisa è il Duca di Bisceglie; il Conte de Poncia è il Conte di Potenza; il Signor Fabricano è Fabrizio Colonna, Atineo de Levesin è Antonio de Leyva; il Cardinal de Brujas è il Cardinal Borgia, Alarcos de Reyner è il Capitano Alarcon; Pomarin è il Capitano Pomar; Alvalader de Caronis, Juan de Alvarado. Ed, egualmente, la Duchessa de Francoviso è quella di Francavilla; la Principessa de Saladino quella di Salerno; la Contessa di Traviso, quella di Trivento; etc. La Principessa de Salusana, che appare frequentemente nella prima parte del romanzo è probabilmente la Principessa Sanseverino di Bisignano."

Felisel arrived safely in a few days at Felernisa, and when he met Vasquiran he pronounced a long harangue intended to console the unhappy man, who replied more briefly and gave him a short letter to deliver to Flamiano. Felisel on his return found his master so engrossed in preparations for a joust in which he was to take part that he asked him to defer the report of his journey and interview with Vasquiran until the morrow. Meanwhile he showed Felisel his preparations for the joust, and informed him that he had seen his beloved Belisena at a wedding, where a joust had been arranged of four on a side and eight courses, the prize a silver valance worth eight marks. The dresses for Flamiano and his pages are fully described, together with the devices which play so large a rôle in the later romances of chivalry.

After the festival, which lasted almost through the night, Flamiano summoned Felisel and asked him for a detailed account of his embassy. The latter described the emblems of mourning with which the house was filled, the tomb of Violina, and the desperate grief of Vasquiran. Finally, he delivered the letter entrusted to his care. Flamiano was deeply affected when he read it and shed many tears. He then wrote an answer and entrusted it to Felisel, with many assurances of his sorrow and sympathy. This letter is given at length as well as the reply of Vasquiran. These letters generally terminate in a short poem. When Felisel returned from his second embassy he found that his master had been invited by the Duchess to a hunt which was to take place the following week, and for which dresses and liveries, with beds, tents, and provisions, were necessary. The colors, materials, and devices of the garments were given to Felisel the next day. The custom for a knight was to wear the colors of the one served and to add a color of his own. In this case Belisena wore red and white and Flamiano added yellow. A complete list is given of the guests, with a minute description of their dresses and devices.

In the course of the hunt Belisena is left alone with Ysiana and Flamiano comes upon them by chance. When he has somewhat recovered from his perturbation, he addresses his lady. His words and her replies are given in the form of a dialogue. As usual the lady receives with coldness and dignity the stilted addresses of her suitor, and begs him to leave her presence. She

finally departs with Ysiana, apparently much vexed, and rejoins her friends.

Flamiano shortly after went to the baths of Virgiliano, where he knew he should be likely to meet his lady-love again, and planned another joust which would give him an opportunity of appearing before her. While at Virgiliano, he sent Felisel again with a letter to Vasquiran. The latter told Felisel a melancholy story of how he had recently killed a doe in a hunt and how her mate had grieved over her, and renewed Vasquiran's sorrow by the pitiful sight. The following day he sent Felisel back to Flamiano with the usual letter and a present of a horse and trappings for the approaching joust. Felisel found Flamiano at Virgiliano and delivered the letter and present, whereat Flamiano greatly rejoiced. The letter is given at length, and contains a long poem entitled *Visión de Amor*, an allegorical composition, in which the writer finds himself in a lovely garden, a Paradise of suffering lovers. There Vasquiran meets his departed wife, and they tenderly converse of their past happiness and present sorrow. Vasquiran awakes to find it all a dream and begs Flamiano no longer to compare his own grief with that which he, Vasquiran, suffers. For Flamiano can still hope, but he is desperate in his misfortunes.

A long description of the jousts follows, and of the festival with which they closed. As a part of the entertainment, Flamiano composed an eclogue, in which five characters represent in a pastoral form what took place in the chase described above, when Flamiano had his interview with Belisena.

After the festivities, Felisel is sent anew to Vasquiran with the usual letter and various presents. Vasquiran determines to visit Flamiano, and dispatches the trusty Felisel to announce his coming to his master. Before his departure he visited the tomb of his wife and wrote a poem there. The next day he embarked for Noplesano and his grief was revived by the sight of the places where he had spent happy hours with Violina. He finally arrived at Noplesano, and disembarked without any signs of rejoicing, and was received by Flamiano sadly and affectionately.

The next day they went to pay their respects to the Duchess and other dignitaries, and on the way Vasquiran and Flamiano disputed as usual as to whose sorrow was the greater, Vasquiran's for the loss of his wife, or Flamiano's at the impossibility of

winning the one he loved. The Duchess received them most affably and expressed her warm sympathy with Vasquiran's loss. They parted after the usual compliments and returned to their abode. One day after dinner, while resting in a garden under the shade of some orange trees, the two friends again discussed the question which had formed the burden of their correspondence. Their arguments are given at length, and the conversation ends with an insinuation on the part of Flamiano that Vasquiran seems attracted by Ysiana. Vasquiran replies that he has talked with her and offered himself as her cavalier, although he deemed it impossible for her to diminish his grief. The friends resolve to ask the Cardinal de Brujas and the Viceroy to proclaim a joust, as that was the most convenient way of appearing favorably in the presence of their ladies. The conditions and prizes of the joust are duly proclaimed, and the dresses and devices of the ladies and knights who take part in the joust are described at great length.

At the end of the above elaborate description, the author declares that he is about to change the style or form of his book, leaving undecided the question between Vasquiran and Flamiano which forms its principal subject, and employing true names and historical accuracy. The remainder of the work consists in an account of the departure of the Viceroy of Naples for the campaign which ended in the memorable battle of Ravenna (April 11th, 1512). The various troops which accompanied him and the uniforms of the men and leaders are minutely described as well as those who from the various palaces of the city witnessed the Viceroy's departure. Flamiano did not accompany him but remained behind for a time to settle certain business affairs, and also to take farewell of his friend in a more leisurely manner. He was oppressed by the presentiment of his approaching death, and the hopelessness of his love for Belisena.

The sorrow of the friends at parting was profound, and Vasquiran returned to Noplesano (the author has resumed his feigned names in the conclusion of his work) so full of grief that on the way and all that night he spoke not a word to anyone. Some time after, he embarked for his home, and made his preparations likewise to join the army. He was still sorrowful at the memory of Flamiano's parting words, and one night, the first in Easter week, he dreamed a dream in which he saw what happened in the

cruel battle of Ravenna, which took place that very day. This dream he related to his servants and told them how after he had witnessed the battle he saw a bark filled with wounded soldiers and among them Flamiano, who greeted him with a motion of his head, but did not speak. When the bark drew near, Vasquiran essayed to enter and his friend stretched out his hand to aid him, but he seemed to fall into the water and awoke.

A few days later the trusty Felisel arrived with news of the battle and of the death of Flamiano, from whom he brought a letter dated Ferrara, April 17th, 1512, and written upon his deathbed. In this touching letter he welcomes death as the only relief for his hopeless love, and only regrets that he could not have seen his lady before his end in order that he might begin to feel in this world the happiness which he hoped for in the next, and which had always failed him here.

The *Questión de Amor* is interesting from the fact that the whole work is devoted to the discussion of a single "question" or "doubt," as to which of two lovers suffers the more, the one whose beloved is dead, or the other who serves without hope of reward.³ The Italian influence is shown in the general plan of the work, but the tone is distinctly Spanish. The large space devoted to descriptions of jousts with the detailed account of

³ Another Spanish work of the early part of this same century is also devoted to the discussion of a single question. It is the *Aurelio and Isabella* by Juan de Flores, which, Ticknor, Vol. III, p. 132, says dates as far back as 1521, and which, in an early English translation, was at one time thought to have furnished hints for Shakespeare's *Tempest*. There is an Italian translation: *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella, nella quale si disputa: che più dia occasione di peccare, l'huomo alla donna, o la donna a l'huomo. Di lingua Spagnola tradotta da Lelio Aletiphilo*. Venice, 1548. For English translations of *Aurelio and Isabella*; see Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 9, No. 6. For Juan de Flores and his *Historia de Grisel y Mirabella*, translated into Italian under the title of *Historia de Aurelio é Isabella*, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. cccxxii et seq.

There is a reprint of this rare Italian version in A. Bonucci, *Delizie delli Eruditi Bibliofili Italiani*, Florence and Bologna, 1863-5, 8 Parts, of which the *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella* is the third. For other editions of this work see Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, Rome, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 48, 212. The plot of the story is as follows. The King of Scotland has a beautiful daughter and imprisons her to keep her from lovers. A cavalier wins her love, is found with her, and both are tried according to an old law, which declares that in similar cases the one who is the cause of the sin shall die, the other be exiled. The question cannot be answered by the Royal Council and is submitted to a court of ladies and gentlemen to discuss. They choose as their spokesmen Hortensia and Affranio and each speaks in turn. The debate occupies a large part of the book. Isabella is finally condemned to be burnt alive, and is thrown into the flames. Aurelio follows her and is killed; but Isabella is rescued by her maids.

the dresses, devices, etc., was probably due to the *Amadis*, which had first been printed a few years before (1508). These peculiarities are found even exaggerated in the famous Spanish romance, *The Civil Wars of Grenada*, by Ginés Perez de Hita, which appeared at the close of the century. The *Questión de Amor* was a popular work and had considerable influence in Italy, where it contributed to produce that peculiar tone in poetry which is characteristic of the seventeenth century, but which in reality began early in the sixteenth, and apparently had its birthplace in Naples.⁴

In connection with the *Questión de Amor* may be briefly mentioned another Spanish work also involving a single "question," printed in Italy and dedicated to Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. The author, Ludovico Scriva, is otherwise unknown. The work, although in Spanish, bears a Latin title, *Tribunal Veneris*, and describes at length the Castle of Venus and the submission to the goddess by two lovers of the "question," "Which gives the greater delight to the lover, to behold his mistress, or to think of her without seeing her?" This, the reader will recognize, is the eleventh "Question" in the *Filocolo*, and has already been treated in Chapter II of the present work. This question is debated before the Tribunal of Venus by the two lovers, Cupid, Philosophy, and other abstract figures. Venus finally pronounces judgment as follows: "Having heard the arguments and subtle inventions of both sides, and considering the rights of each, I find that I am obliged to condemn (giving sentence in favor of the polite gallant, the enduring lover, the devoted courtier) the contemplative cavalier, and to determine that greater pleasure is that which the eyes conceive, beholding what the will loves, than that which the thought engenders in one who thinks of what grieves his heart." The work is written in the most affected style and could not from its rarity have exerted much influence in Italy or Spain. It is interesting only as showing how widely spread was the social custom of debating "questions."

⁴ See D'Ancona, *Studi sulla letteratura italiana de' primi secoli*, Ancona, 1884, pp. 152-237, "Del secentismo nella poesia cortigiana del secolo XV." I have used the facsimile edition of the *Veneris Tribunal* published by Mr. Archer M. Huntington, at the De Vinne Press, 1902. It differs somewhat from the copy described by Menéndez y Pelayo in *Orígenes de la Novela*, Vol. I, p. cccxxxii, note, which has the colophon: Impresa en la nobilissima Ciudad de Napoles . . . por Ancho Pincio . . . Mr. Huntington's copy reads: Impresa en la nobilissima Ciudad de Venecia . . . per Aurelio Pincio.

Another curious work in imitation of the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione may be mentioned here, although it is written in Spanish and represents the manners of the court of Don Fernando de Aragon at Valencia. Of the author, Don Luis Milan, little is known except that he flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. J. P. Fuster in his *Biblioteca Valenciana, Tomo Primero*, Valencia, 1827, p. 114, says: "Don Luis Milan (Ximeno, Tomo I, p. 137). Natural de la Ciudad de Valencia: fué muy diestro en la música, y famoso poeta, por lo que es alabado por Polo en la Diana enamorada, lib. III, en el canto del Túria, y tambien en las notas de Cerdá á dicho canto, pp. 365, 368, 369, y 371, é igualmente por Timoneda en el Sarao de amor. Las obras que dió á la luz manifiestan que no fué exagerado el elogio que hicieron de él dichos autores." Milan was the author of two excessively rare works: *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano, intitulado Il Maestro*, 1535, fol., and *El Cortesano*, Valencia, 1561, 8vo. Only six copies of the latter are known, all of which are in Spanish libraries. Fortunately the book has been reprinted in *Colección de Libros Españoles raros ó curiosos, Tomo Séptimo*, Madrid, 1874. The full title is: *Libro intitulado El Cortesano, compuesto por D. Luis Milan. Libro de Moies de Damas y Caballeros por el mismo*. The editor is unable to give any details concerning Milan. The origin of the work is thus described in the Dedication to King Philip II of Spain: "Conversing with some ladies of Valencia, who had in their hands the *Courtier* of Count Baltasar Castiglione, they asked me what I thought of it, and I replied:

Mas querria ser vos conde
Que no don Luis Milan,
Por estar en esas manos
Donde yo querria estar.

[i.e., I would rather be you, Count, than Don Luis Milan, in order to be in the hands in which I should like to be]. The ladies answered: Then make another, in order that you may in truth come into the hands which have so often abandoned you. I tried to do so and succeeded so well that they have not let it out of their hands, but have given it their hands to raise it. It has these qualities which I shall mention: It tells how to speak without verboseness, or affectation, or brevity which hides meaning, giving conversations which enable one to jest after the fashion of the palace. It represents the court of the royal Duke

of Calabria and the Queen Germana, with all the ladies and gentlemen of that time, admitting some who to give pleasure were admitted by the Duke, making them speak in our Valencian language as they are wont to do, since many writers are accustomed to write in different languages in order to represent well the character of each one. The beginning of the book represents a hunt given by the Queen and the Duke, where I was commanded to compose the *Cortesano*, which the ladies ordered me to dedicate to Your Royal Majesty. I entreat Your Royal Majesty to accept this gift; for, as the philosopher says, the smallest service willingly rendered is worth more than the greatest reluctantly performed."

The scene of the *Cortesano*, as has already been said, is laid at the court of Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria. This nobleman, born in 1487, was the oldest son of Frederick III, King of Naples, who was dethroned by Louis XII in 1501. Ferdinand had been sent for safety to Tarento, which was besieged by Gonzalvo de Cordova, who swore on the host to leave him at liberty. He broke his oath, however, and sent him to Spain to Ferdinand the Catholic, who had him confined at Xativa. He refused the crown of Aragon in 1516, and was set at liberty by Charles V, who married him to Germaine de Foix, the widow of Ferdinand the Catholic and the niece of Louis XII. Ten years later he married, after the death of his first wife, Dona Mencia de Mendoza, second Marquesa del Zenete, and died in 1551 the last of his race.

The work is divided into six "Jornadas" or days, and differs materially in its plan from its model. It opens with an elaborate account of a hunt given by the Duke, with minute descriptions of the dresses and devices of the courtiers. After the Duke and Queen had enjoyed for a time the witty speeches of the courtiers based upon the devices, the Duke said that it would be well for Don Luis Milan to carry out the Courtier which the ladies had commanded him to make. Don Luis replied that he would do so if the Duke would advise as to the qualities which the Courtier should possess. The Duke answered: "I will give my opinion and these gentlemen will give theirs:

Que en las cosas de gran ser.
El Rey con los caballeros
Tiene muy buen parescer."

Then follow the "Reglas del Cortesano." The Duke said the Courtier should know how to speak and be silent where necessary. Don Diego Ladron said that he should speak only of what he knows. Don Juan Fernandez, that he should speak seasonably. Don Francesco Fenollet, that he should always be attentive to what he does or says. Finally, Don Luis Milan said: "The Courtier must be the father of truth, son of moderation, brother of good breeding, relative of gravity, a man of law, friend of neatness, and enemy of melancholy." These qualities he then proceeds to illustrate with a brief story. This concludes the first day. The following ones are devoted to descriptions of the diversions of the court, which consist in masks, poetry, and conversations interspersed with verse and stories. A considerable part of the work is in verse, and the characters fall into poetry almost involuntarily. The stories are usually short jests, many of them being told in the Valencian dialect. The Courtier is lost sight of until the end of the work, when the Duke suddenly asks Don Luis Milan what he has done with the Courtier, which the ladies commanded him to make. Don Luis replies with a long allegorical vision, in the course of which Don Luis asks Envy what qualities a book must have to make it such as it should be, and replies himself that it must be useful, amusing, original, and follow the rules of art. Furthermore he declares that the intention of his Courtier was to represent all that is talked about at the court of princes: different languages on account of the different nations which are found there; use of all kinds of style, employing the lofty in elevated matters, as counsels and opinions to govern our lives and states; using the mediocre style in jocose conversations of serious courtiers, and reserving the lowest style for the amusing talk of jesters and buffoons, who in secret and public places lessen the weight of business and seriousness."

While Milan's work cannot be compared with its original, it is still interesting, and gives a vivid picture of court life in the sixteenth century.

Castiglione's *Cortegiano* called forth later in the century another imitation, which, inferior in every respect to the original, still contains an interesting and valuable picture of life at the court of Alfonso II. This prince, the last Duke of Ferrara, was the son of Hercules II, and Renée, daughter of Louis XII of

France, famous for her friendship for Calvin and Marot. Alfonso was much at the court of France while young, and all his life retained a fondness for French manners and customs. He possessed all the accomplishments of a Renaissance prince, and his court was renowned for its splendor. At the time when the scene of the work about to be described is laid, Tasso had been a resident at the court (with many absences, it is true) for nineteen years, and was now ill and confined in the Hospital of St. Anne. The Duke was married (1579) to his third wife, Margherita Gonzaga, daughter of the Duke of Mantua. Life at Ferrara did not differ materially from that at the other Italian courts.⁵ The Duke was passionately fond of music, for which his court was renowned. There was dancing, dramatic entertainments, and interminable jousts. The Duke was fond of all violent exercises and played *palla* with great eagerness. He was especially devoted to the chase and had in his state great preserves where he could indulge in his favorite sport. Such a place was La Mesola, near the sea, where he constructed an immense palace. A contemporary says: "The walls around the villa were nine miles in circuit, with towers a mile apart, and four gates opposite each other, and a large palace with four towers. Between these walls was a dense forest full of a great quantity of wild animals, as stags, deer, wild goats, boars, etc., reared there for the Duke's pleasure."

It was at this place that a gentleman of Ferrara, Annibale Romei, laid the scene of his *Discorsi* which, he says in the dedication of his work to Lucrezia d'Este, Duchess of Urbino,⁶ really took place the preceding autumn, while the duke was amusing himself at the seashore. Little is known of the author, whose family was of Spanish origin, but settled at Ferrara for three centuries. Annibale was for some time in the service of Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino, and, as Solerti, p. cxxvii, suggests, he

⁵ Important materials for a history of the life at Ferrara, besides the two works of Solerti to be mentioned later, may be found in the same author's *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, Turin and Rome, 1895, Vol. I, *La Vita*; and in V. Rossi's *Battista Guarino ed il Pastor Fido*, Turin, 1886, pp. 22 *et seq.*, and 49 *et seq.*, the latter part based on Romei's *Discorsi*.

⁶ Sister of Alfonso II, and most unhappily married in 1571 to Francesco Maria II, the last duke of Urbino. Lucrezia was much older than her husband; Litta, cited by Dennistoun, *Memoirs*, etc., III, p. 128, note, says thirteen years and two months; and the marriage, as might have been expected, turned out most unfortunately. In 1573, Lucrezia upon the pretence of ill health returned to Ferrara and never again rejoined her husband.

may have conceived the idea of his *Discorsi* while at Urbino, where the memory of Castiglione was still fresh. It is not known when he returned to Ferrara, but in 1570 he was a member of a Ferrarese academy. He occupied no official position at the court, but served the Duke on extraordinary occasions, once going on an embassy to Gregory XIII. He died the 2d of October, 1590, and was buried in the church of St. Francis at Ferrara.⁷

The work is dedicated, as has already been said, to the Duchess of Urbino. In the dedication the author says he has in vain awaited some occasion when at the Duchess' commands he might reveal himself to the world as her devoted servant. Finally he has attempted to procure by his own efforts what fortune has denied him. He continues: "Having therefore perceived that your Highness, thanks to your happy wit, is more desirous of hearing literary conversations than any other thing, and because there never comes to the city of Ferrara any famous man of letters whom you do not invite to your presence to hear him discuss and argue with other scholars, I have taken the trouble to print those discourses, questions, and replies, which were uttered by the liveliest wits in which this court abounds, during the past autumn, while the most serene Duke was disporting himself at the seashore; judging that your Highness should take no less pleasure in reading with your eyes dead words, than you would to hear live ones with your ears. Moreover, considering that the things treated of in these discourses are precisely those which are usually discussed in the conversations of cultivated ladies and gentlemen at courts, I have wished to publish them under the happy auspices of your Highness, in order that every gentle spirit may, by reading them, be pleased and profited."

The frame of the *Discorsi* is as follows. "The most serene Lord Don Alfonso da Este, second of this name, by our happy fate now Duke of Ferrara, lives so splendidly that the court of

⁷ I have used the edition by Solerti in his *Ferrara e la corte Estense nella seconda metà del secolo decimosesto*, Città di Castello, 1891. For original (1586) and subsequent editions see Solerti, pp. cxxix-cxxx, and for the author, pp. cxxv-cxxxi. As might have been expected, the work was translated into French in 1595, and, what was not known to Solerti, into English in 1598: *The Courtiers Academie: Comprehending seven severale day es discourses written in Italian . . . and translated into English by J[ohn] K[epers]* V. Sims: [London, 1598], 4to. The Library of Cornell University now has a copy of the second edition, Ferrara, V. Baldini, 1586, sm. 4to.

his Highness seems rather a great royal court, than the court of a grand duke; because it is not only full of noble lords and valiant knights, but is the resort of learned and gentle spirits, and of men distinguished in every profession. This prince, truly worthy of respect in all his actions, so mingles affairs with leisure, and measures and dispenses time so systematically, that he does not let himself be enervated by the excessive weight of serious matters, nor enfeebled by the too great laxity of pleasurable affairs. His Highness, therefore, has given to each season its own peculiar diversions, as during the Carnival masquerades, jousts, tournaments, festivities, plays, concerts, and other similar pleasures, which things are enjoyed so calmly and peacefully, that it is a wonder to behold at such times the joy and delight of our city. In the spring, foxes are hunted, and falcons flown in the great park which surrounds the city on the north, in which are found in the stagnant waters and marshes quantities of ducks to hunt from the shore; and there are there certain huts called 'sgarzare,' where herons are bred: and it is a joyful sight to see his Highness enter that broad meadow with the court and nobility of the city on handsome horses, followed by the most serene Duchess with all her ladies and noble matrons in sumptuous carriages. There after they have hunted along the shore, they approach the 'sgarzare' and set free the heron, on which as soon as it rises, they set the falcon, and gaze with great delight upon the battle which those two fierce birds wage in the air.

"Then in the excessive heat of the summer, his Highness retires with the serene Duchess and court to Belriguardo, a truly royal palace, in which are as many rooms as there are days in the year, with *loggie*, corridors, and apartments so large that one can easily play *pallone* there. There are beautiful gardens abounding in all kinds of fruits, watered by the Po, led there by his Highness with marvellous craft, which near the palace turns mills, together with a beautiful fish-pond, which, with quantities of fish, and containing the clearest water, serves conveniently for swimming, being always shaded by lofty poplars which surround it. While his Highness remains in this palace, open house is kept, and ladies and gentlemen of the city come and go in turn; and besides these there are lodged there all those who come for audiences or business with the Duke, who is always accompanied

by his councillors and secretaries. There the warmest time of the day is spent in various amusements, in games, music, and other pleasant diversions: and towards evening his Highness with the Duchess and their ladies and gentlemen on horseback (a beautiful sight) go fowling with hawks, catching pheasants and partridges, in which the country abounds.

"At the end of the autumn his Highness and the Duchess, with the court and other ladies and gentlemen of the city, go to the seashore, where, among the other delightful dwellings on the harbor of Goro, in a wood, called La Mesola, the Duke has built a sumptuous palace, which wood, with a truly heroic expenditure, his Highness has surrounded by a wall twelve miles in circuit, with four large gates situated according to the four points of the compass, which are kept closed in order that the animals may not escape, and are opened at need. There they undertake in turn various pleasures, sometimes fishing in the sea with nets, and sometimes hunting: and at all these diversions there are present the Duchess with all her ladies and matrons, who enjoy very comfortably the pleasure of the chase; because the huntsmen enter the wood with dogs and drive the wild beasts out into certain great places made on purpose, where dogs are stationed, and cavaliers, some on foot with spears, others on horseback with lances; and with great dexterity they slay wild boars, stags, and other animals; and it may in truth be said that there is no prince in the world who has finer hunting or finer fishing than this. Returning to the palace at evening the court spends the time until supper in various pleasant diversions.⁸

"In 1584 as usual his Highness was at the above mentioned place at the end of autumn, with the Duchess accompanied by noble cavaliers and gracious ladies, among whom were the illustrious Signora Countess di Sala,⁹ the fair and illustrious

⁸ The second edition of Romei's work, 1586, is the one followed by Solerti. There are numerous differences between the two, notably in the persons introduced, and, to a slighter extent, in the incidents. As these changes do not at all affect the character of the work I shall disregard them, with one or two exceptions.

⁹ For the Countess di Sala, besides Solerti, p. cxi, see: *Barbara Sanvitale e la congiura del 1614 contro i Farnesi. Cenni storici di Federico Odorici con documenti*. Volumetto di pagine 84 in 8vo, reviewed in the *Archivio storico italiano*, Nuova serie, T. XVII, Parte I, p. 100; and A. Ronchini, *Vita della contessa Barbara Sanseverini*, in *Atti e Memorie delle R. R. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi*, Modena, 1863, in 4to.

sisters Signora Donna Marfisa and Donna Bradamante,¹⁰ Signora Leonora Tieni Countess di Scandiano,¹¹ Signora Isabella Bentivoglia marchesa di Galtieri,¹² Signora Camilla Costabile, Signora Lucrezia Calcagnina, Signora Vittoria Tassona, Signora Camilla Canale, Signora Silvia Villa, Signora Camilla Bevilacqua, Signora Lucrezia Macchiavella,¹³ Signora Camilla Mosti, Signora Anna Strozza, Signora Tarquinia Molza,¹⁴ Signora Leonora Sacrata, and other ladies and matrons of rank, besides the ladies of the serene Duchess. His Highness, desirous of departing for the seashore to fish with nets, informed the company that each one could amuse himself as best he pleased. A part of the cavaliers, then, Signora Donna Marfisa and Donna Bradamante, and other ladies of the court accompanied his Highness and the Duchess to the seashore, but the majority of the ladies, who did not like the sea breeze at the end of autumn, remained in the palace, in order that they might pass the time until his Highness' return in some other pleasant diversion.

"The Countess di Sala was resting in her apartment, to which almost all the ladies and cavaliers repaired in order to do her honor and enjoy her gracious society. When the Countess saw so fair and honorable a company in her room, like one who is the inventor of new and seemly diversions, she said smilingly: 'It seems to me soldiers can ill guard their quarters without a chief, wherefore, I would suggest, if it is pleasing to you, ladies and gentlemen, that we should choose by lot (to avoid envy) one of our number to command, whose sway should last until his Highness' return.' All praised the Countess' proposition, and the lot fell on the Countess di Scandiano, who was crowned as queen with a wreath of laurel amid great rejoicing. This most virtuous lady, true queen, perchance, of more than one heart, considering that in that most noble gathering were the most learned and choice wits of all the court, desirous of hearing discussed something pleasing and agreeable to the whole com-

¹⁰ These ladies were the daughters of Don Francesco d'Este, uncle of the Duke; see Solerti, p. xxxvi.

¹¹ She was the stepdaughter of the Countess di Sala mentioned above, and like her renowned for her beauty and wit; see Solerti, p. cxi *et seq.*, and the same writer's *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, p. 221 *et seq.*

¹² See Solerti, pp. xl, lxix.

¹³ See Solerti, p. lxxviii; she belonged to the Bendidio family, one of the most famous of the Ferrarese families.

¹⁴ This lady was celebrated as a poet, as well as a musician; see Solerti, p. lxxvi, and *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, p. 253.

pany, spoke in this wise: 'Among all the things that afford pleasure and wonder, it seems that beauty holds the first place: which is the more wonderful, since although it is perfectly known by but few, it is nevertheless loved by all. Having considered this often in my own mind, I greatly desire to know what thing is this which we call beauty; whether it is really found in the world, or whether we fabricate it by our opinion: seeing every day in our experience, that what seems ugly to one, appears fair to another. Since, then, a favorable star and kind fortune have exalted me to such power that I can command the sublimest wits, I mean to satisfy my virtuous desire. I therefore command you, Signor Francesco Patrizio, under penalty of forfeiting my favor, of which I make you worthy from now on, to pronounce a discourse upon Beauty, doing your utmost to please me.' Signor Francesco Patrizio,¹⁵ a Dalmatian nobleman, deeply learned, especially in Platonic philosophy, assailed by Fortune for a time, finally taking shelter in the harbor of the learned (for such is the abode of this prince), was welcomed by his Highness with honorable rank, rising to his feet, and bowing, said: 'Your Majesty has displayed the highest courtesy, having bestowed upon me so great a reward before any merit of mine; for what greater reward can there be than to be made worthy of your Majesty's favor? And what severest imaginable penalty can be compared to the loss of that? But just as I am delighted at so gracious a gift, so am I anxious in my thoughts, because I am sure I shall not satisfy your desire by obeying your command, recognizing my insufficiency to treat of so lofty a subject as Beauty: and if I disobey, I incur the penalty imposed upon me, which I fear more than death itself. To escape, then, so severe a punishment, I shall not hesitate to risk such an undertaking, hoping that as those beautiful souls inspire light and motion in their heavens, from which are derived the fair product of nature in this lower world, so may their fostering intelligences, which here sit about our hearts, directing upon me their brilliant rays, kindle light and excite motion in my obscure and sluggish intellect: whence conceptions and words may arise fitted to explain not only communicated, but also essential and true beauty.'"

¹⁵ See Solerti, p. xlviii.

Patrizio then pronounces a long discourse on Beauty,¹⁶ at the conclusion of which Giovan Battista Guarini,¹⁷ the famous author of the *Pastor Fido*, propounds certain doubts which have arisen in his mind, and which turn on Patrizio's apparent contradiction of Plotinus's theories on the same subject. Patrizio replies, and Guarini appears satisfied. Signora Laura Peverara¹⁸ was about to take her harp and play at the queen's command, when Tarquinia Molza expresses a "doubt" of hers, which is, Why is beauty so rare and ugliness so frequent? Patrizio attempts an explanation, and is questioned again by Signora Molza. The Duchess also has a doubt, which is, Does beauty consists more in proportion or in color? Patrizio holds to the latter, and as a proof alleges the habit of women to dye their hair and paint their faces. This argument causes a great uproar, and the queen to still it made a sign to Signora Peverara, who advanced before the queen with her harp and sang so sweetly that it seemed as if "at the sound of that sweet harmony the enraptured soul flew forth from the hearts of the listeners." When the music ended, the Duchess' dwarf¹⁹ came running to say that the court had arrived. The queen, therefore, and the ladies and cavaliers, after arranging for the continuance of the diversion the next day, arose and went to meet his Highness, and the rest of the day until the hour of supper was spent in various amusements and pleasant games. After supper there was dancing, after which his Highness rose, and each withdrew to his own room.

The following day²⁰ his Highness, the serene Duchess, and part of the court, departed for the forest of the Elisea, where

¹⁶ For works relating to Beauty see Chapter III, note 6, and Chapter XIII, note 4.

¹⁷ For Guarini see Rossi's work cited in the present chapter, note 5.

¹⁸ See Solerti, p. lxxi, and *Vita de Torquato Tasso*, p. 364. Solerti, a little later, p. 32, thus describes her: "Questa è una dama della serenissima Duchessa, nata in Mantova, per la gloria di quella città, maritata nel conte Annibal Turco, uno de' principali cavalieri della nostra città, la quale si come con la sua bellezza accende facilmente amore in chiunque la mira, così colle sue oneste maniere, e colla sua modestia talmente intepidisce l'altrui fiamme, che ogni amoroso affetto in somma riverenza risolve: onde da tutti quei che le conoscono, non meno è riverita che amata."

¹⁹ For the use of dwarfs and buffoons at this time see Luzio-Renier, "Buf-foni, nani e schiavi dei Gonzaga ai tempi d'Isabella d'Este," in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vols. 118, pp. 618-650, and 119, pp. 112-146.

²⁰ In the first edition the second day begins with the following account of a practical joke (Solerti, p. 35): "Early the next morning the Queen with all the court went to the sea, where the nets were prepared and the fishermen ready, and entering a large and sumptuous vessel with the Duchess, his Highness,

arrangements had been made for a fine chase, the huntsmen having enclosed in nets a large quantity of wild boars, in which that forest abounds beyond all others. The usual company, according to their plan, withdrew to the room of the Countess di Sala, where Signora Isabella Bentivoglia, a matron endowed

Signor Don Cesare, the ladies and the other noble cavaliers, were towed with great pleasure over the calm sea, while the fishermen drew the nets. Suddenly from one of the towers which guard the harbor were heard two cannon shots, signal that two corsairs had been discovered; and at the same moment a bark belonging to Comacchiesi fishermen was seen rowing eagerly, which, as they said, was fleeing into the harbor before it should be seen by the corsairs. When the ladies heard this news they grew as pale as death, and all trembling commended themselves to the cavaliers who were in the vessel, and would willingly have fled, if they had known how to do so. Then Signor Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, a noble and valiant warrior, advanced before the Queen and spoke in a bold voice in this manner: 'It would be a great shame, most serene Queen, to your Majesty and to all the cavaliers who serve here, if after the fashion of the infamous Cleopatra, you should take to flight, as if you distrusted our will and your strength, and that two hundred musketeers and a hundred light cavalry which are constantly guarding your royal person, not to speak of so many other lords and cavaliers of note, were not enough to fight and conquer two galleys of renegade corsairs. Here are twelve barks each with ten oars, well armed, with which, if it shall so please your Majesty, I boast that as soon as I shall have provided them with musketeers, to capture and bring here before noon, those two galleys with all those robbers. But your Majesty must give orders at once, in order that our delay may not expose us to the danger of being outstripped before this slow and tardy boat of ours is brought back to the harbor.' His Highness praised the opinion of Signor Brancaccio, and so encouraged the Queen, who although she was very brave, was rather inclined to flight than to battle, that she entrusted the undertaking to Signor Giulio Cesare. He entered a little boat with some of the cavaliers, and had himself rowed to the harbor, and presently came forth with ten vessels well provided with musketeers and made his way towards the galleys. Nor was it long before the battle began, which was not so far off that it was not seen by the royal vessel, which was being towed to the harbor, and the storm of artillery and muskets was heard, to the great terror of the ladies, who raised to heaven vows and prayers. Finally, the battle having lasted over an hour, the galleys were captured and the victors to the sound of drums and trumpets towed them into the harbor, where the Queen had already withdrawn, and all the corsairs were brought before her in chains. Then the joke was discovered: for these were all courtiers, and the galleys were those which his Highness keeps for a guard while he is at the seashore: and among others there were four principal cavaliers who acted as captains of galleys, viz.: the Count di Scandiano, the Count Alfonso Turchi, Count Ercole Bevilacqua, and Count Guido Calcagnini. The joke was secretly arranged the evening before by his Highness and Don Cesare; but the Duchess and some other ladies who were suspected of being in a delicate condition were informed of it. After the Queen had regarded the prisoners with scorn and anger, she commanded them to be assigned to the service of the ladies of the court, and that while her sway lasted, they should serve with chains on their feet and in the mean sailors' garb in which they were. The four cavaliers mentioned above were likewise assigned as slaves; to the Queen Count Giulio Tiene, to the Duchess Count Ercole Bevilacqua, to Donna Leonora Count Guido Calcagnini, and to Donna Bradamante Count Alfonso Turco. These ladies could not treat their slaves cruelly enough in revenge for the fright that they had had, and for the many vows they had offered in vain. So all that day passed in great pleasure and laughter, and in very fine fishing of many kinds of fish."

with most noble manners, was chosen by lot and crowned queen. After a moment of silence, she spoke in this fashion: "I do not believe there is any one among us of such mean intellect as not to have enjoyed yesterday great pleasure in listening to the discourse of Signor Patrizio, who showed us what beauty is, whence it arises, and for what end it has been granted by the Creator to mortals: having considered this carefully, I judge it will not be inappropriate to continue the style we have begun and to afford occasion to these fine and learned wits to offer us similar delight, to our great benefit at the same time: for what greater pleasure can be enjoyed, than to satisfy our natural desire for knowledge? Signor Patrizio said yesterday that beauty is the mother of love: and just as I am satisfied with the mother, so I am anxious to have some notion of the son, and to know in fact what is that which we call Love: for I am little satisfied with the descriptions which Petrarch makes of it, it seeming to me a fabulous thing to say that he is a cruel youth, winged, naked, with bow in hand and arrows at his side, as it is also vain to declare that he is a gentle child, or fierce old man, and that he is born of idleness and human lust. I therefore command you, Signor Guarino, if you prize my favor, to pronounce a discourse upon this subject; because I am sure that you will be heard by all with great pleasure, on account of the desire which each one has to know this tyrant, or rather this rapacious vulture of human hearts." "A heavy burden, most serene queen," replied Guarino, "your Majesty has laid upon my shoulders, wishing me to reason impromptu of a subject so lofty as love, in the contemplation of which the sublimest minds have been confused: still, to show how dear to me is the favor of so great a queen, I shall boldly accept the undertaking, hoping that Love himself, to whom from my earliest years I have devoted my life, will arouse my thoughts and move my tongue, so that I can, in conformity with your Highness' intention, manifest his noble nature and deep mysteries."

Guarino after a brief reflection then pronounced a discourse upon Human Love,²¹ interspersed with many quotations from Petrarch. When he had finished, and was about to withdraw, the queen signed to him to remain, and commanded Signora

²¹ See the other discourses on the subject of Love mentioned in Chapter III.

Tarquinia Molza and all the other ladies to propound to Signor Guarino doubts on the subject of love, in order that with this pleasant diversion they might pass the time until his Highness' return. Signora Molza's "doubt" is: Whether love is the result of choice or of fate.²² Guarino argued in favor of choice, and his conclusion was accepted by Signora Molza with some reservation. Signora Camilla Canala then wishes to know if after love is planted in the heart by fate and has struck root by choice, it is in the power of the lover to uproot it. Guarino says he can, otherwise there would be no such thing as free will. Signora Camilla was satisfied with this decision, but the youth present murmured at the idea that love should be entirely destroyed. Signora Valla imposed silence by her doubt, which was: Does absence increase or diminish love? Guarino decides that it diminishes love. Signora Camilla Costabile then propounded this doubt: Is jealousy a token of great love?²³ The conclusion of Guarino is "that jealousy is a sign of intense past love, and of weak present love."

The Countess di Sala then propounds a doubt often discussed, whether love is extinguished by the possession of the beloved.²⁴ Guarino decides that it is not, for there remains the desire of perpetual union which keeps love alive. Signora Camilla Bevilacqua puts her doubt as follows: "You have declared in your definition of love that it arises from a knowledge of beauty; now we see that some scorning the truly beautiful fall in love with what seems ugly to all others: we must then say that ugliness may seem beauty to others, or that not always beauty, but also ugliness may be the mother of love. Explain this to me, in order that your definition may not seem indefinite." Guarino explains that different minds judge differently, and are influenced by various elements of beauty, but it is true that love arises from beauty.

Leonora Sacrata asks whether love is the same as desire, because Guarino's definition causes doubt on this point: and yet Leon Ebreo in the third book of his *Dialogo d'Amore* says that

²² A somewhat similar question occurs in Chapter III, p. 130, in Tullia d'Aragona's *Dialogue on the Infinity of Love*. There the "doubt" was, Which love is the more powerful, that which arises from destiny, or that which comes from choice? See also Chapter III, p. 108.

²³ See Chapter III, p. 126, Betussi's *Il Raverta*, p. 141. Can love exist without jealousy? See also the same chapter, pp. 145 and 146.

²⁴ A similar question is in Chapter I, p. 12, No. 33.

love is nought but desire, which conforms to our experience, since we love because we desire and desire because we love. Guarino replies that Leon Ebreo is wrong and contradicts himself in his first dialogue, in which he distinguishes love from desire. He then explains the true theory. Signora Vittoria Tassona then proposes her doubt: Whether love is good or evil. The answer is a long discourse interspersed with many quotations from Petrarch and ending with one from St. Augustine. The conclusion is that love is good, but should not be made the occasion of sin.

The Countess Tieni then said she should like to know whether one who is loved is obliged to answer this love and for what reason, citing the well known lines from Dante. Guarino answers that both Ariosto and Petrarch thought differently from Dante, and explains why love is not always returned.

Signora Camilla Mosti then proposed her doubt: Which is better, to love or to be loved? Guarino shows that the answer depends on the way in which we understand the word love. The next doubt was proposed by Signora Lucrezia Macchiavella, and was: Which is the more fervent, love of man towards woman, or of woman towards man?²⁵ This doubt leads to a long discussion between Signora Lucrezia and Guarino, who inclines to the side of men.

Signora Vittoria Bentivoglia then asks Guarino to explain how, on Petrarch's authority, the lover is transformed into the beloved. A long explanation then follows, which satisfied the ladies and gentlemen present. Signora Lucrezia Calcagnina expressed her doubt in these words: "It often happens that after a long and formal acquaintance between a man and a woman, one or the other, or both, are inflamed with love; if this is true, it places in doubt what has been said that the lover is enamoured as soon as beauty congruous to him is revealed. Therefore I say, either that beauty so often seen is congruous to the lover or it is not: if it is congruous, why does it not cause sudden love? if it is not congruous, how can it do it after a long time?" After Guarino's explanation, the Countess di Sala asked whether

²⁵ See Chapter III, p. 132, Betussi's *Il Raverta*, p. 99. Gohin in his edition of Héroet's *La Parfaicte Amye*, p. 27, note 1, says: "La Parfaicte Amye donne ainsi une solution nouvelle à la question fort débattue alors: 'Qui aime le mieux de la femme ou de l'homme?' Voir le *Peregrin*, par Caviceo, III, 83, f. 138 ro.: 'Au convy et festin fut disputé le quel plus aymoît, la dame ou l'homme.'

a lover can love two persons at the same time.²⁶ A negative reply is given, and Signora Silvia Villa, "a young girl of fair and gentle aspect," asks: "Since you conclude that a lover cannot love two at the same time, tell us whether a lady who is loved by two lovers, in order not to be ungrateful, ought to recompense both lovers with a mutual love." Guarino said she should not; on the contrary, if she did she would defraud one lover of his right, and prove herself most ungrateful.

Signora Anna Strozza asks whether it is possible for a lover to love the beloved more than himself. Guarino denies this, not without some opposition on the part of the enamoured cavaliers present. No one was now left but the queen, who formulated her doubt as follows: "Although it is unsuitable to the royal Majesty to doubt, being a manifest sign of ignorance, which beyond all other defects is blameworthy in princes, overcome nevertheless by the natural desire for knowledge, I wish to be permitted to ask you, Signor Guarino, if love can endure long in the lover whose love is not returned."

Guarino answers with the story of Eros and Anteros cited from the sixth oration of Themistius.²⁷ The goddess Themis, being in the presence of Venus, who had given birth to Cupid, after she had praised the beauty of the winged boy, added: True Love has indeed been able to be born; but know, O Venus, that alone he cannot thrive: therefore if you desire that this child so dear to you attain to his due stature, create and bring forth another similar to this: for such shall be the nature of these two brothers, that gazing upon each other, both shall equally grow; and when one diminishes, the other shall likewise diminish. Venus, persuaded by the learned goddess, brought forth Anteros, legitimate brother of Cupid. From this fable it can easily be understood that love alone cannot endure in the heart of the lover, and that to maintain himself or grow to his due stature, he must behold and sport with his brother Anteros. The queen cites Dante and Petrarch to the contrary, but, after further explanation, accepts Guarino's conclusion, which was approved by those present, who thought that love alone could not long endure where it was not supported by hope.

²⁶ See Chapter III, p. 108.

²⁷ It is the XXIV. oration in the edition of J. Harduin, Paris, 1684, fol., p. 304.

This ended the conversation on love, and the queen commanded that they should play some pleasant games of riddles, as is the custom among ladies. While they were absorbed in this diversion, the Duke and the Duchess, who had entered the palace very quietly, set loose in the apartment where the company were, a deer caught alive in the net, which leaping here and there frightened the ladies. They, much more timid than the terrified animal, without waiting for each other, all ran out into the great hall, where meeting the Duchess and the other fair huntresses, this fear was suddenly turned to mirth. A little after, the hunters arrived with great noise of horns and barking of dogs, and his Highness commanded that the game should be brought into the hall, which was done, and many wild boars were stretched out on the floor, some of them so huge and dreadful of aspect, that the ladies did not dare to behold them. The rest of the day was spent in discussing the accidents of the chase, the ladies taking no less pleasure in hearing, than the hunters in relating, the efforts made by them in attacking and slaying those fierce animals. When the evening came his Highness had an amusing comedy played by the *Gelosi*,²⁸ who are actors that come every year at his Highness' request at the end of autumn, and accompany him to the seashore, and throughout the Carnival, to their own profit and to the pleasure of the city, recite comedies, and are very ready in imitating all kinds of persons and actions, and especially those most apt to arouse laughter, in which they are so quick and excellent that they would make Heraclitus himself laugh. After the comedy, supper, and after supper some games, when, as it was late, his Highness arose, and each went to his room.

The next day was spent by his Highness in another fine and more pleasant chase, when stags, goats, and other animals were killed, to the great delight of the ladies and gentlemen who were present. At the same time the usual company retired to the wonted room, and Signora Camilla Costabili, a matron of noble presence and gentle manners, was chosen queen. In order not to violate the order of the usual diversions, she judged that it would be pleasing and useful to every noble spirit to discuss the topic of Honor, which is often ill guarded through

²⁸ For the dramatic company of the *Gelosi* and their performances at Ferrara see Solerti, p. li.

ignorance of its true nature and properties. She therefore commanded Signor Gualengo to pronounce a discourse on the subject. The cavalier Gualengo, a gentleman not only versed in all kinds of weapons, but a scholar, and profoundly acquainted with things pertaining to honor and the *duello*, anxious to please the queen, began at once without any reply.

At the conclusion of his discourse, the queen calls upon the gentlemen present to propound doubts and contradict Gualengo in the same way the ladies had done in regard to love. It is impossible to cite all the doubts which were raised (they are much less interesting than those of the first and second days); among them, however, may be mentioned a long discussion between Gualengo and Don Cesare da Este²⁹ as to whether man is good or bad; "the opinion which is called honor being based upon a tacit supposition that man, if nothing appears to the contrary, is good." Alderano, Marchese di Carrara, asks whether an upright man can become infamous. Gualengo answers that he may through false calumny, or apparent sign of fault. The Count di Scandiano asks how it is possible for an adulterer to be infamous, "since men are not ashamed of committing adultery but rather boast of it as an honorable thing, nor was it ever heard that a person lost his honor because he was an adulterer, although the number of them is infinite." Gualengo supports his assertion with many sound arguments, and Count Guido Calcagnini asks whether a soldier may desert his flag after all the others have fled. Gualengo thinks he may after he has done his duty. Count Ercole Bevilacqua asks whether a man of honor who has fought valiantly in the lists, and is unable to defend himself any longer, should allow himself to be killed by the enemy rather than surrender. Gualengo answers that opinions differ, but that the majority think he should die sooner than yield. After many others have propounded their doubts, Signora Tarquinia Molza, with the queen's permission, asked how women could preserve their honor. Gualengo replies that their honor is preserved so long as they do not lose their virtue. This leads to a consideration of the relation of a wife's infidelity to her

²⁹ Don Caesar was the son of Don Alfonso, uncle of the Duke. He was afterwards adopted by the Duke in the hope that he would be the Duke's successor. This was rendered impossible by the devolution of Ferrara to the Papal States on the death of the Duke. Don Caesar, however, became Duke of Modena. See Solerti, p. xxxix.

husband's honor, and Gualengo concludes by saying: "To return to our subject, if a woman wishes to preserve her honor she must be careful to preserve her virtue; and not only not to commit a fault, but to be free from the suspicion of it, which she will be if she accompanies her words, smiles, glances, and bearing with that grave and reverend majesty, which befits chaste and virtuous matrons; and above all keeps herself from intimate association with any man, except father, son, and brother." This reply, praised by the queen and approved by all the chaste and virtuous ladies present, ended the conversation upon honor, and Signora Laura Peverara was summoned, who, to the great delight of the hearers, recited a *capitolo amoroso* to an accompaniment of the harp; but the court and the hunters having returned, the queen and the company withdrew to the apartment of the serene Duchess, where in various diversions they passed the time until supper, after which they danced some *balletti*, and the hour being late, the Duke arose, and, after he had announced that there would be a fishing excursion the next day, all went to sleep.

The following morning just as the court and his Highness were about to proceed to the sea, there arose a fierce wind with dense clouds, which kept the company in suspense until dinner. Those acquainted with the weather declared that it was not fit to draw nets, or fish in any other way, and besides it was dangerous to put to sea. The Duke, after the tables were cleared, the rain beginning to fall, gave permission to the ladies and gentlemen to amuse themselves as best they pleased. Some then played cards, others draughts (*tavoliere*), or chess, and some entertained themselves with agreeable conversations. The cavalier Gualengo was sitting alone buried in thought with his hand supporting his cheek. Some of the other gentlemen noticed this and proposed to make the cavalier discourse a little more in detail in regard to honor and the *duello*.³⁰ They therefore begged him to comply with their wish. Gualengo declares that he cannot accede to their desire because the duel is no longer in use, having been prohibited by France, the Pope, and Christian princes. He consents, however, to answer any questions they may put to him. A long discussion follows, in which

³⁰ The subject of Duelling has a large literature in Italy; see the *Catalogue des livres du Duc de la Vallière*, Paris, 1788, *Seconde Partie, Tome Premier*, pp. 432 et seq.

the authorities on the duel are examined and criticized and a multitude of cases minutely examined. The discussion finally turns on the mode of making peace and settling quarrels, which really forms another discourse.³¹

The gentlemen were not yet satisfied with discussing matters pertaining to honor, when the Duchess' dwarf came running to call the ladies and gentlemen to the comedy prepared by the Gelosi. After the play came the supper, and then some *balletti*. The Duke then gave the usual sign for retiring.

The sky was serene and the sea calm the following day and his Highness and the Duchess with part of the court went to the seashore to fish with nets, and the usual company with the illustrious Signor Don Cesare and the Marchese di Carrara, who had taken great pleasure in the discourse on honor, retired to the room of the Countess, where in the wonted manner, Signora Silvia Villa, then a bride and an exceedingly gracious young girl, was crowned queen. She made the ladies and gentlemen sit in a circle, and after a long preamble commanded Signor Ercole Varano to discourse of Nobility. After he had ended, various doubts or questions were propounded, as, How can men become illustrious by wealth and found noble families? Whether nobility can spring from a bad man, and whether vice and valor can exist together. Whether an illustrious man confers splendor upon his country, or receives splendor from it. Whether nobility is an external good and conferred by fortune. Whether princes can bestow or abolish nobility. What is the origin of the name gentleman? Etc.

After all had proposed their doubts, the queen made a sign to Signor Antonio Barisano, called *il Greco*, who, having arrived only that day, was sitting in a corner listening to the conversation, to come forward and propound a doubt and contradict Signor Ercole. Signor Barisano was an honored citizen of Scio, who, after the island was occupied by the Turks, was unable to endure the harsh severity of the barbarians, and came to Italy. He was known in Ferrara as a scholar, and was welcomed by his Highness with a stipend, and charged with the public teaching of the Greek language; and because he was of pleasing and cheerful intercourse, as one who liked to indulge in jests, and spoke

³¹ There is also a literature on this subject; see the *Catalogue* cited in the last note, Nos. 2603, 2613, 2619, 2638, 2540, and 2646.

boldly on every subject, he was a favorite with all the nobility of the city, and especially with the ladies. He began by saying that it would be easy to contradict all that Signor Varano had said, but because it was nearly the hour for supper, he would only say that he could not tolerate the statement that women, most imperfect animals, could have any share in nobility, as Varano had shamelessly affirmed, knowing well enough that reason and usage recognize nobility only from the man. He then defended his own position and the result was a long discussion between him and Varano on the relative merits of men and women,^{31a} which Signora Tarquinia Molza ended by saying: "Go no further, Signor Barisano, and be satisfied with what you have thus far said in vituperation of women, lest these ladies who are listening now, justly angered at you, after the fashion of the Bacchantes, make of you a new Orpheus." The Greek laughed and replied: "Gentle lady, they have greater cause to thank me than to blame me, for if I had not contradicted Signor Ercole, they would not have heard all the praise which he showered upon them, and I am sure that the more I loaded them with reproaches, the more their praises, like a palm, would rise to heaven."

With these words the conversation ended, and the queen, seeing that some time was left before the arrival of the court, commanded Signora Camilla Mosti and Signora Camilla Bevilacqua to dance. They joined hands, and after two *balletti* to the sound of a lute, they danced the *Canarii* with extreme grace and to the great pleasure of the bystanders.³² The Duke and the court having arrived, the queen arose and all went to the apartments of the Duchess, where was prepared a very fine concert of various musical instruments and sweet voices, which accompanied the supper for a time. After the tables had been cleared, some time was spent in various games and other pleasant diversions, and the Duke, seeing that the weather threatened rain, gave orders for the following morning. His Highness rose early and after the usual mass, embarked with the Duchess, Signora Donna Marfisa, Signora Donna Bradamante, and other ladies of the court in a sumptuous boat, and assigned the Bucintoro³³ to the Countess

^{31a} See Chapter IV, Note 64.

³² For dancing at the court of Ferrara, see Solerti, p. lxxv.

³³ For the Bucintoro, see Solerti, pp. xv, note 6, and xxix.

di Sala and the rest of the court. The Bucintoro was a large ship finer and more sumptuous than any other, with saloons, chambers, corridors, and balconies (*poggi*). After they had made themselves comfortable in this ship, the ladies and gentlemen having broken their fast with choice food, the Countess di Sala proposed that they should elect a queen instead of choosing her by lot, and that her sway should not extend beyond the vessel and should last during the whole voyage; in order that suggesting some pleasant discourse she might banish the ennui of the journey. They all began to whisper in one another's ears, afterwards raising their voices. Signora Tarquinia Molza, a lady of Modena, much loved by the Duchess for her rare and unusual wit and revered by all the court, was elected queen, to the gratification of all the company. She first modestly declined the honor and power, but finally accepted both.

All were in suspense, awaiting what the new queen would command that evening for their diversion. After reflecting a moment she said that among all those blessings which are called external or due to Fortune, riches hold the first place after honor, since we see that riches are desired by almost all men, who think that nothing is more suitable to human happiness. "When I consider, therefore, that day before yesterday we discoursed of honor, and yesterday of nobility, if I thought that it would be agreeable to the company, I would choose some one to reason to-day of riches, and I would believe that the subject would not be unsuitable, as Signor Ercole Varano has proved to us with strong reasons that riches are the support of nobility." All approved of this and urged her to command some one to begin. The queen selected Count Ercole Tassoni, a gentleman of fine manners and learning, who, after the usual modest hesitation, pronounced a discourse upon Riches.

He had not proceeded far in praise of riches when he paused, and the Greek already mentioned, either believing him to have finished or eager to contradict, broke in with a long tirade against wealth. Tassoni replied and a debate between the two ensued. The queen finally declared that the Greek had lost, and that she was sure he would not get a single vote in favor of poverty from the gentlemen present, even if he took a secret ballot. The discussion was prolonged by several speakers, but doubts were not formally propounded. The debate was finally ended when the

party reached the villa of Consandoli, where the Duke and Duchess had already landed. The queen arose with all the company and leaving the ship followed the court to where quarters had been prepared in a sumptuous palace built with great expense by the former princes of Este not far from the banks of the Po. There, after each had rested awhile in his own room, night having fallen, all went to the apartment of the Duchess, where they spent the time until supper with music and pleasant games. After supper they danced and then, the hour being late, all went to await in rest the morning light.

The next day the Duke and Duchess with all the court, after they had devoutly heard the usual mass, made their way to the bank of the river, where each embarked in his own vessel, except that the secretaries, councillors, and other magistrates, invited by the Countess di Sala, Signora Tarquinia, and the illustrious Signor Don Cesare, took their places in the Bucintoro, with the intention of conversing upon some noble topic. Among those referred to above were Signor Antonio Montecatini, chief of all the philosophers of our age, Signor Giambattista Laderchi, Signor Giammaria Crispo, and Signor Renato Cati, men not only most excellent in the profession of law, but skilled in every kind of fine and choice literature. Likewise there were posted upon the galleries of the ship various choirs of musicians, who in this court were extraordinary, in order that playing on divers instruments and singing, they should delight the sense of hearing by their melody no less than the ladies did the sense of sight by their beauty. After they had journeyed pleasantly for a time, the dinner hour having arrived, the tables were set by the queen's order in the hall and the ladies and magistrates were placed on one side and the cavaliers and knights (*uomini di cappa*) opposite, and the queen at the head under a canopy with royal majesty. After dinner, which was continually accompanied by the sweetest music, watchful servants, as was the custom on the vessels, placed on the tables cards, draughts, and chess, to banish the ennui of the voyage. The queen having imposed silence by a sign, spoke thus: "As there are two ranks of men deemed worthy of true honor, the profession of letters and of arms, so often it has been disputed to which of these the preference should be given.³⁴ Considering, therefore, that in this noble band are to

³⁴ For other discussions of this "question," see Chapter IV, note 60.

be found on the one hand the flower of the scholars of this age of ours, and on the other, cavaliers who excel in the military art, seizing this fine occasion, I mean that for the diversion of our journey to-day we should decide by debate which is worthy of greater honor, the scholar or the soldier; and in order that no confusion may arise in the discussion, I mean that the battle shall be conducted by champions; the scholars electing one to speak for them, and the others another. And because a contest cannot be settled without a judge, I wish that after both sides have been heard, the sentence shall be pronounced by the prudent and immaculate judgment of the Countess di Sala." The judicious proposal of the queen pleased Signor Don Cesare and all the ladies, who were intent upon the choice of champions. After some conversation in a low tone among the scholars, Signor Francesco Patrizio was declared their champion, and by the cavaliers, Signor Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, not only the oldest among the soldiers, and most excellent in the profession of arms, but a gentleman learned, eloquent, and adorned with every sort of virtue. After the choice of champions, the queen breaking silence, commanded Signor Patrizio to enter the lists first. Patrizio smilingly consented on condition that the only weapons used should be the ones with which scholars are wont to overcome their opponents. To which Giulio Cesare replied also with a smile, that although he had the choice of weapons, yet in order that his victory might be the greater, he accepted the terms proposed by the other side.

A learned debate ensues between the two champions, at the close of which it seemed to the queen and all the company that victory inclined to the side of the cavaliers. Then Signor Renato Cati rose and asked permission to defend his cause on the ground that Signor Patrizio had been a more partial than true champion of scholars, and had neglected "the fierce weapons of jurists." He then proceeded to treat the question at great length from a legal standpoint. Brancaccio replied, and when he had ended the queen silenced with a sign Signor Cati, who wished to prolong the dispute, and commanded the Countess to pronounce sentence, which she did, after reflection, in this manner: "Having heard and carefully considered the arguments on both sides, we decide, that civil honor, the reward of excellent and heroic deeds, should rather be granted to soldiers; and that

reneration, peculiar to things diuine, is befitting scholars: or formulating our sentence better, we say, that warriors should be esteemed by honoring them, and the learned by venerating them."

The iudicious sentence of the Countess was admired by all; and thereupon, leaving the ship and entering sumptuous carriages, the ladies and cavaliers having accompanied the Duke and Duchess to the palace, all returned to their homes.

Romei's work is evidently an imitation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, but it is an uninteresting and colorless one. It contains, it is true, valuable materials for the history of Italian society in the sixteenth century, but as a work of literary art it does not stand high, and cannot be compared with its original except to its great disadvantage. Not only is the author inferior to Castiglione, but the society he depicts has changed and become less interesting. It has grown more formal, and the influence of Spanish manners is beginning to be felt. There is not a gleam of wit in the entire work, which never rises above a certain mediocre seriousness.^{34a}

A valuable source of information in regard to social observances is contained, as has already been seen, in the novelists, and especially in the introductions to their collections of stories. The device of a framework, or setting, for the stories, was first employed by Boccaccio, whose immortal Introduction to the *Decameron* became the object of endless imitation. There was undoubtedly some foundation for the Introduction in the custom of telling stories for the amusement of a company, as described in the *Filocolo*. After the *Decameron*, the custom probably spread, and, as we have seen, story-telling became, with games,

^{34a} Solerti has also edited another brief but valuable sketch of life in Ferrara during the first half of the sixteenth century: *La Vita Ferrarese nella prima metà del secolo decimosesto descritta da Agostino Mosti*, Bologna, 1892 (*Estratto dagli Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, III. serie, Vol. X, fasc. I-II-III). The writer was born at Modena on the 5th of July, 1505, and was not yet eight years old when he became a page to the little Ercole d'Este, afterwards the fourth Duke of Ferrara. Mosti was made prior of the Hospital of St. Anne by Alfonso II, and held the office many years; he has suffered in his reputation from having been the jailor of Tasso. He seems, however, to have been a pious and upright man. When nearly eighty years old he was requested by Monsignor Manzuoli, Bishop of Reggio, to write an account of his life and the court of Ferrara. He complied with this request and finished his brief account a month before his death, which took place the 21st of August, 1584. The work is little more than the rambling recollections of an old man concerning the manners of the court and city, with references to change in fashions and the principal events in the life of the Duke Alfonso I.

the favorite diversion of the sixteenth century. None of the various introductions written in imitation of Boccaccio compare in interest with that of the *Decameron*, although some are entertaining and even valuable for our present purpose.³⁵ After a time the various *motifs* were pretty well exhausted and writers were compelled either to publish their *novelle* as independent stories without any connection whatever, or to devise some other scheme for introducing them to the reader. The most natural one was to dedicate each story to some person and prefix a dedicatory letter, sometimes of an entirely general and perfunctory nature, but sometimes giving an account of the origin of the *novella*. The latter method was followed by the greatest of Italian novelists after Boccaccio, and thanks to him we have an invaluable account of Italian society in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Matteo Bandello was born at Castelnovo in the Milanese, of a wealthy and noble family.³⁶ The date of his birth is not known, but it was towards the end of the fifteenth century. His family

³⁵ Some of these, viz.: Straparola's *Le Piacevoli Notti*, Scipione Bargagli's *I Trattenimenti*, Fortini's *Novelle*, and Ascanio de Mori's *Giuoco Piacevole* will be mentioned in Chapter VI. There is no good monograph on the Italian Novel, that of Dr. Marcus Landau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des italienischen Novelle*, Vienna, 1875, being singularly superficial and defective.

³⁶ Materials for Bandello's life may be found in Mazzuchelli, reprinted in *Novelle del Bandello*, London, 1791-93, Presso Riccardo Bancker, Vol. I, p. iii (this edition of Bandello by Gaetano Poggiali is a reprint of the rare first edition of Lucca, 1554 and Lyons, 1573, Part IV, and is the one I shall cite in this chapter); and especially in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vols. 125, 126 (1892), "Vita italiana in un novelliere del Cinquecento" by E. Masi. A general account of Bandello and his novels may be found also in J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, Italian Literature*, Part II, New York, 1882, pp. 63-78. For Bandello's relations to Isabella d'Este see Luzio-Renier in *Giornale storico*, Vol. XXXIV (1899), "Coltura e relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este," pp. 77 et seq. There is a more accessible edition of Bandello's *Novelle* in the *Raccolta di novellieri italiani*, published by Piomba at Turin, 1853. The *novelle* of Bandello occupy four volumes. The publisher does not mention the edition followed by him, but it is probably the one of London, 1791-93, which, it may be said, was really published at Leghorn and edited by Gaetano Poggiali.

These editions have now been superseded by the edition in the *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1910-12: *Matteo Bandello. Le Novelle, a cura di Gioachino Brognoligo*, five volumes.

Two articles similar to those of Masi in the *Nuova Antologia* mentioned above are to be found in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vols. 108 (1902), pp. 324-367; 109 (1902), pp. 83-106, by H. Meyer, "Matteo Bandello nach seinen Widmungen." These articles as well as those of Masi deal largely with the personal history of Bandello and with the general history of his times. Neither dwells to any extent on the topics in which I am interested, viz., the social observances of the day. I have not been able to see several of the works cited by Brognoligo in the *Nota* at the

were adherents of Ludovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, and when he was dispossessed by the French in 1499, lost their property by confiscation. His uncle, Vincenzio Bandello, was prior of the Dominican convent delle Grazie in Milan, well known to travellers as containing in the refectory Leonardo da Vinci's famous painting of the Last Supper, and became in 1501 general of the whole Dominican order. Matteo was placed as a child with his uncle in the convent at Milan and pursued his studies there and at Genoa and Pavia until 1505, when he accompanied his uncle to Rome, visiting Florence on the way. In 1508 he was at the court of Louis XII at Blois engaged in some diplomatic service. In 1509 he published his first work, a Latin translation of Boccaccio's novel of *Tito e Gisippo* (x, 8). He remained in the service of the Bentivoglia family until 1512, when that family lost forever their lordship of Bologna, in consequence of the battle of Ravenna. Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico il Moro, was proclaimed Duke of Milan. Three years later Louis XII died and was succeeded by Francis I, who immediately undertook the reconquest of Milan. The victory of Marignano on the 13th of September, 1525, amply compensated for the defeat of Ravenna, and again the duchy of Milan fell into the hands of the French. The partisans of Maximilian were banished, and among them was Bandello, who transferred his allegiance to the court of Mantua, where he enjoyed the patronage of the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga and his wife Isabella, already well known to our readers as the sister-in-law of the Duchess of Urbino.³⁷

He had become acquainted with the Marchesa Isabella at Milan, either when she was present at the marriage of her sister Beatrice to Ludovico il Moro in 1490,³⁸ or in 1513 at the court of Maximilian. It is the court of Mantua or the minor courts connected with it which Bandello describes in the prefaces to his novels, which afford such precious materials for the history of Italian society during this period.

end of the last volume of his edition, pp. 348-349. Apparently the articles by Masi mentioned above have been published in book-form: *Matteo Bandello, o la vita italiana in un novelliere del Cinquecento*, Bologna, 1900. For Bandello in English see Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 41, No. 26.

³⁷ See Luzio-Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

³⁸ Ludovico il Moro married Beatrice, daughter of Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, in 1490. She died Jan. 2, 1497, leaving two sons, Maximilian and Francesco.

Bandello subsequently returned to Milan, where he was involved in the events of 1526, by which Francesco Sforza was driven from his state. He then reentered the service of the Gonzaga, which, however, he shortly left to attach himself for the rest of his life to Caesar and Costanza Fregoso. Caesar Fregoso was a member of the great Genoese family already mentioned in Chapter IV in connection with Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.³⁹ After the expulsion of his father, James II, Doge of Genoa, Caesar was educated at the court of Francis I, who knighted him and employed him in various military and diplomatic services. He made several attempts to win Genoa for the French, but failed, and entered the service of the Venetians. Bandello occupied the post of secretary to him and spent several years at Verona with him and his wife Costanza, whose sister Ginevra Rangone was the wife of Luigi Gonzaga, whose service Bandello had just left. On the death of Francesco Sforza in 1535, war again broke out between Francis I and the emperor Charles V, and Caesar Fregoso left the service of Venice and entered that of France.⁴⁰ Bandello followed his master in all the events of the war, and was present when Francis I showered honors upon Fregoso and bestowed a bishopric on his son.

The war between Francis I and the Emperor was brought to an end by the Truce of Nice, signed on the 18th of June, 1538, and Fregoso retired to Castelgiuffredo, where he and his wife lived with Luigi Gonzaga and his wife, who was, as has been said, a sister of Costanza Fregoso. They were bringing up with them a beautiful young girl named Lucrezia,⁴¹ orphan daughter of Pirro Gonzaga and Camilla Bentivoglio, with whom Bandello fell in love, not the first example of a teacher falling in love with his pupil. The happy life at Castelgiuffredo described with such delight by Bandello came to an end in 1540. Ginevra Gonzaga died suddenly, Costanza and her husband were obliged to leave Castelgiuffredo on account of illness, and Lucrezia and her sister Isabella also departed. Worse was yet to come. The truce between Francis I and Charles V was on the point of rupture, and the former summoned to him Caesar Fregoso.⁴² He

³⁹ Some account of Caesar Fregoso may be found in J. Zeller, *La Diplomatie française vers le milieu du XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1881, especially pp. 67 et seq.

⁴⁰ See Zeller, p. 68.

⁴¹ Lucrezia subsequently married Giampaolo, a Venetian condottiere, who died in the prison of Ferrara; see Masi, 126, p. 73.

⁴² See Zeller, p. 244.

reached France in safety and was returning the next year, 1541, as ambassador of France to Venice, when he was assassinated on the river Po, near Pavia, by the order of the Marquis del Vasto, governor of Milan.⁴³ This atrocious deed was followed by the banishment of Costanza Fregoso by Venice, upon the discovery of a plot against the state, in which the French ambassador was implicated.⁴⁴ All connected with him were subjected to persecution, and Costanza Fregoso was expelled from the territory of Venice and her property confiscated. She took refuge in France, whither Bandello followed her. She was welcomed in the most hospitable manner by Francis I, and thanks to his munificence was enabled to live in a manner befitting her rank.

She resided at the Château of Bassens, near the city of Agen, and there contributed to diffuse in France, as Masi says, "Italian customs and manners, the taste and fashion of our language and literature, and even the form and cultivation of our gardens, for which purpose she had gardeners brought from Tuscany." The liberality of Francis I was continued by his successor Henry II, who nominated Costanza's second son Ettore Fregoso to the bishopric of Agen. As he was a child, the bishopric was assigned in trust to Bandello, and thus has arisen the story that Bandello died bishop of Agen. At Bassens Bandello spent the remainder of his life in happy ease, preparing for the press his novels and poems. The date of his death is unknown, but he was alive in 1554 and probably died about 1560.

It is not our purpose to study the novels of Bandello; they undoubtedly contain precious materials for the knowledge of Italian life in the sixteenth century, and they have often been examined with that design in view.⁴⁵ They do not, however, throw much light upon the diversions and observances of polite society, in which we are more particularly interested. Much more valuable are the prefaces, or dedicatory letters, to the individual novels, in which Bandello describes the occasion when the story was told, or other circumstances connected with its origin and narration. These dedicatory prefaces, often of con-

⁴³ It was on July 3, at Cantalu, three miles above the confluence of the Ticino and the Po. For details see *Mémoires de Du Bellay, édition du Panthéon littéraire*, pp. 697-703. The murder of Fregoso and his companion Rincon is minutely examined by Zeller in the work already cited, pp. 239-266.

⁴⁴ See Zeller, pp. 353-387.

⁴⁵ Especially in the articles of Masi cited in Note 36.

siderable length, give a most attractive picture of Italian society, or rather, they furnish the bits of enamel from which we can construct the complete picture. It is surprising that greater use has not been made of them, and I shall endeavor to supply this omission by a somewhat detailed examination.

The scene of the pleasant companies into which Bandello introduces us is often the garden, and it is interesting to note the important rôle which it still plays in Italian society. In the second novel of the first part (Vol. I, p. 26), the story in question was told in the most pleasant garden of Signor L. Scipione Attellano. In the seventeenth of the first part (Vol. I, p. 378), a company of noble gentlemen went to the pleasant palace of Madama Isabella da Este, Marchesana of Mantua, to reconcile two brave soldiers. It was in July and the dog days were beginning to inflame the air, and there was no wind, or only a slight breeze, which rustled the leaves on the trees. The Marchesana withdrew immediately after dinner, and one of the company, Pirro Gonzaga di Gazuolo, said: "Gentlemen, since Madonna is not here, I would advise the whole company to enjoy the coolness of the garden loggia, and spend the time there until Madonna comes down." They agreed to this proposal, and sat down under the loggia, and began to talk of various things according to their pleasure. While they were thus engaged, Messer Alessandro Baesio arrived from San Sebastiano and told a piece of scandal which had occurred in Mantua, and one of his hearers related a similar story, which took place in Vicenza. The thirtieth novel of the first part (Vol. II, p. 335) is told under similar circumstances in the same spot. One of the guests, Signor Costanzo Pio di Carpi, said: "To escape the present heat, I would advise our withdrawing to the grove of poplars which the Marchesana has planted in memory of the Duke Ercole her father, and there sitting by the bank of the stream on the fresh thick grass, and talking of what most pleases us." The company did so and Signor Costanzo told a story. The scene of the thirty-first novel of the first part (Vol. II, p. 348) is also in a garden in Milan belonging to the palace of the Cardinal Sanseverino. So in the fiftieth novel of the first part (Vol. III, p. 393), a fine company of gentle spirits found themselves in the beautiful garden of Messer Girolamo Archinto, and after some talk on literary matters, they began to discourse on love affairs, and Sig-

nor Cesare Triulzo told a story as usual. In the tenth novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 215) an account is given of an entertainment at Montorio by Cesare Fregoso, where, after dinner, they played many pleasing games under a long, wide, and dense arbor made for the occasion. Those who cared little for the heat danced to the music of pipers, and afterwards talked about the *Decameron*, and one of the company narrated a novel. The scene of the thirty-sixth novel of the second part (Vol. V, p. 276) is at Pineruolo, without the town, in a meadow of thick green grass, through which flowed a clear and cool stream, which made a sweet and pleasant sound with its gentle murmuring. The forty-seventh novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 300) is also related in a garden. In the eighth novel of the third part (Vol. VII, p. 115), when Signora Ippolita Sforza e Bentivoglia was at the baths of Acquario, the principal personages of the town, gentlemen as well as ladies, met in her garden, where after dinner there was always pleasant and seemly talk on various topics.

The subject of conversation on these occasions was, as might have been supposed, love. Thus in the first novel of the first part (Vol. I, p. 8), the company talked of events of the day, of love affairs, as well as of other occurrences. In the forty-fifth novel of the first part (Vol. III, p. 186), a company at Ferrara talked of the varied and infinite occurrences of the day, and of the mighty and divine power of the celestial Venus, and Messer Filippo told a story illustrating the point that a man should love a woman above him, but a woman should not. The power of love was also the topic at a supper described in the second novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 22). In the fifty-fifth novel of the first part (Vol. III, p. 393), after talking about literature, the company conversed of love affairs. So in the ninth novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 138), at the baths of Caldera, the company talked about the accidents which happen in love affairs. The story which is told to illustrate this is the famous tale of Romeo and Juliet. The same subject is discussed in the thirty-second novel of the second part (Vol. V, p. 220). In the fortieth novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 28), after various topics had been discussed, the company began to talk of love "as the sweet and gentle condiment of all the conversations of joyful assemblies." The various kinds of love and their effects are the subject of talk in the thirty-first novel of the second part (Vol.

V, p. 199). A similar subject, "the variety of the effects of love," is discussed in the forty-second novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 180). There is in the forty-seventh novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 300), a long discourse on the various kinds of love and their effects, with astrological explanations, and the conclusion, "that if the natures of the two lovers are different, love will never spring up between them."

Poetry was also discussed in the twenty-first novel of the first part (Vol. II, p. 56), and one of the company proposed reading Boccaccio, but another suggested telling original stories, which was done. In the forty-eighth of the first part (Vol. III, p. 264), they discussed repartees; and in the fifty-fourth novel of the same part (Vol. III, p. 375) presumptuous and rash talkers are the topic of the conversation.

Sometimes the subject reminds us of the *Decameron*, which had such a profound influence on the forms of social diversion, as in the thirty-first novel of the first part (Vol. II, p. 348), where the company talk of ready replies given at the right time.⁴⁶

"Questions" or "doubts" in the technical sense were also debated, as in the thirteenth novel of the first part (Vol. I., p. 286): "Which of the two passions, joy or sorrow, kills a man the sooner?" A story is told to prove that the latter does. In the ninth novel of the first part (Vol. I, p. 222), the subject was: "Why do many wise women commit great mistakes, by which they suddenly lose their good name?" Examples are given and the conclusion is that the fault of their mistakes should be attributed to their lack of brains (*nel loro poco cervello*). Other references to questions are contained in the fifty-fifth novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 416), and in the ninth novel of the third part (Vol. VII, p. 122).

In the thirtieth novel of the second part (Vol. V, p. 191), the conversation turns on the great difference in men and in their nature and inclinations, which are often different in all their actions. In the ninth novel of the third part, just cited, the fair sex is praised and some excellent women of ancient and modern times are mentioned, above all Pantea, whose history one of the company then proceeds to relate. In the twenty-sixth novel

⁴⁶ See the Sixth Day of the *Decameron*, "nella quale si ragiona di chi, con alcuno leggiadro motto tentato, si riscotesse, o con pronta risposta o avvedimento fuggì perdita o pericolo o scorno."

of the third part (Vol. VII, p. 319), the talk turns on how rulers and servants should behave towards each other. A story is told to prove the proverb, Familiarity breeds contempt.

The passion for story-telling has already been alluded to, and many instances are found in the prefaces which have been cited. Others may be found in the forty-fourth novel of the first part (Vol. III, p. 167), which will be mentioned at length presently; in the first novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 6), where Messer Girolamo Archinto tells a story at a banquet given by L. Scipione Attellano; in the thirty-fifth novel of the second part (Vol. V, p. 266), in which Maria di Navarra tells a story at Bassens; in the forty-third novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 200), to be mentioned later; in the twenty-fourth novel of the third part (Vol. VII, p. 300), where Signor Giovanni Castiglione gives a dinner to a number of ladies and gentlemen, after which talking of various things, Signor Guarnero his brother said to Messer Giovanni Antonio Cusano, an excellent physician, that he should interrupt the different conversations of the company, and entertain them with some story, which he did; in the thirty-ninth novel of the third part (Vol. VIII, p. 50), another story is told at a banquet; in the fifty-fourth novel of the third part (Vol. VIII, p. 208), where a story is narrated in a garden; in the sixty-first novel of the third part (Vol. VIII, p. 293), where a story is told in the garden at Bassens; and in the fifth novel of the fourth part (Vol. IX, p. 80), which will be mentioned in detail later.

Games are frequently referred to, but only in a general way; as in the fifth novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 76), to be mentioned later; in the ninth novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 138), the scene is laid at the baths of Caldera (Caldiero, seven and a half miles north of Verona, a mineral bath known to the Romans and still visited), where Cesare Fregoso had gone to drink the waters. After he had been there a few days, he was visited by the gentlemen of the neighboring cities, whom he entertained richly and sumptuously. They played various pleasant games, and whoever took more pleasure in one game than in another, played that one. The usual story was also told. Other references to games may be found in the tenth novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 215), to be mentioned later; in the forty-third novel of the same part (Vol. VI, p. 200), "facendo

mille festevoli giuochi"; in the fifty-second novel of the third part (Vol. VIII, p. 175), Bandello says that in the last summer, to avoid the excessive heat of Milan, he went to a villa across the Adda, called the Palace, belonging to Signor Alessandro Bentivoglio, and there he remained three months, during which time many gentlemen and ladies came there, and were welcomed by the noble owner of the villa, and spent their time in seemly and amusing games. And finally, games are mentioned in the fifth novel of the fourth part (Vol. IX, p. 80), to be examined in detail later.

Many of the prefaces cited above give but a glimpse of the society of the day; a few, however, contain detailed descriptions and deserve to be quoted at length. In the forty-fourth novel of the first part (Vol. III, p. 167), an account is given of an entertainment offered by Scipione Attellano to Bianca da Este. It occurred in July, when the heat of the dog-days is wont to be somewhat annoying. A short and very pleasant farce was recited which kept the company amused for some time. Then they danced and played many entertaining games, and as it was near noon, and the air was very hot, although they were in a cool room on the ground floor, with windows opening to the east, the dancing ceased, and the company began to talk of various matters. Signora Camilla Scarampa, who, the writer remarks, may truly be called a second Sappho of our day, said that it would not be unfitting to spend that hot and tiresome hour in pleasant talk. The proposal was praised by all, and Signora Camilla began and told an amusing story, and afterwards others were told by the ladies and gentlemen.

In the fifth novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 76), Signora Isabella da Este, Marchesa of Mantua, to avoid the intense heat felt in Mantua owing to the dry weather, withdrew to the castle della Cavriana, where it is rather cold than cool. There she amused herself, as was her wont, reading, discussing, listening to music, and playing seemly and amusing games. One day there happened to be there Messer Paris Ceresaro, a most noble man and learned in all kinds of literature, who told in the presence of all a cruel and pitiful incident that had recently occurred in Rome. After the Marchesa heard the story she composed and debated many fine questions relating to love, and set them down in a little book in Italian prose. The story which gave rise to

the discussion is then related by Bandello, who had heard it several times from Ceresaro.

In the tenth novel of the second part (Vol. IV, p. 215), Bandello says that the Venetians were wont to visit *terra firma* with their wives and other ladies on pleasure excursions, and they seldom came to Verona that Signor Cesare Fregoso did not entertain them splendidly, sometimes in Verona, sometimes without the city, at the cool and clear springs of Mantua, so celebrated by Boccaccio in the *Filocolo*, and at Garda, from which the famous lake of Benacus now takes its name. At Garda the Fregosi have a great palace, with most beautiful gardens, in which are all the trees of delicate fruits which this climate will permit: oranges, citrons, lemons, and pomegranates, not to mention other kinds. There they enjoyed the beauty of the lovely lake, well stocked with fish, the banks of which Pomona, Bacchus, and Flora splendidly adorned. Here at Montorio Signor Cesare gave a dinner and supper to a noble company of Venetians, who had come to Verona. He invited many Veronese gentlemen to meet them, and his wife Costanza invited some ladies of the city. The dinner, as was usual with the Fregosi, was fine and truly Lucullan; besides the meat of domestic animals, there was served up the flesh of wild birds and quadrupeds, according to the season, and as seemed suitable to Messer Antonio Giovenazzo, the steward, together with all kinds of fish produced in the springs or in the lake. After the dinner they played many pleasant games under a dense, long, and broad arbor, made on purpose, where to the sound of pipes those danced who did not mind the heat. At noon the heat being great and the dancing having ceased, the ladies and gentlemen began to talk together, as they pleased. In one company the conversation fell on the *Decameron*, and one of the guests told a story, which Signor Cesare commanded Bandello to write down.

The social life of Madonna Costanza Fregoso at San Nazaro in the south of France is described in the forty-third novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 200). Every day the neighboring lords and barons paid her visits, as was the custom of the country, bringing with them their wives and suites, and leading a bright and happy life. Usually they had wholly banished all melancholy and jealousy from their minds, and spent their time dancing and playing games, and kissing each other often in the dances.

It happened one day that the company were talking of the deceptions practiced on Henry VIII of England by some of his wives, and one of the company told a story of the way in which the Queen of Aragon deceived her husband Peter, for a laudable purpose, however.

In the fifty-fifth novel of the second part (Vol. VI, p. 416), an account is given of a visit to a country house by Alessandro Bentivoglio and his wife Ippolita Sforza, and their amusements there. The house belonged to the da Rò, an old and noble family of Milan. On their arrival (it was St. Bartholomew's Day) they were welcomed with due honor and spent the festival and the following day in great pleasure in the company of many gentle persons. The second day, after dinner, the heat being great (the wind blowing from the south), all the company went to a large room, which was quite cool and overlooked a large and pleasant garden, with bowers so long that they would have sufficed for horse races. In that room some talked, others played draughts and chess, some sang, others played various instruments, and others did what was most pleasing to them to pass that tiresome noonday hour. Then Signora Ippolita called to her the kind and clever poet and scholar Messer Niccolo Amanio, Messer Tommaso Castellano, her secretary, and Messer Girolamo Cittadino, and wished Bandello to be the fourth among those three gentle and learned men. She had in her hand the divine poet Virgil, and reading many verses of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, she began to propound fine and ingenious "doubts" according to the matter she was reading. After many fine things had been said by her and others, she begged Messer Niccolo Amanio to help pass pleasantly what was left of the hot part of the day by relating some story. After some hesitation he complied and told the story of Antiochus and Stratonica, which Bandello afterwards wrote down and sent to Signora Pia e Sanseverina.

The last of the prefaces of Bandello which I shall mention is that to the fifth novel of the fourth part (Vol. IX, p. 80), which contains an account of the festivities at the marriage of the daughter of the Marchesa di Gonzaga at Casalmaggiore. When Bandello arrived he found many distinguished guests from all parts of Italy, all comfortably lodged according to their rank. The festivities had already begun, and whoever wanted to dance

could satisfy his desire, for there were always present excellent players upon various musical instruments. Many games were also played, which afforded the company great pleasure. There were jugglers, too, and buffoons, who made the spectators laugh and pass the time very joyfully. As the heat was great the company withdrew to a lower room, wonderfully cool. There the Marchesa addressed the company and said she had brought them there on account of the heat and crowd, and because she had had the happy thought of bringing them there and leaving the musicians in another room, in order that they might talk on any subject that pleased them to pass that hot and wearisome hour of the day. She then exhorted any of the company who had a fine story ready not to hesitate to divulge it. One of the guests complied with the Marchesa's wish and told a story.

It will easily be seen from the above quotations that certain stereotyped forms of social diversion go back to the *Filocolo* and the *Decameron*, of Boccaccio. The passion for story-telling was universal and was not peculiar to Italy, any more than music and dancing. Games, as we shall see in the next chapter, are more peculiarly Italian, and probably spread from Italy over the rest of Europe. More characteristic of Italy was the fondness for conversation, and the cultivation of that art long before the French salons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries carried the art to its highest perfection.

The principal subject of discussion was the theme of love, which, under the form of Platonic love, played such an immense part in society in Italy in the sixteenth century, and in the guise of gallantry ruled French society in the following century.

An interesting picture of Italian manners and customs is also found in the introduction to the collection of stories by Girolamo Parabosco, known under the title of *I Diporti* (The Diversions). The author was a native of Piacenza, who passed the greater part of his life at Venice, where he was the musical director of the church of St. Mark. The year of his death, as well as that of his birth, is unknown, but it was about 1557.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ See scanty notices of Parabosco's life in Passano's *I Novellieri italiani in prosa*, and the introduction by Poggiali to his edition of Parabosco, London, Presso Riccardo Bancker, 1795. Parabosco was also the author of a very popular work, which ran through many editions (see Passano): *Lettere amoro-se*, of which I have seen the edition of Venice, Domenico Farri, 1581. It is in four books, each with independent pagination, and contains, besides the

The frame of the work is as follows. It was the custom in Venice during the winter for gentlemen to go fishing, either alone or in company, in the neighborhood of the city; and to dwell for a time in huts built in the water of wood or stones, or reeds or mud. There in places called *valli* the fish are confined and fed for the convenience of the fishermen. The Venetian gentlemen, as has been said, are wont to fish there in a thousand different ways, and hunt with falcons, and amuse themselves in divers fashions, remaining there a day or two or three, as they please. After they have spent the day in their pleasure, they return to the huts mentioned above for eating, sleeping, conversing, and other customary enjoyments. Not long ago, in one of these agreeable spots, there gathered for pleasure a company of worthy and noble spirits, among whom were the magnificent Messer Girolamo Molino, Domenico Veniero, Lorenzo Contarino, Frederico Badovaro, Marcantonio Cornaro, Daniel Barbaro, Bartolomeo Vitturi, Benedetto Cornaro, Alvigi Zorzi, all Venetian gentlemen, and with them Signor Ercole Bentivoglio, Count Alessandro Lambertino, both Bolognese, Sperone Sperone of Padua, Pietro Aretino, Alessandro Colombo of Piacenza, Giambattista Susio from La Mirandola, Fortunio Spira from Viterbo, and Anton Giacomo Corso from Ancona.

These gentlemen arrived early one morning, bringing with them sufficient food to spend two or three days pleasantly. Suddenly the weather changed and the rough water gave sign of an approaching storm. The fishermen, who had come there in great numbers for their amusement, advised the gentlemen to retire to one of the huts, hoping that the storm would not go further, and when they were sure of that they could resume their sport. They landed then where they had sent their food and servants to prepare their dinner, and Count Alessandro began by thanking heaven that there were no women present, declaring that they were the poison which embittered every pleasant company. Benedetto Cornaro defended the other sex, and a long discussion on women ensued.

letters, four *novelle* and various poetical compositions. As might have been expected it was translated into French: *Lettres amoureuses de G. Parabosque avec quelques autres ajoutées de nouveau, réduites* [sic] *de l'Italien par H. Philippe de Villiers*, Anvers, 1556, 8vo. It is very likely that such works had considerable influence on the literature of the *Précieux* of the seventeenth century in France. I refer particularly to the *Oeuvres galantes* of the Abbé Cotin and LePays, *Amitiez, Amours, et Amourettes*.

After dinner the storm grew worse and it was evident that they could hope for no better weather that day. Badovaro proposed that they should devise some useful and pleasant conversation, which could last some time. For this end he suggested that each should mention the subject which seemed best to him, and then all should choose the one which the majority thought would produce the most profit and pleasure. Badovaro's advice was approved and all began to propose topics. One said it would be well to discuss the superiority of arms and letters.⁴⁸ Some proposed a question in regard to love; others a question of moral philosophy, and so on. Finally they decided that story-telling would be best, because it was no less useful than pleasant, being both satirical and amusing, and besides a subject complete in itself and agreeable to all. Lorenzo Contarino was chosen to begin, and after the usual modest hesitation, he related the pitiful tale of Ludovica and Carlo de' Viustini.

When the story of the luckless lovers was ended, the narrator himself raised a doubt as to whether Carlo's voluntary death was due to his love for Fioretta or his hatred of Ludovica. A long discussion followed, which Aretino ended by declaring that they might debate the matter for months if they wanted to satisfy the profound and acute intellects of the company. Contarino then asked Ercole Bentivoglio to continue. He likewise at the end of his story propounded a doubt for the company to discuss. This example was not followed in the remainder of the stories of the first day, which were continued until evening. The servants then prepared the supper and the gentlemen "played pleasant games and spent the rest of the day in many other diversions; after which they supped and went to bed."

The next day the weather was still unfavorable and the company was obliged to remain within doors. It was decided to continue the mode of diversion of the previous day, and Vitturi, who had related the last novel, requested Badovaro to begin, who after the usual deprecatory introduction, told the tenth story. The novels were related without giving rise to any questions. When the sixteenth had been ended, the day was drawing to a close, and the company was informed that a bark from Chioggia was approaching. They were still imagining who could be on board, when Messer Marcantonio da Mulla, Luigi

⁴⁸ See note 34 of this chapter.

Mocenigo, Marcantonio Moresino, and Pandolfo Gon entered. They had been on a pleasure trip to Chioggia and were returning to Venice when they heard that a company of their friends were near by and resolved to stop and spend the night with them. They were joyfully received, and the story-telling was suspended for the time and they talked about other things until supper was over, when Vetturi said: "It would not be out of place, sitting as we are at table, if some of the questions involved in the various novels should be brought forward and discussed." Then the newcomers were informed of the past discussions and the ill-will borne towards women by Count Alessandro; and Molino was charged with propounding four questions.

He cheerfully accepted the task and said: "The first question which I mean to propose will be: Which love is the greater and more ardent, that of a man for a woman, or of a woman for a man?⁴⁹ I do not propose this question because I am at all in doubt about it, but in order to see what reasons Count Alessandro (under whose protection I place the side of the men) will allege in proof that women are by nature totally devoid of all affection. The side of the women I shall entrust to Messer Luigi, by whose worth I hope to win the gratitude of women, who will understand that I have found so worthy a champion for their defence against so powerful and fierce an enemy of theirs." The discussion then began and continued, with an occasional interruption on the

⁴⁹ See note 25 of this chapter. There is now an excellent work on Parabosco by Giuseppe Bianchini, *Girolamo Parabosco, scrittore e organista del secolo XVI*, Venezia, 1899 (R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria). The writer has been unable to discover the exact date of Parabosco's birth, but it was about 1524. The date of his death, April 21, 1557, is fixed by an endorsement on Parabosco's will (April 7, 1557) published by Bianchini in an appendix of documents, p. 233. Besides the *novelle* contained in the *Diporti* Parabosco wrote poetry, plays, and the letters mentioned above. Bianchini devotes a chapter (VII) to *I Diporti* and has some interesting remarks on the sources of the *novelle*. Bianchini also calls attention, p. 217, note 7, to some "questions" discussed in the *Lettere amorose*. They are six in number: Is Love to be deemed a madness? For what reason is man enamoured? Can a jealous man be termed a lover? Can the old love? "Se colui, che innamorasi d'una donzella si ritrovi giammai a conclusione alcuna, che buona sia, senza un mezzo di casa pervenga?" and finally, Which are the three kinds of love? Bianchini gives an excellent bibliography and all through the book are references valuable for the present work, e.g., p. 214, note 2, an account of other *lettere amorose* and works teaching the composition of such letters. The edition seen by me and mentioned earlier in this note is not registered by Bianchini.

There is now a good modern edition of Parabosco's *I Diporti* in *Novellieri minori del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1912, in *Scrittori d'Italia*, by Giuseppe Gigli and Fausto Nicolini. The *novelle* of S. Erizzo are in the same volume.

part of the company, until it was decided by acclamation that Mocenigo was right and Count Alessandro wrong.

Molino then proposed the second question: Which is the happier, the one who hopes to enjoy the object of his love, or the one who is already in possession of it?⁵⁰ Mulla was to defend the former, and Ercole the latter side. At the end of the discussion both gentlemen were praised for their pointed and brilliant arguments, but no decision was pronounced.

The next question was: Which causes the greater suffering, to lose what one has gained, or not to be able to gain what one desires?⁵¹ Ercole Bevilacqua and Marcantonio Moresino discussed the question, which also remained undecided for lack of time to finish the debate in a proper manner.

The last question propounded by Molino for Giambattista Susio and Pandolfo Goro to debate was: Whether love is caused in us by fate or choice.⁵² The discussion was ended by Molino, who jestingly said it was time to do so, for Susio was rapidly travelling heavenwards to show that nothing here below happens without the influence of the planets. It was now late and the company broke up for the night.

The third day was pleasant and the sea calm, but the company were so interested in their conversations and debates that they resolved to spend the day in their abode rather than engage in the sport for which they had come. As, however, Alessandro Lambertini and Ercole Bevilacqua were strangers and had never seen the manner of fishing practiced there, they let them depart with the fishermen. The others resumed their former diversion, and Giacomo Corso related the story which he had been prevented from telling the day before by the arrival of the party from Chioggia.

The story gave rise to a discussion on the nature of *motti* and their difference from proverbs.⁵³ Veniero gave the following definition of each: "The proverb, in my opinion, is only that which is said by way of maxim (*per sentenza*), and which is applied to a single subject (*proposita*); although it may be used differently on different occasions: *motti* are what spontaneously

⁵⁰ See note 24 of this chapter.

⁵¹ This is practically the question which forms the subject of the *Questión de Amor* discussed at the beginning of the present chapter.

⁵² See note 22 of this chapter.

⁵³ This discussion recalls the similar one in the *Cortegiano*; see Chapter IV, note 61.

arise in our minds, and have never been said by any other, when to attack another or to defend ourselves from another's attacks, we utter them in company." The various kinds of *motti* were then passed in review by the company, and examples of each were given.

The conversation then fell upon poetical compositions, such as the madrigal, which, Sperone said, should be sharp, witty, and elegant. Examples were given of such, and also of other kinds of poetry: the *capitolo*, *sestina*, *canzone*, and sonnet.

The work ends with an extensive panegyric of Italian ladies, who are mentioned by name and their various virtues enumerated. The strangers return from their fishing and the company breaks up and returns joyful and contented to Venice.

So far as I know the history of the imitation of the *Decameron* in the different countries of Europe yet remains to be written. There are attempts more or less extensive in regard to limited fields, as for example, Miss Bourland's *The Decameron in Spain*, but no general work that I know of. The idea of the frame of the *Decameron* enjoyed from the first an enormous vogue. One reason, of course, was that it afforded a convenient method of enabling a writer to issue at one time a considerable number of short compositions. It is also probable that this method was the natural outgrowth of a long established social custom. It is not my purpose to attempt here to pass in review the imitations of the *Decameron* as such, but only to mention such works as illustrate the use of those social observances which really constitute the subject of this work. As we have already seen the most important of these observances were the use of "Questions," generally on matters pertaining to Love, and "Parlor Games."

I have already mentioned in this chapter Parabosco's *I Diporti*, and in Chapter VI I shall examine S. Bargagli's *I Trattenimenti*, P. Fortini's *Novelle*, and Ascanio de Mori's *Gioco Piacevole*. These were selected from the large number of other similar works because they illustrated more fully the use of Games or Love-Questions; in some cases, as in Parabosco and Mori, the works were what might be called "Question-novelle," or "Game-novelle." For the sake of completeness I shall now examine other works of this class, acknowledging here my indebtedness to Zonta's articles in the third volume of *Studi Medievali*, "Rileggendo Andrea Cappellano," and "Arbitrati reali o questioni giucose."

We shall see in our detailed analysis of Girolamo Bargagli's *Dialogo de' Giuochi* in Chapter VI that story-telling is mentioned at some length as a social diversion belonging to the class of Games, and two kinds of stories are mentioned: those which give rise to Questions, that is, debates or arguments, and those which do not. The debates which arise are also of two kinds: for example, a single story may furnish matter for discussion, as the story of Madonna Dianora (*Decameron*, X, 5, also found in the *Filocolo*), where the question arises which showed the greatest liberality, the lover, or the husband, or the necromancer; or two stories told one after the other may by comparison afford material for debate. Sometimes three or four stories are compared, as happened once in a company at Torri where Il Sodo was present.

Zonta, "Rileggendo," etc., p. 61, note 2, says: "In tutta la storia delle questioni d'amore, del resto, si trovano infiniti esempi di discussioni amorose vertenti sopra un fatto realmente vero o sopra una novella narrata." He then proceeds to cite a number of examples, some of which I had already used. Some do not seem very convincing, e.g., *Decameron*, IV, 3, 10; X, 2, 5. Zonta might have cited here X, 3, which contains in substance the thirteenth Question of the *Filocolo*. The fifth novel of the same day also uses the third Question of the same work.

Zonta also cites Sercambi, *Novelle*, 25; 26, 27. This citation is probably the fourth story, "De iusto iuditio" (ed. D'Ancona, *Scelta di curiosità litt.*, cxix, p. 23), in which the question of the ownership of a lost purse is referred to the decision of a just judge.

In one of Sermini's *Novelle* (the fourth in *Raccolta di novellieri italiani*, Turin, 1853, p. 225; the fourteenth in *Le novelle di Gentile Sermini*, Livorno, p. 188) Anselmo pays a fine incurred by his friend Carlo, with whose sister Angelica he is in love. When Carlo learns of his friend's generosity he endeavours to repay him by giving him Angelica as his mistress. Anselmo declines to accept such a gift and a marriage with Angelica is finally made possible. The story ends with the words: "Ora considerate tutte le nominate cortesie usate fra loro, resta da risolvere e terminare quale fusse la maggiore e la più commendabile."

In the fifteenth *novella* (ed. Livorno, p. 202) it is a question of deciding which of two wives was the more beautiful, and the novella ends: "Nè mai si diffinì qual di loro fusse più bella, nè

finirà infino a tanto che pazzi padri o mariti delle simili a quelle cura e guardia non faranno delle cose loro, che con tanta dimestichezze co' giovani non usino."

In the sixteenth *novella* (*ed. cit.*, p. 203) a priest engages a servant for life with mutual pledges in case either breaks his part of the bargain. Later the priest drives him from the house and the question which is right is submitted to various prelates and finally to the Pope. The *novella* ends: "Questa quistione pendente rimase, nè mai si diffinì chi si fusse il peggiore di quelli . . . E pero di cortesia s'addimanda a chi legge darne sentenza."

In the seventeenth *novella* (*ed. cit.*, p. 219), the story of which cannot be given here, the conclusion is in the form of a question: "Ora si domanda se i padri delle monache dette, avendole messe in tal modo per forza, meritino premio o loda da Dio e dal mondo, essendo essi principio di tali operazioni che le figliuole per disperazione hanno fatto e quali di loro maggior fallo ha comesso, o i padri o loro."

There is a similar conclusion to the eighteenth *novella* (*ed. cit.*, p. 228): "Ora s'addomanda a qual di loro tre nel giardino della fama per maggiore cortesia e fedeltà debba il primo eminente luogo e quale il secondo e quale il terzo per ragione possedere."

So in the twenty-second *novella* (*ed. cit.*, p. 265): "Ora se alcuno errore fra costoro si commisse, o veramente operazione commendabili, s'addomanda a chi legge chiarirsi."

At the conclusion of the twenty-ninth *novella* (*ed. cit.*) one of the characters asks for the solution of certain doubts. In the thirty-seventh *novella* (*ed. cit.*, p. 410) the conclusion is: "Ora s'addomanda se con discrezione e giustizia tale sentenza da Madonna fu data o non."

Zonta also, p. 61, note 2, cites Masuccio's *Novelle*, but I do not find any of his references pertinent. Each of Masuccio's *novelle* is preceded by a brief "esordio" or dedication to some nobleman. Then follows the "narrazione" or story proper, and when that is ended Masuccio personally intervenes and remarks on the story he has just told or introduces the next. I do not find in any of these reflections references to "Questions" or any discussion of the stories by the company.

On the other hand there are many references to "Questions" and discussions in Sabadino degli Arienti's *Le Porretane* (edited

by Giovanni Gambarin in *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1914)⁵⁴, the scene of which is laid in 1475 at the baths of Porretta, a place in the mountains about twenty-five miles north of Pistoja. The spot and company are very briefly described in the *Prologo*. There is no division into days and no account of any other diversions of the company except story-telling. Each *novella* is followed by a brief account of the way in which it was received by the company and a few words of introduction for the following story. The stories are frequently discussed and conclusions are recorded. For example, at the end of *Novella XXVI*, p. 159, we read: "The *novella* was heard with pleasure and the closest attention and it was disputed which was the greater virtue, the compassion which the duchess had for her lord's love, or his self-control (*temperanza*) in order not to violate his marriage troth. Some argued that the self-control of the duke was greater, and finally after a long discussion it was judged (*sentenziato*) by the noble company and especially by the wise ladies that the compassion of the duchess was much greater than the self-control of the duke."

So, after *Novella XXVI*, p. 164, the company began to dispute about the morality of the story with many arguments and reasons. This is the case also with *Novella XXXV*, p. 215, where an animated discussion follows the story and the arguments of the various sides are presented in turn.

Sometimes the conclusion or judgment of the company is given, as in *Novella XLII*, p. 254: "La egregia brigata ebbe piacere assai de la narrata novella. E sopra epsa disputato alquanto, iudicarono non essere uomo tanto vile e scelerato, etc." So, in *Novella LIII*, p. 319: "E, sopra epsa essendo per la brigata molte degne cose adducte e disputate, fu affirmato essere stato molto maggiore la virtù de la temperanza de li focosi amanti, che la prudenzia de Isotta e de Cornelia in quel extremo effecto usata per loro in defensione de la lor castitate. . . . E cusi fu poi ancora concluso ch'el costume de le discrete e savie pulcelle è de stare sorde, mute e aliene da li parlamenti degli omini."

⁵⁴ For Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti and his relations to Isabella d'Este see *Giornale storico*, Vol. 38 (1901), pp. 49 *et seq.*, Luzio-Renier, "La Coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este." See also Gambarin's *Nota* in his edition in the *Scrittori d'Italia*, for biography and bibliography of Sabadino degli Arienti.

Finally, *Novella* LIV, p. 332, is followed by a very detailed discussion and the arguments of the ladies and gentlemen are given at length. At last the gentleman who is to relate the next story says: "Deh! non vogliamo più questionare cum queste generose donne," and as the story under discussion was a morsel hard to masticate, he will give them one sweet and easy to chew. Zonta also cites *Le sei giornate di Messer Sebastiano Erizzo* (*Classici Italiani*, Milan, 1805; *Raccolta di novellieri italiani*, Turin, 1853; and in *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1912, by Giuseppe Gigli and Fausto Nicolini, *Novellieri minori del Cinquecento . . . G. Parabosco . . . S. Erizzo*), the scene of which is laid in Padua in 1542, where a company of six gentlemen entertain one another with stories for six days, when their diversion is interrupted by the illness of one of their number. Curiously enough a similar conclusion is found in a Spanish story mentioned in Chapter XIII. In a few cases the stories in Erizzo give rise to discussions; as for example, the nineteenth *Avvenimento*, which is the story of the venal judge flayed alive by the order of Cambyzes and the skin placed on the judge's seat as a warning to others (see *Gesta Romanorum*, 29), is discussed by the company and the majority thought that Cambyzes had done well to punish the judge so severely. Another instance of discussion is found in *Avvenimento* XXVII, discussed on p. 292, where the view of the majority is given. Zonta later ("Arbitrati" etc., p. 616, note 3) cites further instances from Erizzo: *Avvenimento* I, a long tirade against Love as the cause of all woes; *Avvenimento* II, a discussion by the company, all agreeing that Love is the author of all blessings; *Avvenimento* III, a discussion on magic arts; *Avvenimento* XII, a discussion of Timoleon's severity towards his son, the majority praising it.

Zonta cites an important reference in Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone* (*Raccolta di novellieri italiani*, Turin, 1853). At the conclusion of the second *novella*, p. 29, Saturnina asks: "Chi ebbe di lor due maggior paura? Rispose il frate e disse: Io credo che l'avesse maggior Buondelmonte per doppie ragioni. Soggiunse Saturnina: In buona fè, ch'io crdo che l'avesse maggiore la donna, perchè fu più presso a esser veduta e conosciuta, che non fu egli. Ma comunque si sia, altra volta la determineremo."

The use of Riddles as a social diversion is considered in Chapter VI and there is mentioned in that place their employment by

Straparola in his *Piacevoli Notti*. Zonta cites a few instances of the discussion of the matter of the stories. In all the cases mentioned by Zonta the discussion or doubt is expressed by the narrator and not by the company, e.g., Vol. II, p. 34 (ed. Giuseppe Rua in *Collezione di opere inedite o rare*, Bologna, 1898-1908), the narrator concludes his story with the words: "E perchè negli suoi libri egli non seppe mai trovare la decisione di questo caso, il lasciò irresolubile, e sino a questo giorno ancora la lite pende. Voi adunque, sapientissime donne, darete la sentenza, la quale per la grandezza della cosa io non ardisco proferire."

At the end of the fifth story of the sixth night (*ed. cit.*, II, p. 72) the narrator says: "E della donna, la qual era indivisibile, nacque discordia tra lor fratelli, a cui rimaner devea. E furono fatte molte e lunghe dispute, chi di loro meritasse di averla; e fino al presente pende la causa sotto il giudice. A cui veramente aspettar si debba, lasciolo giudicare a voi."

The citations by Zonta from *Le Cene* of Anton-Francesco Grazzini detto il Lasca (*Raccolta di novellieri italiani*, Turin, 1853) are unimportant and some not pertinent. E.g., p. 324, "Taceva già Fileno, strigatosi della sua favola, della quale molto si ragionava tra la brigata," etc. In the tenth *novella* of the third *Cena* (p. 461) a dispute is referred to Lorenzo il Magnifico, but it is in the course of the story and does not seem to me to be pertinent.

Zonta also cites frequent cases from Giovanni Battista Giraldis Cintio's *Gli Ecatommiti* (*Raccolta di novellieri italiani*, Turin, 1853), and says, "Arbitrati," p. 116, "Dopo quasi tutte le novelle, vien posta la questione e discusse sotto la presidenza di un compositore delle differenze." The passages cited by Zonta all occur in the Introduction, which consists of ten novels showing that in human love peace is found only in love of man and wife, and that there can be no repose in unlawful (dishonest) love.

I think Zonta conveys an incorrect impression by quoting the words "compositore delle differenze nostre" as if Fabio, to whom the words apply, were a duly appointed judge or arbiter of the "questions" raised in the *novelle*. In fact Fabio was one who "per la matura età, e per la cortese sua natura, e per lo saggio parere, era di grande autorità appresso tutti gli altri." He was the leader of the company of ladies and gentlemen who left Rome in 1527 to escape the plague which followed the horrible siege

and sack of that city. It is during the journey to Marseilles by sea that the stories of the work are told. The company spends each night on shore and the *novelle* are related by day on board the ship. The long Introduction is divided into two parts. The first, pp. 23-53, consists of a long discussion on the nature of Love (cf. *Bandello*, III, p. 30). It is not illustrated by any *novelle*, which are reserved for the second part, the object of which is to show the unseemly love of youth for immodest women and its fatal consequences. As I have said, Zonta's citations are all from the Introduction alone, and might easily be multiplied. They all refer to the usual discussion by the company of the *novella* just finished. Sometimes the discussion is very brief and sometimes very extended.

It is not until the tenth *novella* of the Introduction is finished that Fabio at the request of the company arranges for the orderly employment of their time and has the names of five ladies and five gentlemen drawn by lot. Another ten were drawn afterwards to alternate with the others, provision also being made for the usual *canzoni*.

I need not pass in review here the numerous citations of *Bandello's Novelle* (now accessible in an excellent edition by Gioachino Brugnoligo in *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1910-1912, five volumes) as I have already made extensive use in this chapter of the prefaces of the *novelle* which are such a precious source of information as to the usages of polite society in Italy in the sixteenth century. Zonta's references are all to the prefaces of the first two volumes. I have, of course, quoted the prefaces of all the volumes where they were pertinent to my purpose.

CHAPTER VI.

Parlor Games in Italy in the Sixteenth Century—Origin of these games—Siena the place where they were developed—Analysis of Girolamo Bargagli's *Dialogo de' Giuochi*—Innocentio Ringhieri's *Cento Giuochi liberali*—The use of Riddles as a social diversion—Their employment in Straparola's *Le Piacevoli Notti*—Fortune-Telling as a social diversion—*Libri di Ventura*—Analysis of Scipion Bargagli's *I Trattenimenti*—Pietro Fortini's *Novelle*—Ascanio de Mori's *Giuoco Piacevole*.

We have already seen that "parlor games" composed part of the social diversion of the sixteenth century in Italy. In fact, the *Courtier* of Castiglione, the most important document for the society of the period, was the outcome of a "parlor game," or rather, was the game itself. Frequent allusions to these games are found in the prefaces to Bandello, although no detailed account of any one of them is given. We have now to consider the curious subject of Italian "parlor games" and the extensive rôle they played during the sixteenth century. From Italy they passed into France and England, and still survive, although they are now generally confined to the young, or are relegated to the society of the provinces.

It is probable that some form of "parlor games" existed as a means of social diversion from a very early period, and constituted together with "questions" and riddles the chief mode of entertainment. We have seen that they were in use in Italy as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the classic treatise on the subject, Girolamo Bargagli's *Dialogo de' Giuochi*, a work which will be carefully examined in a moment, the principal interlocutor, known as Il Sodo in the Academy of the Intronati, declares that "parlor games" are a Siense invention and arose in the above mentioned Academy, at the meetings of which ladies were present, and for their amusement these games were devised.¹ This statement is doubted by another speaker, Il Frastagliato, who declares that games were in vogue at the court of Urbino, and cites Ariosto, VII, 21, where is mentioned

¹ See p. 21 of the edition mentioned below.

a game now played in Siena.² He also quotes Il Mauro (Giovanni Mauro d'Arcano) who mentions the same game.³ Bembo, too, wrote the sonnet "Io ardo, dissi," etc., on a game known in Siena as the Game of Words and Signs.⁴ This leads the speaker to the conclusion that many games, like *canzoni* and *balli*, have been taken from the people. As a proof of this he cites a game called "Cicirlanda," a word the meaning of which is forgotten, but which is evidently a corruption of *Ghirlanda*, a garland or wreath, which the master of the game wore on his head as a symbol of authority when he ordered the company to do various things. Il Frastagliato concludes by saying that Il Sodo has granted that other Academies were acquainted with these games, which are also used in the country places about Siena, and were more probably borrowed by the Sienese from them.

Il Sodo replies that even if games were mentioned by the above writers, they were not used in other cities, and were borrowed from Siena wherever they were played. Many of the usages of the present time go back to remote antiquity, such as making presents for the New Year, and festivities on the nights of the last days of December. These were in use in the time of August-

² See p. 22. The game referred to in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, VII, 21, is thus described by the poet (it occurs during Ruggiero's visit to the enchanted garden of Alcina):

Tolte che fur le mense e le vivande,
Facean, sedendo in cerchio, un gioco lieto:
Che nell'orecchio l'un l'altro domande,
Come più piace lor, qualche secreto.
Il che agli amanti fu comodo grande
Di scoprir l'amor lor senza divieto.

The game is the first described by Bargagli, p. 22, under the name of "il giuoco del Proposito" (the game of subjects of talk), in which one player whispers a word or sentence to the person next him and that one whispers the answer to the next one, and so on. Finally the questions and answers are repeated aloud to see who has answered suitably. This game occurs in Cervantes' romance of *Galatea*, Bk. IV; see Chapter XIII, p. 585.

³ For Giovanni Mauro d'Arcano see Tiraboschi, VII, p. 1195, and Crescimbeni, V, p. 113. He was born about 1490 and flourished at the court of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. He was an intimate friend of Berni and wrote in the same style. He died in 1536.

⁴ Bembo's sonnet, beginning:

Io ardo, dissi, e la risposta invano
Come il gioco chiedea, lasso aspetta, etc.

may be found in his *Opere*, Venice, 1729, Vol. II, p. 10, Son. XXII. Cian in his "*Motti inediti e sconosciuti di M. Pietro Bembo*," Venice, 1888, pp. 89 *et seq.*, gives an extract from an inedited commentary on Bembo's *Rime*, in which the game in question is explained at length.

tus, as is proved by Suetonius in his life of that emperor.⁵ So going about with lights on the night of the Carnival, and many other customs which have survived to our day from the beginning of our era.⁶ Another singular custom known in Siena before the war was for women on the last evening of the Carnival to stand in their courtyards with kindled fires, and for the young men to come masked and strike them in the hand with a pestle. Ovid says in his *Fasti* that the Roman youths bedaubed their faces with blood and meeting women in the way struck them in the hand.⁷ May not our usage have arisen from the Lupercalia, when women who desired children were struck by the youths who met them with goatskins, as Livy and Pliny relate?⁸ But why dwell on other customs, which may be traced back to antiquity, when many of our games themselves are wholly or partly drawn from ancient usages? So for instance, the Sieneese game of Riddles goes back to the Enigmas of the Sphynx. Il Sodo also cites the example of Samson and Darius.⁹ The story of the latter is not dissimilar to the Sieneese game of *Della più bella parte*, etc.¹⁰ The story told by Plutarch in his Life of Cato, where the youths chose the judges and brought their cases before them, is reflected in the Sieneese game of the Podestà.¹¹ The Horatian story of the prodigality of Nomen-

⁵ C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus, edited by E. S. Shuckburgh, Cambridge University Press, 1896, cap. 57, p. 116; cap. 75, p. 141.

⁶ See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London, 1891, *sub verb.* *Saturnalia*; and Marquardt's *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1885, III, pp. 586 *et seq.*

⁷ Ovid's *Fasti* II, 268 *et seq.*

⁸ For the Lupercalia see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and Marquardt, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 442 *et seq.*

⁹ Josephus is given as authority for the latter story. See *Antiquities of the Jews*, Bk. XI, chap. iii: Whiston's Translation revised by the Rev. A. R. Shilleto, London, 1889, Vol. II, p. 254. The questions propounded by Darius were: Whether wine was not the strongest of all things? Whether kings were not such? Whether women were not such? Whether truth was not the strongest of all?

¹⁰ Bargagli, p. 26. In this game each one declares what is the finest and most desirable quality in a lover, and the reward is bestowed upon the one who, in the opinion of the judge, has mentioned the finest.

¹¹ See the life of Cato the younger in *Plutarch's Lives revised* by A. H. Clough, Boston, 1882, Vol. IV, p. 370. The anecdote in question is on p. 372, and is as follows: "Another time, one of his relations, on his birthday, invited Cato and some other children to supper, and some of the company diverted themselves in a separate part of the house, and were at play, the elder and the younger together, their sport being to act the pleadings before the judges, accusing one another, and carrying away the condemned to prison. Among these a very beautiful young child, being carried and bound by a bigger into prison, cried out to Cato, who, seeing what was going on, presently ran to the

tanus has its counterpart in the game of Begging for the Friars and in several other games.¹² The game of Desires recalls the story of Alexander the Great burning the palace of Xerxes at Susa to please Thais.¹³ Ancient also is the institution of the master of the revels, who corresponds to the king or queen who plays so important a part in modern games.¹⁴

Although the games mentioned above may have had so remote an origin, still it can not be said that they were not rediscovered and resuscitated by the Academy of the Intronati. Even if earlier the Academia Grande of Siena employed games, they were so few, low, and imperfect, that they were unworthy of

door, and thrusting away those who stood there as a guard, took out the child, and went home in anger, followed by some of his companions." The game of the Podestà, Bargagli, p. 26, with which the above anecdote is compared, is as follows. A Podestà is elected, before whom each player can go to complain of wrongs done him by any of the company. The Podestà summons the accused and listens to his excuses, and condemns or absolves him in whatever way he thinks will redound to the amusement of the company.

¹² See Horace's *Satires*, II, 3, 224. In the Sienese game in question, Bargagli, p. 27, the leader pretends to beg for the friars, who wish to keep Lent or Carnival, and asks each player for something for them; in order to confuse them he adds, "When, how, and how much will you give?" and the person asked must answer only: "I will give it."

¹³ See Plutarch's *Lives*, ed. cit., Vol. IV, p. 209.

¹⁴ The Leader of the games is undoubtedly a survival of the Symposiarch in Greece and the *Arbiter bibendi* or *Rex convivii* in Rome. In a general way it may be said that the various customs connected with evening companies in Italy and elsewhere, including games, etc., are a survival of ancient usages modified by the mediæval elements already described. The custom of wearing a garland as a symbol of authority has already been mentioned by Bargagli, and is no doubt of classical origin, although I cannot find that the symposiarch was distinguished from the other guests by any badge. For the whole subject, so far as it concerns ancient times, see J. C. Bulenger, *De Conviviis libri quatuor*, Lyons, 1627, p. 102 *et seq.*, who, p. 106, cites Plautus, *Persa*, V, I, l. 669,

Do hanc tibi florentem florenti, tu hîc eris
Dictatrix nobis,

to show that among the Romans the "Rex" was created by the imposition of a crown. For Greek customs, see Becker's *Charikles neu arbeitet* von H. Göll, Berlin, 1877, Vol. III, pp. 352 *et seq.*; for Roman customs, see Becker's *Gallus* ed. Göll, Berlin, 1880, Vol. III, pp. 443 *et seq.*, and Marquardt's *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Leipzig, p. 331.

There is a very readable little work by Antonio Marenduzzo, *Veglie e Trattenimenti Senesi nella seconda metà del secolo XVI*. Trani, 1901, 16mo, pp. 96. In it are treated: "Accademie e convegni senesi," "Motti e giuochi piacevoli," and "Giuochi di spirito e d'ingegno." The author passes in review almost all the writers and topics discussed in this chapter, and has given an admirable compend of the subject. The same is true of an earlier work by Angelo Solerti, *Trattenimenti di società nel secolo XVI*, which appeared in the *Gazzetta Letteraria*, Turin, Nos. 48, 49, and 50, Dec. 1888. The subjects discussed are: "Libri di Ventura," "Indovinelli," "Giuochi," and "Ringhiera and the two Bargagli." The articles are most entertaining and give a concise and yet thorough account of the subject.

being played in a decent company.¹⁵ It was one of the tasks of the Intronati to polish the rudeness of games, as they did in the case of comedy, public *trionfi*, and Tuscan prose and verse. A proof that games have been newly rediscovered and brought into use is that if they had been in vogue in Boccaccio's day, his works would have been full of them, especially the *Decameron*. It is impossible that they should have been invented between that time and the time of the speaker's grandfathers or fathers, for from Petrarch and Boccaccio down there had been a steady decline in poetry and invention, as is proved by such poets as Serafino and Tebaldeo.

Whatever may be thought of the above claim, it is certain that "parlor games" were cultivated at Siena to an unusual extent and that the most elaborate treatise on the subject is from the pen of a Sienese writer. It is time to turn to this work and its author in order to show the extent and serious nature of this mode of diversion.

Girolamo Bargagli, whose brother Scipione will later occupy our attention, was a distinguished jurist of Siena and a member of the Academy of the Intronati, where he was known under the pseudonym of Materiale Intronato, which may be translated "The stunned Dolt."¹⁶ He was an auditor of the Rota at Genoa, and afterwards practiced with great success his profession at Siena, where he died in 1586. Besides the *Dialogo* in question, Bargagli was the author of a comedy in prose, *La Pellegrina*, and of some lyrical poetry.¹⁷

Bargagli's work on games has the title *Dialogo de' Giuochi che nelle vechie sanesi si usono di fare* (Dialogue on the Games which are played in the evening companies of Siena), and is dedicated to Donna Isabella de' Medici, Orsina, Duchessa di

¹⁵ For the Academia Grande of Siena and its relation to the Academy of the Intronati, see Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo XVI*, Florence, 1882, Vol. II, pp. 385, 405.

¹⁶ Scanty notices of Girolamo Bargagli may be found in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, Paris, Didot, 1860, and in Michaud's *Biographie universelle*. For the Intronati, besides Mazzi just cited, see Cléder, *Notice sur l'académie italienne des Intronati*, Brussels, 1864, and Tiraboschi, VII, 158, 1301; VIII, 58. See also Chapter III of the present work for Italian academies in general.

¹⁷ The *Pellegrina*, a comedy in prose, was not acted until after the author's death, at the festival of the marriage of the grand duke Ferdinand de' Medici, at Florence, in 1589, and was published the same year at Sienna by the writer's brother Scipio. There are other editions: Siena, 1605, and in the collection of comedies published by the Intronati in 1611, Vol. II; and Venice, 1601 and 1606.

Bracciano.¹⁸ In the *Proemio*, a member of the Sienese Academy of the Intronati, named Il Sodo, who has been absent from the city for some years, returns and is welcomed by his brother academicians, who wish him to make them a discourse. He hesitates, but finally acquiesces from his desire to benefit the Academy. Two things are necessary to aid the Academy, which had lately reopened its doors after the civil discords: one the favor of princes, the other the favor of the ladies. The former is already acquired; it remains to win the other. This can best be done by cultivating social diversions, and this is to be the theme of Il Sodo's discourse. It is in the usual form of a dialogue, the interlocutors, besides Il Sodo, being Il Frastagliato (The Notched, Cut in pieces, then in regard to style, Confused, Disordered), L'Attonito (The Amazed), Il Raccolto (The Absorbed), and Il Mansueto (The Gentle). It is agreed that they shall interrupt and contradict as they see fit, after the manner of the Academical disputes. Further, because little was left of the day, they were to remain with Il Sodo to supper in the garden of his dwelling, for although it was the beginning of autumn, still it was pleasant to enjoy the sweet air of evening while the sun was setting. They could spend an hour in the shade beginning the discourse, and what was left of the discourse could be kept until after the supper, which was to be a simple repast, such as the older Intronati were accustomed to.

Il Sodo begins his discourse with a reference to the need of rest and diversion, and declares that the games of which he purposes to speak are the invention of the Sienese. Then follows the discussion which has been given above on the origin and antiquity of games. After this has been settled, Il Sodo proceeds to define and classify games, excluding from them the drama, the secular games of nations, athletic games, games of cards, chess, etc., and games (*giuochi*) in the sense of jest or joke. The games of which he is going to treat are those which are proposed and played for pleasure in noble company. He then gives a scientific definition of games as "a festive action of a joyful

¹⁸ The first edition of the *Dialogo* was published at Siena, in 1572 by Luca Bonetti, in 4to. On the title-page is the device of the Academy of the Intronati: a salt-cellar, with two pestles for pounding it crossed above, and the motto, *Meliora latent*. There are other editions: Venice, 1574, 4to, 1575, 8vo, 1581, 8vo, 1592, 8vo, 1598, 8vo. The citations in the text are from the first edition.

and amiable company, where upon a pleasing or ingenious proposition made by one as author and guide of such action, all the others do or say some thing different from each other, and this for the purpose of pleasure and amusement"; remarking that the games mentioned at the beginning of the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione were not properly speaking games, any more than telling stories. The reason is that the games above mentioned lack the necessary variety, since each one must do the same thing.

Il Frastagliato interrupts him and says he thinks they were real games, just as the game of Dreams, where each one relates a dream he feigns to have had and an interpretation is given for each dream. He thinks that each day of the *Decameron* might be called a game. Il Sodo defends his position in regard to the *Cortegiano*, but confesses that for a company to tell stories in turn might constitute a game, but not where a single story is told by an individual.

L'Attonito says that some games do not come under Il Sodo's definition, as the game of *Bisticcio*, which consists in the collocation of words difficult to pronounce (like the English "Peter Piper picked a peck of prickly pears," etc.). Il Sodo says that such diversions are to be called jokes rather than games.¹⁹

Games may be divided into games of wit (*spirito*) and ingenuity (*ingegno*), and of jest (*scherzo*) and pleasure (*piacevolezza*). Examples of the first kind are the game of Transformations, in which each one tells what animal he would like to be and the reasons for it; and the game of Comparisons, in which the lover compares his beloved to something, giving the reasons, and a lady does likewise. These and similar ones are games of wit, because they give opportunity for the display of wit, and please more by the variety of invention than by the laughter they arouse. Games of jest are those which awaken pleasure rather than show witty conceits, as the game of Trades, in which each feigns to practice a trade and is accused of doing it badly by the spy; or the game of Oaths, in which each one

¹⁹ The Italian text (Bargagli, p. 37) is as follows: "Al pozzo di messer Pazzino de' Pazzi, v'era una pazza, che lavava le pezze, venne messer Pazzino de' Pazzi, prese la pazza, e le pezze, e gittole nel pozzo." This difficult collocation of words has a special name in Italian, *scioglilingua*. See *Giornale storico*, XIII, p. 454, n. 1, and Pitre, *Bibliografia delle Tradizioni popolari d'Italia*, Turin, 1894, Nos. 1731, 3260-61, 4635, and 6050, where works are mentioned containing examples from various parts of Italy. See also G. Pitre, *Indovinelli, Dubbi, Scioglilingua del Popolo Siciliano*, Turin, 1897 (*Biblioteca delle Tradizioni popolari Siciliane*, vol. XX), p. clxx.

utters an amusing and ridiculous oath and then forces one of the company by pinching, tickling, or hitting him to utter one of the oaths already spoken, and whoever hears his own must arise and go and make another do the same.

Games of wit are still further divided into those with forfeits and those without. Each kind may or may not have a judge. A game of wit without forfeits or judge is the game of Physiognomy or of Chiromancy; in the latter the name of the protuberances (*monti*), as the protuberance of Jupiter, are assigned to men, the lines to the ladies, and a man goes and examines a lady's hand and tells her what has happened and what will happen, naming a protuberance or a line which promises or threatens what he has told her. When one of the company hears his protuberance or line mentioned he must rise and continue the game. So with the game of Physiognomy. A game with forfeits and without a judge is the game of the Secret, in which one whispers to a lady a witticism and she answers aloud; thereupon the leader calls on one of the company to guess the whispered witticism. If he cannot, he gives a forfeit. Almost all games of wit are played with forfeits and judges.

Games of jest, on the other hand, do not have these, although penalties are sometimes exacted informally and extempore by giving a blow with the pestle (*mestola*),²⁰ or hissing the one who errs. These games are divided into those which are silent, those in which speaking occurs, and those with both. In the first either whispers or signs are employed; in the second something amusing or pleasing is said. An example of mute games is the game of *Mutola*, in which one makes a gesture, and when he sees another making his he must make his own and that of the other. Speaking games are such as Crying one's Trade, where one utters a street cry of his own and repeats that of another, and when the leader throws down the pestle all cry out their own. Of the mixed kind (mute and speaking) are those with words and gestures, as in the game of Oaths mentioned above, and the game of

²⁰ The *mestola* is constantly referred to as the symbol of authority in the Sienese games. It will be seen later that it was apparently kept in readiness on the parlor mantel. It seems to have been a wooden pestle or pounder such as is used in our own kitchens to mash vegetables with. The device of the Academy of the Intronati consisted, as has just been said, in two crossed pestles, used for pulverizing salt; can the use of the *mestola* in games be connected with this?

Whispering, where a witticism is whispered to a lady and she answers with a sign, and one must guess from it what was whispered.

Speaking games are with imitation or without. Of the latter kind is the game of *Why One Came to the Company*, in which the reason must be given in words. With imitation is the game of *The Devil's Music*, in which each one utters the cry of an animal, and when the pestle is thrown down all utter theirs. Finally mute games may be with acts or signs, or with jests, as may be seen from the examples given above.

After this definition of games and their classification, Il Sodo then proceeds to describe their parts and qualities. A game has three parts: the proposition, action or process, and satisfaction. The first is when the one who has to make the game, proposes it, declaring the way all have to act in order that the game be carried out. After this comes the action or performance, when each does or says what his wit suggests, not deviating from the plan proposed. The satisfaction of the game is when all the company having spoken or acted, the leader of the game, either by clapping his hands, or by assigning the forfeits, or the judge by punishing or rewarding puts an end to the game.

Three personages are necessary in many games, two at least in all. These are: the leader, the players, and the judge. The discourse will now naturally turn on these three, and because the master, or leader, is the most important he will be considered first. One of the chief duties of the leader is to propose no unseemly or indecent game, either in word or act. Games are not to be recommended where blows are given, or where the face is dyed or made dirty. One should also avoid games where some one, generally a serious person, is made a subject of jest, as in the game of the *Weight*, where the leader puts something heavy on the back of one of the company, and selects a trade and gives to each a thing or instrument suited to it, reserving silently some one thing. The person who hits on the thing reserved must take the weight until, the trade having been changed, some one else hits on the thing reserved. The leader can of course, by pretending that no one has guessed the thing reserved, keep the victim of the joke holding the heavy weight until he is tired and vexed, which latter thing ought to be avoided.

Il Sodo also disapproves of games involving mention of the faults, defects, etc., of the company, as in the game of *Blindfold*, where one is blindfolded and struck on the hand, then the person

struck must guess the one who struck him from the description given of him by the leader, who often makes bad feeling by describing the person's faults, etc.

Still more objectionable are games turning religion into sport, as in a game once seen by the speaker, called The Lovers' Hell, in which the company represent the souls of lovers passed to the other world. The leader acts the part of Charon and ferries them across to Minos, to whom they reveal the sin which as lovers they have committed and for which they are damned. Minos then condemns them to the fitting punishment. Il Sodo shows how this game might possibly be made more tolerable, but even then it is not to be praised. The same may be said of the Temple of Venus or of Cupid, where each one goes to demand a favor of Love. This game is apt to be carried too far; one will kneel to the goddess in an idolatrous manner, etc. Impious or irreligious penalties should not be imposed, as where one should be ordered to go into the pulpit and preach a sermon on love, or a lady to dress like a nun and take the veil.

What the leader should avoid has just been stated; now should be considered what he may do that is necessary and suitable. First, when he accepts the pestle (*mestola*), which should be publicly, he should wear a smiling countenance, but with a trace of fear and thought, and should take his position before the fireplace, "which is wont to be the abode of the master of the games." He should not be too bashful or too forward. Ladies do not act the part of leader, but give companies where games are played. A lady also selects the leader by giving him the pestle. She should select some one from the circle who is in plain sight, and not go looking about for some one who is disguised or in a remote corner, unless it be some famous leader, or person known to be present.

The leader, when he reaches his post, after having glanced about and reflected a moment should begin. He must be judicious in the choice of his games. The hour before supper and large companies demand serious games of wit: after supper and in small companies pleasant and amusing games are apropos. A leader would be injudicious to command at midnight after dancing and other festivities such a game as the game of the Hat, where each one is obliged to repeat a verse of poetry with its explanation. The game is so called because the player sits

in a chair with a big hat on his head, which he must wear until he gives the correct explanation of the verse. Such a game is out of place under the above circumstances.

The place must be considered. One kind of game is suitable where there are large numbers of ladies, as at weddings and great banquets; another where five or six ladies are united in a *conversazione*.

The whole of a game should be described at first, unless the intention of the leader is to make it more difficult, revealing only a part at a time. The leader should not be partial, although he may help his friends. It is very difficult to select those who appear first in the game for they have the advantage. The game must be adapted to the company; when the players are weak or do not agree, it is better to propose a mediocre game, as the game of Olden Times, in which each player pretending to be old tells a custom of his time and then speaking tells his own and one that another has told. Then the one who hears his mentioned does likewise.

Passing from jocose to serious games in which the leader has little to do, one may mention the game of Questions, where the leader calls two youths and propounds to them a question or doubt about love, and assigns to each which side he must defend or oppose, and appoints a lady who decides, and when one question is finished he gives a new one and appoints a new judge.

L'Attonito describes such a game at the house of the Countess Agnolina d'Elci, where a question was drawn from the *Orlando Furioso*. The same speaker suggests that many fine questions may be found in the Spanish romances of chivalry, and cites one from *Don Florisello*, and tells a story showing the great vogue of these romances in Italy in the sixteenth century.²¹

²¹ Don Florisel de Niquea was the son of Amadis de Grecia, the grandson of Amadis de Gaula. His adventures are related in the X. and XI. books of the Amadis series. See Gayangos, *Libros de Caballerias*, Madrid, 1857, p. lxix. The entire Amadis series was translated into Italian and published at Venice, 1546-1594, in 25 vols., 8vo. The history of Don Florisel is in Vols. XI, XII, and XIII, published in 1550, 1551, and 1564. The influence of the Spanish Romances of Chivalry was great in Italy; besides the translations, which were frequently reprinted, a large class of Italian literature rests upon the imitation of these romances. The most important of the class are the *Amadigi* of Bernardo Tasso, the *Rinaldo* of Torquato Tasso, and the *Girone* of L. Alamanni. The dominion of the Spaniards in the north and south of Italy contributed to the vogue of these romances. Besides Don Florisel, Amadis of Gaul and Amadis of Greece, together with the Palmerins, are mentioned by Bargagli in the above connection.

Not less difficult is the selection of the right person for the parts in the games. One would not choose the ugliest woman for Venus in the game of the Temple, etc. So in the game of the Court of a Prince, where one pretends to form a new court for a prince and distributes to each of the company an office, and then each has to perform some act pertaining to this office.

Much attention should be given to the invention of new games, and one should not make himself common by attending all companies, but only those where his lady love is, or where some duty takes him. Thus the invention of four new games will suffice for the whole Carnival. There are three principal sources of new games. The first and most common at the present time is that of the trades and different qualities of men, from which most of the new games are drawn. Such is the game of the Ship, in which each lady must choose two gentlemen, and pretending to be in a storm and obliged to throw one overboard, must tell which she wishes to save and which drown and the reasons. So with the game of Slaves, where the leader pretends to be a corsair and sells his slaves to the highest bidder, who must afterwards assign to a particular service the slave he has bought, and is rewarded or punished according as his judgment is good or bad. Some games are taken from marriage: as in the game of Favors between Husband and Wife, where two pretending to be married ask favors from each other. So from the profession of innkeeper is taken the game of Hosts and Guests, in which names of inns are given to the men and women, and then one of the players pretends to be a traveller and is met by two hosts, or hostesses, and is invited to turn in, the inn offering the most advantages is chosen.

Games are even drawn from other games, as the game of Dice, the game of Bassetta, a game of cards like Faro, etc.

Games are suggested in various ways, as where Il Sodo heard a friend talk about omens and invented the game of Omens, in which each one told some thing that had happened to him, from which he drew an omen. An amusing game is that of Epitaphs, where each chooses a person to write his epitaph. This ends the first class of sources of games.

The second and easier source may be called that of transformation, where one does not invent, but changes, adds, or disguises what has already been invented. Such is the game of the Senate

of Love, in which the company form a council of love and propose abuses to be removed and ordinances to be observed. This game is nothing but a transformation of the game of Customs, in which, supposing the company had the power to reform the world, each must tell what abuse he would have removed and what good custom he would have introduced. So the game of Questions gave rise to the game of the Progress of Love, in which disputes on the beginning and progress of love are discussed and settled. Il Sodo in the course of this game made two youths declare whether it was good to love; three, whether wife, widow, or maid should be the object of love; and two others, whether love should be declared orally or by letter.

The third source from which games may be derived is that of similitude, as where the games of the Senate of Love, the Temple of Venus or Cupid, etc., have given rise to the game of Supplications, where Love as king and Venus as queen are appointed to hear the petitions of lovers, which pass through the forms of law, and the answers to which are given in the form of judicial decisions.

Il Sodo calls the principle of resemblance where a game calls forth its contrary, as the game of Folly has given rise to the game of Wisdom, in which each must relate an act of wisdom which he has committed in loving. So with a large number of games.

When all other sources fail, there remains the game of Advice, which affords opportunity for new inventions. In it the leader feigns that there are questions about which he wishes advice from each of the company, for example, How to placate an angry mistress, etc. Care must be taken to ask questions to which various answers may be given.

Such games as the above do not, however, please Il Sodo very much unless there is some new and amusing subject on which to ask advice. In inventing games one must choose such as are pleasing either by their subject or from the opportunity they afford for sport. Games should not be too learned; should be simple, clear, and easy to be grasped by the company. They should have unity like the epic and should contain only one or two actions.

Advice is given as to how to introduce the subject of the game. Too long a proem should be avoided. This rule, says Il Frasta-

gliato, was not observed by a young man in the game of The Animals, in which he went into the philosophy of Pythagoras and the doctrine of metempsychosis to such length that he wearied the hearers and spoiled a game good in itself. Il Sodo replies that the leader must explain the game briefly, taking as his example Boccaccio in the introduction to the *Decameron*. He must adapt the game to the circumstances.

Introductions, which should be brief, apropos, and elegant, are not used in light and amusing games, but only in serious ones. Sometimes, however, they may be employed in the latter case where they deceive the hearer, and leading him to expect some serious game end in a sudden turn to what is ridiculous and amusing. An extended narration can only be tolerated in the case of the game of Stories, where a person is to tell a story, and the leader assigns to the company the name of an object or person to be mentioned in the story. When these are mentioned the person to whom they have been assigned must arise and say: "You have done well, thank you!" and if he omits to do so he is punished by being struck with the pestle.

Other things might be said in regard to the leader, but they are in part embraced in what has already been said. Some are slight and of no account; some must be left to the leader's discretion. It is now time to turn our attention from the leader to the players. At this point in Il Sodo's discourse, the servants entered to say that the supper was served, and the host led his guests out into the garden, where the table was prepared. After washing their hands they took their seats without any formality. With this ends the first book.

The second book opens with an examination and refutation of the criticisms pronounced upon academies, which are accused of dilettanteism, devotion to gallantry, etc. Il Sodo is urged to continue his discourse, and after a slight hesitation consents, but invites the company to enter the house as the night air grows cool. The subject of the second book is the player, and his duty may be reduced to three points: he must perform something either with signs or gestures or in some other way consisting in action; or expressing some idea of his he must say something different from the others, or must interpret something said by others in the game. Before taking up these points in order a few general remarks may first be made.

No one should refuse to take part in games if he is present where they are played and is invited to do so. Next, one should not play in a careless manner, but show interest in the game. All that is done or said or interpreted should tend to joy and laughter and pleasure. At the same time buffoonery should be avoided. Each must study his own disposition. One should be generally agreeable everywhere, even if the lady one wishes to please should not be present. It is desirable that the sexes should cultivate each other and make friends. Even dress should be carefully attended to in companies. Affectation should be avoided by a player. One should not devote himself to a particular lady at a company and make love to her as some do. One should be general in his attentions as has already been said. Between the games there is time for conversation, and certain topics are mentioned which should be avoided. A lady when asked to play should not make herself asked too long or hesitate to reply. Men are admonished always to speak in praise of women, unless for the diversion of the company they take the other side; in this case they should preserve this character consistently.

Turning now to the proper subject of this book, if a player has to do a thing which consists in acts, gestures, or signs, he should strive to do it gracefully and cleverly, as in the game of the Deformed, where each has to imitate the act of a deformed person, and afterwards in the game perform his own act and that of another.

In respect to speaking in the game, a longer discourse is necessary as it comprehends many things. There is, however, one rule which embraces all, and that is that we should always strive to utter something which displays liveliness and judgment and is seasoned with wit and mystery, and, above all things, is apropos of our love experience. It must not, however, appear dull to the outsider or unsuited to the game, unless it be so important that the speaker does not care whether it pleases others so long as it pleases himself. Ordinarily, however, the clever player should utter a speech which shall please the company without their understanding it, and the lady who does will be pleased by the allegory, and praise the lover who has shown the others a fair husk under which she alone perceives the kernel. Examples are given from the game of Versification, where a verse is re-

peated by each and then in the game each repeats his own verse and another's, or demands the interpretation of the verse repeated.

When anything is to be repeated accompanied by imitation, one should imitate exactly with the voice, gestures, and words the one represented, and greater pleasure is given where a particular person is imitated. Unexpected and extravagant things also please, and good opportunities for these are afforded by such games as the game of Comparisons mentioned above, and the game of the Temple of Love. Some of the extravagant speeches employed in these games are given in the text. This leads to the question in what way and how far a lady may talk of love in such entertainments. Il Sodo replies with examples. She should not show herself anxious about loving, or averse to allowing herself to be loved.

Of value for games of the nature just mentioned are the works of Petrarch, Ariosto, and Dante, for the verses and sentences they contain. A number of games are then mentioned which require a knowledge of poetry, among them the game of the Figure of Love, where it must be explained why Love is represented blind, young, naked, and armed with the bow: Why blind if he always hits the heart; Why young when he is so old; Why a great lord and yet naked, etc.; and it is enjoined upon the company to give one reason which shall redound to the praise of Love and one to his blame, as Bembo did in the *Asolani*. In addition they must tell the nativity and origin of Love.²²

²² The "question" why Love is depicted as blind, young, naked, and armed with the bow, is discussed in Bembo's *Asolani*; see Chapter III, p. 114, of the present work. The "question" was frequently debated; see T. A. Trollope, *A Decade of Italian Women*, London, 1859, p. 410; and for a French example, E. Roy, *La Vie et les Œuvres de Charles Sorel*, Paris, 1891, p. 257. See the present work, Chapters VIII, p. 403, and XI, note 7, also Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act I, 1, l. 235 *et seq.* There is an extensive literature on this subject which would make an agreeable topic for an essay. The starting point might be Propertius, II, xii, ed. H. E. Butler, London, 1905, p. 46:

Quicumque ille fuit, puerum qui pinxit Amorem,
nonne putas miras hunc habuisse manus?
is primum vidit sine sensu vivere amantes,
et levibus curis magna perire bona.
idem non frustra ventosas addidit alas,
fecit et humano corde volare deum:
scilicet alterna quoniam iactamur in unda,
nostraque non ullis permanet aura locis.
et merito hamatis manus est armata sagittis,
et pharetra ex humero Gnosia utroque iacet:

It is clear from the above how profitable it is to be familiar with books, which contain similar conceits, especially for ladies, who being able to read less than men cause more wonder. One must be careful not to repeat the same thing in games, as a proverb or device, although they are frequently used in two games which are based upon them.

This leads Il Frastagliato to beg Il Sodo to digress a little and explain at some length what a proverb is, whether it is the same as a motto or sentence, also the nature and variety of devices, and the parts and qualities required for a device to be used in a game.²³ Then follows a long definition of the proverb and how it differs from the motto or sentence. All these may be sued indiscriminately in the game of Proverbs, in which each one has to repeat a proverb and explain what was meant by it. Turning now to the game of Devices, in which each one has to describe

ante ferit quoniam, tuti quam cernimus hostem,
nec quisquam ex illo vulnere sanus abit.
in me tela manent, manet et puerilis imago:
sed certe pennas perdidit ille suas;
evolat ei nostro quoniam de pectore nusquam,
assiduusque meo sanguine bella gerit.

This theme was a favorite one with the teachers of rhetoric. Quintilian says (II, 4): "My teachers were accustomed to prepare us for conjectural causes by a kind of exercise far from useless and very pleasant to us, in which they desired us to investigate and show why Venus among the Lacedemonians was represented armed; why Cupid was thought to be a boy, and winged, and armed with arrows and a torch, etc."

English readers will recall the charming little poem of Richard Crashaw (*Complete Works*, edited by A. B. Grosart, Vol. I, p. 246); "Out of the Italian":

Would any one the true cause find
How Love came nak't, a boy, and blind?
'Tis this: listning one day too long,
To th' Syrens in my mistris' song,
The extasie of a delight
So much o'er-mastering all his might,
To that one sense, made all else thrall,
And so he lost his clothes, eyes, heart and all.

The same question is the subject of another English poem, "Love-Questions," by Edward (De Vere), Earl of Oxford (ed. A. B. Grosart, *Miscellanies of The Fuller Worthies' Library*, Vol. IV).

The poem of Antoine Héroet, *La Parfaicte Amye* (see Chapter IX; p. 000, note 23a) begins with an allusion to Love:

J'ay veu Amour pourtraict en divers lieux:
L'ung le painct vieil, cruel, et furieux,
L'autre, plus doulx, enfant, aveugle, et nud;
Chascun le tient pour tel qu'il l'a congneu
Par ses bienfaicts ou par sa forfaicture.

²³ The subject of Devices has already been discussed in Chapter III, p. 143, of the present work.

the device which he would wear if he were engaged in a joust or tournament and then explain it, Il Sodo says regard must be had to the just proportion of body and mind, that is, the device should not be so obscure as always to need an interpreter nor so clear that every rude and ignorant person can understand it. It should be apparent and striking, not containing human figures; the figures and the mottoes must be connected in such a way that neither alone can manifest the author's meaning. There may be mottoes without figures and the reverse.

A knowledge of devices in their various forms is valuable not only for the game just mentioned but for others, among them the game of Pilgrimage, in which it is feigned that each one has made a vow to the temple of Venus for some danger escaped or some misfortune avoided in love affairs, and the one who has made the vow in order to repay it offers a painted tablet. This usually results in a device of some kind. Il Sodo then proceeds to define devices, and shows the difference between them and emblems and reverses (of medals). The game of Reverses is played as follows: medals are supposed to be struck in honor of the ladies present at a company, and each gentleman must imagine a reverse worthy of the medal of one of the ladies.

Returning now to the qualities necessary for a player, important is a fine, clever, and pleasant narrative when the need of the game obliges one to narrate something at length, as in the game of Dreams and the game of Misfortunes in Love, where each has to narrate a misfortune which has occurred to him while loving, and the judge decides whether it was really a misfortune, or a fault and defect of his own. Still greater pleasure is aroused in hearing well narrated a deed which contains some joke or act of stupidity, as in the game of Stupid Acts, where the ladies are obliged to relate some stupid act performed by a lover, and the men some folly committed by their ladyloves. Besides possessing a pleasing narration one must be well provided with witty speeches, clever replies, etc., but these witticisms should not be offensive.

To pass now to the third part of the duty of the player, which is to interpret the things propounded by others; all that is to be said; either in narrative, or jesting, or in the game itself or apropos of it, must always be far from offending another, and full of invention, cleverness, wit, and amusement. One must

also inform himself of the character, etc., of the person whose words he interprets so that his explanation may suit his humor.

The office of judge is now examined and explained by Il Sodo. The office is a difficult one as he has to speak upon all the things propounded by the players, now contradicting, now approving, etc. Sometimes the judge is alone; sometimes he has in his company a lady with whom he has to judge. Often he keeps the name of judge, but sometimes he exercises the same function of rewarding, punishing, granting, denying, etc., under another name, as *podestà*, priest, rector, etc. The duty of a judge when he is associated with a lady is explained, and then follow general considerations upon the office. The judge must be severe rather than lenient; condemn rather than approve; blame what seems well said and the reverse. It is a fine thing also when the judge gives the preeminence to one who seemed only mediocre, as happened on several occasions mentioned by the speaker. The judge may sometimes make an exception to the rule and reward or approve instead of condemning if that will afford more pleasure; but ordinarily he must condemn. Besides this a clever judge must always seek subtle and novel opinions in matters relating to love, which, however, must be seemly and fine. Whenever opportunity occurs he should correct the abuses and errors which exist between men and women. He should favor and assist the leader of the game; at times, however, for jest or to disclose some opinion of his own, he may attack the leader, but always with a certain gentleness.

The judge should sometimes impose the penalty himself instead of enjoining some one else to do so. The duties of ladies in judging are then taken up, but are essentially the same as those of men.

The question was raised whether the above rules, which presuppose the equality of the players, apply to the presence of princes and great lords and ladies. The answer is that they do, for in such a case the prince lays aside his dignity and puts himself on the same level as the ordinary gentleman and lady.

Thus far Il Sodo has treated of the proposer of the game, the players and the judge, as well as of the two "quantitative" parts mentioned above: the proposition and the progress of the game. There remains now only to discuss the third part, named "satisfaction"; for the game having been proposed, each one having

played his part, and the judge having given his sentence, nothing remains but to carry out the punishment or to receive the rewards imposed. A word then in regard to the penalties and rewards, and the duties of those who receive them as well as of those who impose them.

All the penances which are imposed consist in doing something by way of satisfaction, or in saying something, and hence many say when they impose penance: "Do you wish me to ask of you, or to command you?" In regard to commanding, two things are to be observed by those who command: one, to impose what they think will be willingly performed, the other, that such command will be amusing and pleasant to the whole company. Above all, nothing should be commanded or asked which offends any one or puts to shame the one on whom it is imposed. This rule should be observed even if the offence were secret. In no other point is shown the sharpness of one's wit as in imposing penances and bestowing rewards. Many things are to be observed, a few only can be mentioned. First is novelty, which consists in words as well as in deeds. Penance and rewards should be imposed according to their fitness to the game just played, and proportioned to the mistakes or merits which have been shown in it.

In regard to ladies, they should appear to favor and value the worthy, and therefore should have always prepared some penance by which they show that they esteem the learning of the one sentenced; revealing at the same time that they study and delight in witty books. A single pleasant thing which they learn and propose once makes them considered ladies who read and know every thing. An example is given of a lady who proposed a doubt or question taken from the romance of *Don Florisello*.

Even if a lady should not know how to form a question of her own, she will be praised if she proposes some of those already described by others, provided they are not well known to the company from having been debated at other times. So a lady often proposed by way of penance some of the questions from the *Filocolo*. In these cases the person propounding the question should show that it is not original, without, however, naming the source, and taking the opposite side to that approved by the writer quoted, to show that he is not followed blindly, and to display as far as possible novelty and invention.

Il Sodo now passes to a consideration of certain counsels concerning those who are the subject of penance. The first is to accept the penance cheerfully and readily, except when something is proposed which would expose one to contempt, when he should at once refuse. Although in his replies one should be careful not to offend anyone, still in penances, as in other things; if a man is provoked he is excusable if he rewards the provoker with a just retribution. One should be jealous of the honor of woman, and an admirer of her virtue and greatness. The reply should show a certain loftiness and purity of love, rather in the style of Petrarch than in that of Ovid and Catullus.

As the men have to show themselves fervid in their speeches, the ladies may at times be shy and somewhat sharp, with a certain gentleness mingled with it, especially when they have to reply to their lovers. Men are allowed to disclose the intention of their minds and to reveal some of their thoughts, not to give the true solution of the doubts proposed in penance, but such a meaning as seems most convenient and useful, even going so far as to employ paradoxes.

Sometimes one is commanded to have an interview or a scene with a lady as if she were the object of his affections; sometimes a letter must be dictated or a *novella* recited. A few words on this point in conclusion.

The discourse which must sometimes be made will be on a given subject, or on a general one, and should be brief, modest, and affectionate, in which the words, gestures, and movements represent an impassioned lover. Although affectation should be avoided, still in the present case a studied action is pleasing. What has been said of speeches is also true of the love letters which must be dictated in companies; they must be either affected, or witty, or brief, and sometimes laconic and capricious. The lady addressed must reply without urging, and say what she has to say with a certain gentle severity. These same general rules should be observed by ladies in reciting a comedy *all'improviso*.

Story-telling is next considered at considerable length. Unity of action must be observed. This action may be of three classes of persons: low, mediocre, and noble. It must contain something new and notable, and a certain rare verisimilitude, that is, what may happen, but which rarely does. If a *novella* is related before

yours, you should endeavour to tell one on the same subject or on a contrary one. When the *novella* already narrated gives us the subject, we should try to please without regard to the characters and actions of the *novella* we relate. If we are bound by none of the above considerations, we must regard the general rules already given concerning the proposing of games. In other words the story must be suitable to the company. We should avoid stories ridiculing religion, or stories that are sad. The subject then should be pleasant and contain some notable example of constancy, magnanimity, or loyalty, and contain noble characters. The story should be new if possible, or if an old one be presented in such a way as to seem fresh. Sometimes, however, as a feat of memory an entire story of the *Decameron* has been recited *verbatim et literatim*.

So much for the subject of the *novella*; now for its narration and explanation in words. The principal thing is to relate it in a clear and orderly manner so as make it vivid to the hearers. The narrator should at times not only relate but act the part of his characters, even employing dialect in some cases. The names once given to characters should be preserved, and they should be carefully chosen, real names being avoided. The story should be told readily and with a good memory in order to avoid repetitions. Useless details should be omitted, but necessary ones not overlooked. Finally, attention should be bestowed upon the introductions, which should be judiciously varied.

In conclusion, there are two kinds of stories: those which give rise to questions, that is, debates or arguments, and those which do not. The debates which arise are also of two kinds. A single story may furnish matter for discussion, as the story of Madonna Dianora (*Decameron*, X, 5, also found in the *Filocolo*), where it is a question which showed the greatest liberality, the lover, or the husband, or the necromancer.²⁴ Or two stories told one after the other may by comparison afford material for debate. Sometimes three or four stories are compared, as happened once at a company at Torri where Il Sodo was present. The stories and questions are described at length.

At this point the bells of the adjoining convent began to ring for matins, and Il Sodo dismissed his visitors after making them partake of some confetti and wine.

²⁴ This is the IV. question in the *Filocolo*, and has already been examined at length in Chapter II, p 74, of the present work.

This interesting work is the only complete treatise upon the theory and practice of "parlor games" with which I am acquainted. The games described, of which but a small number are mentioned above (there are one hundred and thirty in all), are simple and practicable, and are more or less popular in character. It is easy to understand the favor which the book enjoyed, and the extensive diffusion of these games throughout Italy. We shall see in the remainder of this work the important part they played in social gatherings.

The only other Italian collection of "parlor games" of the sixteenth century with which I am acquainted is Innocentio Ringhieri's *Cento Giuochi liberali, et d'ingegno*, Bologna, 1551, which although published twenty-one years before Bargagli's work I have preferred to examine later, as it is a mere collection of games and does not discuss their theory.²⁵ Although Ringhieri's book passed through at least three editions, and received the honor of a partial French translation, it does not seem to have exerted much influence in Italy, and Bargagli does not allude to it in the discussion by Il Sodo on the origin of "parlor games," which, as we have seen, he attributes almost exclusively to Siena. The character of the games in the two books is entirely different and they have scarcely a single one in common.

The author was a Bolognese gentleman, a member of the Academy of the Ritruovati, and author of several works in prose and verse. One of the former, a dialogue on Life and Death, was translated into French. He also produced a metrical version of the Psalter, a poem, *Il Sole*, and miscellaneous verse, which may be found in the collection of Domenichi.²⁶

The work in which we are at present interested contains, as its title indicates, a hundred games, and is dedicated to Caterina de' Medici, Queen of France. Each game is introduced by a

²⁵ The first edition is the one cited in the text, published by Giaccarelli at Bologna in 1551, in 4to. It was followed by two editions printed at Venice by Bonelli, in 1553 and 1558, in 4to.

²⁶ Scanty notices of Ringhieri may be found in Quadrio, II, 356, 363; III, 268, 399; VII, 118, and in Crescembeni, V, 78. His works, other than the one on games, were published as follows: *Dialogo della Vita e della Morte*, Bologna, 1550, 8vo, French translation, Lyon, 1557, 8vo. *Il Sole*, Roma, 1543, 1550, in 4to. *Rime* in L. Domenichi, *Rime diverse*, Vol. IV, 1546, in 8vo. *Il Psalterio di David tradotto per I. R.*, 1556. The brief notice of Ringhieri in *Notizie degli Scrittori Bolognesi raccolte da Giovanni Fantuzzi*, Bologna, 1789, Vol. VIII, p. 194, does not give date of birth or of death. It contains a list of six works, and mentions editions of the *Giuochi*, Bologna, 1551, Venice, 1553, Bologna, 1580, and French translation, Lyon, 1555.

letter, often long and tiresome, to the ladies engaged in the game. This letter generally is connected with the subject of the game and often has a didactic tendency. At the end of each game are given ten questions arising from the game which may be debated by the company. The games themselves are remarkable for their intricate and artificial character. They are usually very lengthy and it will be impossible to give as complete an idea of this work as of Bargagli's. A description of a few of the most characteristic games must suffice.

In the game of the Cavalier a gentle knight soon to appear in the field demands from the ladies a device, motto, and color for his clothing and device. Each of the company is to suggest such and if mistakes are made forfeits are to be given, and when they are redeemed such questions as the following might be propounded for solution: Is it better to love a scholar or a soldier, and why? Are modern knights inferior in strength and bravery to the ancient ones? An unlearned person might be asked which he thinks the finest equipment which the ladies have given to the knights in the game. A lady of wit might be asked to say which in her judgment she thinks better for the knight, the praise of the few but wise, the praise of the people, or the praise of women. Of a positive lady and of little wit may be asked how many lances should be broken in a joust, etc.

The game of Love is played as follows. A person, man or woman, is elected lord or lady of the festival and conducted to a seat of honor. The others all pay him homage and he bestows upon each a name taken from the various qualities or effects of love, such as error, dreams, certain grief, etc. Afterwards three players are blindfolded and the rest of the company come up one by one and touch them on the hand. The person blindfolded has one chance to guess the person who touched his hand; if he guesses correctly he is unblindfolded, and the person guessed pays a forfeit and takes his place. An unusual number of questions are given with this game; among them are: Is Love blind, as he is said to be, or does he see much and craftily? What sort of men are most worthy of love? Which is the greater difficulty, to feign love, or to conceal love? Can love exist without jealousy? Can a lover die from excessive love? Which is the more constant by nature, man or woman? Can a man fall in love by merely hearing about a woman? Which

woman loves the more, the timid or the bold? Which is the stronger passion, love or hatred? It is possible for a miser to love?

A favorite principle of Righieri's games is illustrated by the game of The Council of the Gods, in which there is assigned to each player the name of a god together with an animal and an instrument, for example, Saturn, ostrich, sickle. When a name is called, as Saturn, the person to whom this was assigned must say "ostrich, sickle." If ostrich is called the person must say "Saturn, sickle," etc. Forfeits are taken from those who fail to answer correctly, and are redeemed by discussing some of the questions, such as Whether Love is the greatest and most powerful of all the gods, etc. Similar is the game of The Elements, in which each player chooses an animal of the earth, water, and air, or at least two of these, and names them aloud so that all may know them. Then a little ball is made of a perfumed and precious glove or handkerchief, which the leader throws at one of the company, calling out one of the elements, and the person must mention the animal belonging to that element which he chose. Then that person throws the ball to someone else, calling out the element he pleases, and so on. Among the questions are: Which is the least worthy of the elements? Does Love bind and loose the elements as he pleases?

The second book contains ten games involving the same principle. These games are entitled the game of the Seas, of the Mountains, of the Fountains, of the Rivers, of the Lakes, Islands, Cities, Ships, etc. In this class of games the names of the seas, etc., together with some epithet are distributed among the players; then one calls another, and the second must repeat the name of the one calling him or his epithet. There are a number of variations upon this, as in the game of Cities, where the names of cities are distributed by twos with the distance between them. Then one begins: "From Bologna to Ferrara," and the person named Ferrara replies: "From Ferrara to Bologna is thirty-two miles," or if one said "From Ferrara to Bologna," then Bologna must answer and call other names. The game of Dumbshow, with which this book ends, is not unlike some in Bargagli's work. In the game just mentioned no speaking is allowed without the leader's leave, but every one adopts a sign. Then the leader makes his own sign and that of another. That one repeats his own and another's, and so on.

In a similar manner the third book contains ten games of Metals, Gems, Trees and Birds, Wild Beasts, Garlands and Flowers, Colors, Perfumes, etc. In the game of Trees and Birds the names of trees and birds frequenting them are assigned to the company, to one a tree, to another a bird. The company is seated so that a tree is between two birds, and a bird between two trees. Then a bird is called and leaves its seat and betakes itself to the tree to which it belongs, saying, for example: "In thee I nest, gentle pine." The bird which was previously there must depart and seek a nest which may be refused it. If after three trials it does not find one, it must return to the place left vacant by the first bird. The tree next in order then calls a bird, and so on. Among the questions are: Why are emperors and poets crowned with laurel? Does the swan sing its death-song from joy or sadness?

The games grow more complicated as we advance. The fourth book contains the usual ten as follows: the game of Glorious Deeds, Virtues, Liberal and Noble Arts, Mechanic Arts, Agriculture, Gardener, Numbers, Chiromancy, Palace, and Chase. In the game last mentioned the company represent hunters and huntresses. When the leader asks: "Hunter, how have you wounded the deer?" the hunter must answer: "With dart, bow, and spear." A huntress will answer in the same way. If one is asked: "How did you take the deer?" the answer is: "With noose, net, and hound." Or if: "How did you chase the deer?" the answer is: "With horn, noise, and cry." When the leader says simply: "Hunter!" the hunter must begin and say: "Deer chased, deer taken, deer wounded," and the huntress in inverse order: "Deer wounded, taken, chased."

In the fifth book we have the games of Human Life, Death, War, Peace, Ceremonies, or the Sacrifice of Venus and Love, Bride and Bridegroom, etc. The least intricate, the game of Thief, illustrates a mode of variation frequently employed. In this game a name and a sentence are assigned to each player, as: Person robbed, My purse has been stolen. Purse, With ten gold florins. The Person robbed begins by saying: "My purse has been stolen." Then the Purse replies: "With ten gold florins." And so on. The names are so arranged that taken together they constitute a little drama, ending with the sentence: "Was hanged for a thief." After the company has played the game through

in regular order it may be varied by skipping one of the characters, for example, every second one, and then every third one, etc.

It is not possible to examine in detail the remaining books. There is an attempt at classification, as in the eighth book, where we have the games of Madness, Envy, Jealousy, Deceit, Chastity, Beauty, etc. In all of these games names and epithets relating to the subject of the game are distributed among the company, and one player calls another, with variations as indicated above. A good example is the game of Merchant, where names are assigned answering to the question, How is the trade of merchant carried on? By cash, by exchange, etc. The players are divided into three bands, and the first of the first band begins: "With cash," and is followed by the second player of the second band, and the third of the third. Then the second of the first band follows, the third of the second, the fourth of the third, etc. There are variations, as by considering the third band the first and beginning there. In the last book occurs the game of Chess, in which the regular game is played by the company attired to represent the various pieces in the game.

Many of these games, in fact the larger part, are mere exercises of the memory, as in the game of Physician, where diseases and their remedies are distributed to the company, and a physician chosen who asks each his malady and prescribes the proper remedy. When he has been the round of the company, he sits down and asks a gentleman what is the disease of a certain lady and he must answer correctly; then when asked what remedy he would apply he must tell that, too, correctly under pain of a forfeit. Some games find their counterparts in modern games, as the game of the Secret, where a secret is whispered word by word by one player to the next and if it does not come out right at the end the judge can exact a forfeit. Some of the games have a literary tone, as in the game of Beauty, where parts of a beautiful woman, hair, brow, eyes, etc., are distributed with lines from Petrarch relating to them. A lady chosen for the purpose sitting in the middle of the company calls: "Hair," then Hair answers the appropriate verse and calls: "Forehead," and so on down to the fifth. The fifth, instead of calling the sixth, going back will repeat the verse of the fourth, and make the fourth repeat the

verse of the third, the third of the second, and the second of the first. The lady in the centre then calls the sixth, and so on down to the tenth, then they return to the fifth as above, and so on by fives. In the game of the Philosopher names of the famous philosophers are distributed together with a flattering sentence referring to woman, as Thales, Woman is an asylum of all blessings; Hipparchus, Woman is a temple of modesty, etc. In the game of Poets names of poets and famous women are distributed, and in the game of the Muses the names of the Muses and famous poets are similarly distributed. The exceedingly complicated character of Ringhieri's games can not be seen from the above analyses and the reader who wishes to see one of them in its entirety is referred to the notes accompanying this chapter.²⁷

Ringhieri's work, as has already been said, received the honor of a partial French translation, published at Lyons in 1555.²⁸

²⁷ The following is one of Ringhieri's games in its entirety, except the prefatory address to the ladies. It is entitled the Game of the Wild Beasts, and is the XXIV. of the III. Book, p. fol. 29.

The joyful company having gathered out of doors in the pleasant gardens or within the rooms, the leader begins the Game of the Wild Beasts by distributing these names of wild beasts, with their qualities, giving to each player a single name with its quality, as follows:

Lion	Vigilant Beast	Beaver	Provident Beast
Tiger	Swift Beast	Stag	Lively Beast
Elephant	Religious Beast	Wild-Goat	Nimble Beast
Unicorn	Humble Beast	Doe	Timid Beast
She-Bear	Furious Beast	Ape	Imitative Beast
Hyena	Cruel Beast	Fox	Deceitful Beast
Wolf	Greedy Beast	Badger	Drowsy Beast
Panther	Odoriferous Beast	Sable	Honored Beast
Rhinoceros	Fierce Beast	Lynx	Spotted Beast
Leopard	Magnanimous Beast		

This done, the game proceeds as follows: if the Tiger should say to the Lion, Vigilant Beast, the player with that name must answer, Lion; if the Tiger should say to him, Lion, he must answer, Vigilant Beast, and if Tiger should say, Lion Beast, he must reply Vigilant, but if Tiger should say, Vigilant Lion, he must answer, Beast, and so on.

The following "Questions" are proposed as usual: How is the Tiger captured, and how fights the Unicorn with the Elephant? Why is the Lion called the King of Beasts? Why does the proverb say, you should know the Lion by his claws? What is the meaning of the expression, the Foxes have joined the Lions? Is Love a kindly god or a most cruel wild beast? What is the meaning of the expression, the Wolf dances around the well? Which is the most inhuman and cruel of all the beasts? What is the meaning of the proverb, the ape cannot be caught with a snare? What is the meaning of the expression, the Fox cannot be corrupted by gifts? Can women truly be called angels, or wild beasts?

²⁸ *Cinquante Jeux Divers D'Honete Entretien, Industrieusement Inventés par Messer Innocent Rhinghier, gentilhomme Boloignoys, et fais François par Hubert Philippe de Villiers. Livre Premier. A Lyon. Par Charles Pesnot, 1555. Avec Privilège du Roy.* This edition contains the first fifty games of Rhinghier; the others were not printed.

Bargagli's book, so far as I know, was never translated; but it was undoubtedly known in France, and both of the works just mentioned were laid under contribution by Charles Sorel for his *Récréations galantes*, which is a complete handbook of parlor games and diversions.²⁹ Before giving a practical illustration of the manner in which games were employed in Italian society of the sixteenth century, it may be well to consider briefly two other related forms of diversion, riddles and fortune-telling.

We have already seen in the first chapter that the origin of the Tenzon is by some connected with the riddle, the great antiquity of which is well known.³⁰ The riddle was a favorite diversion of polite society during the Middle Ages,³¹ and has survived until the present day.³² With the development of polite society in Italy during the sixteenth century the riddle assumed a more literary form, although it never entirely lost its popular character, one peculiarity of which was the apparently obscene nature of the riddle, which when solved was found to be

²⁹ Sorel's work is: *La Maison des jeux, où se trouvent les divertissements d'une compagnie par des narrations agréables et par des jeux d'esprit et autres entretiens d'une honnête conversation*, Paris, Nicolas de Sercy, 1642, 2 vols., 8vo; another edition, Paris, A. de Sommerville, 1657, 2 vols., 8vo. I have not seen these, which are cited by E. Roy in *La Vie et les Œuvres de Charles Sorel*, Paris, 1891, p. 409. I have used: *Les Récréations galantes. Suite et seconde Partie de la Maison des Jeux*. Paris, E. Loyson, 1671, 12mo. Roy cites an edition of 1669 and apparently has not seen the one of 1671. He says this work is only an extract from the one first named. It contains eighty-six games, of which forty-one are from Ringhieri, and twenty-four from Bargagli's *Dialogo*. Several others resemble games in the above collections and are undoubtedly based upon them, and a few are taken from Guazzo's *Civil Conversazione*, which will be considered in the next chapter.

³⁰ For the history of the Riddle see J. A. Friedreich, *Geschichte des Räthsels*, Dresden, 1860.

³¹ See Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, Wien, 1882, II, pp. 129-30. We have seen in the I. Chapter of the present work that the Tenzon is supposed by some to have been developed from the Riddle; see p. 8.

³² For the Riddle in Italy see Friedreich, *op. cit.*, p. 197, and Cian, "Motti," etc., di Bembo, p. 44. An account of some collections of Riddles of the sixteenth century by G. Rua may be found in the *Archivio per lo studio delle Tradizioni popolari*, Palermo, 1888, VII, pp. 427-449. For Riddles in Italy at the present day see Pitre, *Bibliografia delle Tradizioni popolari d'Italia*, Turin, 1894. Riddles were also fashionable in France in the seventeenth century; Mascarille, in the *Précieuses ridicules*, scene ix, boasts of having written "plus de mille madrigaux, sans compter les énigmes et les portraits." The Abbé Cotin published in 1661 a collection of enigmas, which was reprinted several times. I have the edition of 1687, Paris, Nicolas Le Gras, *Recueil des Enigmes de ce Temps, Nouvelle édition*. It contains 245 enigmas in various kinds of verse, in which the sonnet form predominates. See also G. Pitre, *Indovinelli, Dubbi, Scioglilingua del Popolo Siciliano*, Turin, 1897, pp. i-ccix, "Degli Indovinelli."

quite innocent of any lewdness.³³ The vogue of the riddle in the sixteenth century is shown by the number of collections printed during that period, and by the frequent references to them in literature.³⁴ They afforded materials for a parlor game, and served to vary the usual diversion of story-telling.³⁵

The most interesting example of the latter use is found in Straparola's *Le Piacevoli Notti*,³⁶ the frame or setting of which is as follows. Ottaviano Maria Sforza, uncle and heir of Francesco Sforza II, Duke of Milan, owing to the disturbances in the state consequent upon the death of his uncle, was obliged to leave Milan secretly and depart for Lodi accompanied by his daughter Lucrezia, wife of Giovan Francesco Gonzaga, cousin of Frederick, Marquis of Mantua. After some stay at Lodi, the persecutions of his relatives continuing, and bad feeling showing itself against him and his daughter, now a widow, he got together what jewels and money he could and went with his daughter to Venice. There the exiles were hospitably received by Beltramo Ferier, but were unwilling to remain long in the house of a stranger and sought a lodging elsewhere. One day they entered a little bark and went to the island of Murano, where they happened to see a palace of wondrous beauty, which at that time was vacant. They entered and examined its pleasant situation, the spacious court, the splendid loggia, the agreeable garden, full of flowers and various fruits, and abounding in green grass. Then they ascended the marble staircase,

³³ Bargagli, *Dialogo*, p. 26, says: "Hor non si fa egli questo medesimo da noi nel giuoco già detto degl'Indovinelli? nel quale, accioche maggior sia il diletto, sapete che si propongono i dubbii in rima, et che nel primo aspetto loro mostrino qualche cosa poco honesta di significare, accioche maggior il piacer poi si renda nel sentire, che convenevol cosa, et da qualche sonava lontana in se contenevano." Corazzini, *I Componimenti minori della Letteratura popolare italiana*, Benevento, 1877, p. 305, says, "Carattere generale di questi piccoli componimenti è un'apparente laidezza ed oscenità con cui si desta il riso, mentre si nascondono sotto le parole cose innocenti e comuni." The riddles of the Abbé Cotin cited above, although intended for the fashionable *ruelles* of the day, are often obscene.

³⁴ See the authorities cited in note 32 above.

³⁵ See Bargagli, *Dialogo*, p. 25, and Cian, "*Motti*" di Bembo, p. 47, note 1. See also Rua's article cited in the following note, p. 140, note 2.

³⁶ For Straparola see F. W. J. Brakelmann, *Giovan Francesco Straparola da Caravaggio, Inaugural-Dissertation*, Göttingen, 1867; and G. Rua, "Intorno alle *Piacevoli Notti* dello Straparola" in *Giornale storico*, XV, pp. 111-151; XVI, pp. 218-283. The text is in *Collezione di opere inedite o rare*, Bologna, 1898-1908, 2 vols. The riddles are examined in the volume first cited, pp. 140 *et seq.* There is now an English translation of the *Nights of Straparola* by W. G. Waters, London, Lawrence and Bullen, 1894, 2 vols.

saw the splendid parlor, the noble chambers, and a balcony over the water, from which the whole place could be seen. The daughter was delighted with the charming spot, and entreated her father until to please her he rented the palace. She was very happy at this, and morning and night sat on the balcony gazing at the scaly fish which swam in schools in the clear water, gliding here and there. And because she was forsaken by those damsels who had formerly composed her court, she chose ten others, no less gracious than fair, whose virtue and graceful bearing it would take too long to describe. Their names were: Lodovica, Vicenza, Lionora, Alteria, Lauretta, Eritrea, Brunetta, Ariana, Isabella, and Fiordiana. Besides these she chose two other matrons of respectable appearance, noble blood, mature age, and highly esteemed, in order that they might ever be at her side with their prudent counsels. Many noble and learned men soon began to frequent the place, among them Giambattista Casale, ambassador of the King of England to Venice, Pietro Bembo, Evangelista Cittadini, Bernardo Cappello, Antonio Bembo, Benedetto Trivigiano, Antonio Molino, Beltramo Ferier, and many others whom it would be tiresome to mention.

These came almost every evening to Signora Lucrezia's house, and entertained her with dances, pleasant talk, and music. Often questions were proposed (*alcuni problemi*), of which the hostess was the sole judge. Now because the last days of the Carnival were approaching, the Signora Lucrezia commanded all of her friends under pain of her displeasure to meet at her house the following night in order to devise some mode of passing the time pleasantly. When they had all assembled Signora Lucrezia began to ask the opinion of the company about the matter, but all replied that it should be left to her judgment. She then proposed that every evening as long as the Carnival lasted they should dance, and afterwards five damsels should sing a *canzonetta* as they liked, and each of the five on whom the lot fell should tell a story, concluding with an enigma to be solved by the company. This proposal was favorably received by those present, and lots were at once cast and five of the ladies chosen. A wreath of laurel was placed on the head of one of them, Lauretta, in token of sovereignty, and she was commanded to begin the story-telling the next evening. Then they spent the rest of that one in dancing, talking, and partaking of *confetti* and pre-

cious wines. The entertainment as planned began the next night and lasted for thirteen evenings, on each of which five stories were told, except on the last night, when thirteen were related by the whole company. Each night began with a song, and each of the five stories was followed by an enigma.

These enigmas consist of a stanza of ottava rima, of which the following, the first of the First Night, may serve as an example:

Nacqui tra duo seraglia incarcerata,
E di me nacque dopo un tristo figlio
Grande, come sarebbe (oime mal nata)
Un picciol grano di minuto miglio,
Da cui per fama fui poi divorata
Senza riguardo alcun, senza consiglio.
O trista sorte mia dura, e proterva,
Di madre non poter restar pur serva.

"I was born enclosed between two walls, and gave birth to a sorry son, as large (unfortunate me!) as a little grain of millet, by whom for hunger I was afterwards devoured without any consideration or forethought. O sad and cruel fate, a mother unable to remain even a servant!" This enigma Lauretta explained as referring to a "dry bean," which is born in a pod; the germ, which may be likened to a little worm, consumes it, so that from a mother it can not remain even a servant.

Another favorite mode of diversion in the sixteenth century, which also goes back to mediæval times, was fortune-telling.³⁷ The only form of it in which we are at present interested was the one adapted to social entertainments, and which consisted in drawing a slip of paper on which was written a verse containing a character or prediction. A collection of these published by V. Cian has been attributed to Pietro Bembo, and it is supposed that they were written for the diversion of the court of Urbino.³⁸ They consist of an endecasyllabic distich with *rima baciata*. Here are a few:

O cattivello che ti credi fare?
ogn'un non sa come si debba amare.
Chi vuol due caccie in un corso tenere,
s'ambe le perde non si può dolere.
Non ti doler se gran beltà non hai:
chi piace ad uno amante è bella assai.
Se brami che già mai ti sia concesso
senza rivale amar, ama te stesso.

³⁷ See Thomas Wright, *Anecdota literaria*, London, 1844, p. 76.

³⁸ The often cited "*Motti inediti e sconosciuti di M. Pietro Bembo*, Venice, 1888.

"O wretched man, what do you think to do? Not every one can love as he should." "He who wishes to hunt two objects at the same time, cannot complain if he loses both." "Do not grieve if you do not have great beauty; she who pleases one lover is fair enough." "If you wish that it should be granted you to love without a rival, love yourself."

Similar verses consisting of four lines with the rhyme scheme of abba, are found in the *Rime* of Antonfrancesco Grazzini, generally known as Il Lasca.³⁹ In the piece in question, entitled "Stanze che da Mercurio sopra la lira si dissero la sera della Epifania," and which was evidently written for a company given at a season especially devoted to such amusements, Mercury is introduced saying that he has been sent by Jove to do honor to the beauty of the Lady Maria of Prato, and has brought with him the three Graces. He adds that it is the custom on that evening to draw lots and tell fortunes. The fortunes are in a golden vase and the names of the company in a silver one, and one of the ladies will draw forth the fortunes with one hand and the names with the other. Then follow the fortunes drawn by the company with the names of those who drew them. Here is the one drawn by Agnolo Rustichi, which involves a point often discussed by the assemblies of the day:

Fu sempre Amor nimico degli avari;
però se troppo lo spender vi pesa,
lasciate indietro l'amorosa impresa,
chè goder non si può senza danari.

"Love was always hostile to the avaricious; wherefore if spending is too irksome to you, renounce your undertaking, for one cannot enjoy love without gold."

As early as the fifteenth century these answers to various questions were gathered into printed books, and so arranged that they could be consulted either by placing the tip of the finger at random upon a certain dot in a page covered by them, and then the position of the dot in particular rows horizontal and vertical gave a number, which served as a key to the answer; or by some mechanical device, as a pointer turning on a pivot.⁴⁰ In these cases the answers were arranged in groups corresponding to

³⁹ *Le Rime burlesche edite e inedite di Antonfrancesco Grazzini detto il Lasca, per cura di Carlo Verzone*, Florence, 1882, pp. 335 et seq.

⁴⁰ For these *Giochi* and *Libri di Ventura* see Cian, "*Motti*," pp. 49 and 105; and Rossi, *Le Lettere di Messer Andrea Calmo*, Torino, 1888, pp. 446-463, and especially Cian, *Giochi di Sorte Versificati del Secolo XVI.*, Bergamo, 1897.

certain questions, each group being referred to by a number or symbol. This class of works has never lost its popularity and is still reprinted in various forms in Italy at the present day; and their use extended also to France.⁴¹

Turning now from the theory of games to their practice, we are fortunate enough to possess a most interesting account of the manner in which games were employed in the society of the city which claimed the credit of their development, if not of their invention. The account in question was written by Scipion Bargagli, brother of Girolamo, who died the 27th of October, 1612.⁴² He enjoyed the favor of the Emperor Rudolph II, who knighted him and created him a Count Palatine, with the right of adding the double-headed eagle to his coat of arms. He was, like his brother, a member of the Academy of the In-

⁴¹ See *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni popolari*, Palermo, 1888, vol. VII, pp. 163-8, "Il Libro delle Finte Sorti," by S. Salomone-Marino. An example of this game occurs in the book of Charles Sorel, *Les Récréations galantes*, cited above. It fills the first fifty-two pages of the work, and consists of a Table of Questions, fifty-two in number, and a page covered with zeros, arranged in rows. The player puts his finger on a zero at random and then counts in a certain direction up to twelve. The remaining zeros send him back to a question in the Table and also to an answer, of which there are fifty-two pages of twelve each.

A very early Italian *Libro di Ventura* was published by F. Thormann in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. 100 (LII. Jahrgang, 1898), pp. 77-102, "Uno libro de sorti de papa Bonifacio. (Berne Codex 473.) Ein italienisches Losbüchlein." The manuscript which contains the work is of the fifteenth century, and the *Libro de sorti* is placed by the editor as not earlier than the end of the fourteenth. The work contains eighteen questions with references to the "horse," "sheep," "she-bear," "cock," "moon," "stag," etc. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 450, mentions a manuscript *Libro di Ventura* of the end of the sixteenth century, and describes one of the middle of the fifteenth found in the Magliabechian Library (Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence), which closely resembles the one published by Thormann. The questions are the same in number and almost the same in character and order. The animals used in the references are the same but not in the same order. The dialect is different. Thormann mentions at the close of his introduction a Spanish fortune-telling book: *Libro del juego de las suertes*, Valencia, 1528 (Brunet III, 1063), and refers to Goedecke, *Grundriss*, I, p. 369 and p. 1165, for similar works in German literature. Luzio-Renier in *Giornale storico*, XXXIII (1899), p. 35, "La coltura e relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este Gonzaga," cite: V. Cian, *Giocchi di sorte versificati in Miscellanea nuziale Rossi-Teiss*, Bergamo, 1897, pp. 77 *et seq.*, and Salomone-Marino in *Archivio storico siciliano*, XXII (1897), 231 *et seq.*

There is an interesting allusion to an elaborate method of divination in Antonfrancesco Doni's *I Marmi*, Florence, 1863, Vol. II, pp. 181 *et seq.* The book in question has to be used in connection with astronomical observations, etc. There is no hint of any social use of the book. The same author in the same work (II, pp. 259 *et seq.*) mentions various parlor games, as will be seen later on in this chapter.

⁴² For Scipion Bargagli see the authorities cited in note 16 of this chapter; some additional references for both brothers may be found in Quadrio.

tronati, where he bore the name of Lo Schietto (The Sincere). He was also a member of the Academy of Venice founded in 1593. Besides the extensive work on devices already mentioned, he was the author of *The Diversions of Scipion Bargagli*, in which fair ladies and youths play seemly and pleasant games, tell stories, and sing some love songs.⁴³

The scene of the work is laid in Siena during the siege of the city in 1554-5 by Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence. A detailed account of that terrible siege is given in the introduction to Bargagli's book, which is closely modelled upon the more famous introduction to the *Decameron*. The city of Siena after a long and prosperous career as a free republic, fell, like so many other Italian cities, under the despotism of one of its own noble families. To escape this servitude the people called the Emperor Charles V to their aid, and when the Spanish yoke became intolerable, they invoked the help of the French. Cosimo de' Medici, who owed his elevation to the duchy of Florence to Charles V, and moreover had designs of his own upon the neighboring state, undertook in 1554 the war with Siena, which resulted in the siege and capture of the city on April 22d, 1555.⁴⁴ The siege was distinguished by the most hideous cruelties on the part of the besiegers, and the most dreadful suffering on the part of the unhappy citizens of Siena. In spite of the universal misery, however, the inhabitants did not lose their courage, and even played one of their favorite games, *pallone*, in the square

⁴³ Besides the works mentioned in the text, Scipion Bargagli was the author of: *Orazione in lode dell'Accademia degl'Intronati*, printed in the Second Part of the *Commedie degli Intronati*, Siena, 1611; *Orazione nella morte di monsignor Alessandro Piccolomini*, Bologna, 1579; *I Rovesci delle Medaglie*, Siena, 1595; *Jephthé*, a translation of Buchanan's Latin tragedy; *Il Turamino ovvero del parlar e dello scrivere sanese*, Siena, 1602; and *Orazione delle Lodi dell'Accademie*, Florence, 1569. The last oration as well as the one on the death of Alessandro Piccolomini are reprinted at the end of the work on *Devices*, Venice, 1594. I have used in the text the first edition of the *Trattenimenti*, the title of which is as follows: *I Trattenimenti di Scipion Bargagli; Dove da vaghe donne, e da giovani huomini rappresentati sono honesti, e dilettevol giuochi; narrate novelle; e cantate alcune amorose canzonette*. In Venetia, Apresso Bernardo Giunti, 1587, 4to. There is another edition by the same printer, 1591, some copies of which bear the date of the following year. See Passano, *I Novellieri italiani in prosa, seconda edizione*, Turin, 1878, Vol. I, p. 42. The six novels have often been reprinted separately; two accessible editions are: *Novelle di autori senesi*, London, 1796-98, and *Raccolta di Novellieri italiani*, Turin, 1853.

⁴⁴ An account of the events leading up to the siege and of the siege itself may be found in Napier's *Florentine History*, London, 1846-7, Vol. V, Chapter III, pp. 111-170. See also Galluzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, Florence, 1822, Vol. II, pp. 66 *et seq.*; and *Storie Fiorentine di Messer Bernardo Segni*, Milan, 1805, Vol. III, Bk. xiv, pp. 63 *et seq.*

of St. Augustine, on the Thursday before the Carnival (*il dì del berlingaccio*).

Others also remembered the festal season, and on the Sunday before the Carnival, some noble and fair ladies left their homes in the afternoon to call on some friends or relatives and thus pass that day more pleasantly. It happened by chance that four of these ladies met at the house of Clarice, where they found three other ladies, friends, neighbors, or relatives of hers. These three bore the names of Celia, Olinda, and Clizia. After they had talked a while in a melancholy strain about the misfortunes of the city, they all went to the windows which looked into the street called La Postierla, through which the nobles passed all day. Standing there they recalled the masquerading, the liveries, the music, which they used to see and hear on such occasions in the past, and grieved at being deprived of these and other noble and sweet diversions in which they often engaged. What sorrowed them the most was to be compelled to pass the Sunday before Carnival in no different way from any other holiday. Clarice, who was the oldest of the ladies present, made them a long address, proposing to spend that day and the two following ones, the last of the Carnival, in some kind of a pleasant and refined company. This proposal was welcomed by the others, who began to discuss the difficulty of finding, in such unfavorable circumstances, any gentlemen to keep them company.

While they were engaged in this discussion, there appeared not far off in the street five youths of the city, learned, brave, and well mannered, and likewise esteemed for their wealth and rank. The names bestowed upon them by the author are: Fulvio, Alessandro, Fausto, Pirro, and Lepido, of whom the last named was a person of witty and cheerful manners, and therefore highly prized in social gatherings. One of these gentlemen, Alessandro, was a distant relation of Clarice, and when they were near the house and saw the ladies at the window, he proposed to his companions to pay Clarice a visit. The other youths gladly agreed and were received by the lady of the house in a handsome drawing-room, remote from the street, whither she had retired with her fair friends. After some polite hesitation, the gentlemen sat down, each next to a lady, about a good fire, such as the season demanded.

The talk at first fell on the misfortunes of the city, and the absence of the usual entertainments. Fulvio interrupted the conversation to express his surprise that they were all doing what they blamed, and wasting the little time granted them in idle complaints, instead of employing it in pleasant festivities and amusing games. Clarice replied that they had rejoiced at their visit chiefly because it would enable them to do what he said, and in the name of the other ladies she elected him as the one to begin the entertainment, placing in his hands the *mestola*, which she took from the mantel. Fulvio expressed in a modest manner his regret at having to make a feeble beginning of such a pleasant design, but in order not to delay the appointment of a better successor, he would at once proceed to his task. He then took up his position before the fireplace, "as one having full authority to command the others," and thus standing he addressed the company who were all intent upon his words, and, after a long preamble, proposed the Game of Ensigns or Banners.⁴⁵

In this game each gentleman must invent for one of the ladies a banner or ensign, with its color, device, and motto, and then explain the appropriateness of all these to the lady. Fausto begins and invents for Celia a banner, in which on a red field an otter emerges from a lake or spring, with the motto "Ne pur bagnata" (Not even wet), alluding to the property of the otter in shedding water from its skin. He then describes how these various things are significant of Celia. At the beginning of the game Celia modestly wishes it to commence with some other and more worthy lady; so now at the end of her "banner," she says that Fausto has exceeded the bounds of veracity. The leader of the games declares that henceforth there must be no objection to the praise bestowed.

The second speaker is Alessandro, who imagines for Clitia a sun in a blue field surrounded by a zodiac, with the motto "Ognun pareggia" (It, the sun, bestows itself equally on all). Lepido follows in praise of Olinda with a standard of wide black stripes, the device a loadstone with a needle, and the motto "Immobil, muove" (Though motionless itself, it moves others).

⁴⁵ This is practically the *Giucoco delle Imprese*, No. 114, p. 145, in G. Bargagli's *Dialogo*. The important rôle played by Devices in Italian society of the sixteenth century and the extensive literature connected with them have already been examined in Chapter III, Note 38 of the present work; see also Chapter IV, note 55.

Clarice alone now remains, and Pirro designs for her a green banner, in the centre a white crescent moon, with the motto "Di maggior luce vaga" (Desirous of more light). In several cases the real coats of arms of the ladies in question furnish materials for the imaginary ones. At the end of the game Fulvio wishes to resign the symbol of his rule to Clarice; she refuses to accept it and it is given to Celia, who bestows it upon Alessandro. He proposes the Game of Love Questions.⁴⁶

After an introduction on the important part played by Love, he declares that it is not his purpose to discuss the origin of love or its perfection, which has already been done by others, but to treat in the form of questions some of the most serious and firmest props of love. The order of the game is as follows: two ladies chosen by the leader shall elect two youths, whose duty it shall be to discuss the doubts propounded by the leader, each sustaining the side which his lady shall entrust to him. The same method shall be adopted by the youths when the ladies have to debate. The decision is to be rendered by judges, and punishments or rewards are to be assigned. Fausto and Clarice are to be the judges in the present case. The leader then announces the first question: To which of the two noble and useful professions of a gentleman should a true lover of a gentle lady devote himself, to that of arms or letters? Then turning to Olinda he asks her to choose whichever side of the question she wishes and to select one of the youths present to defend it. She then chooses Pirro to defend the side of arms. Likewise Celia selects Fulvio to defend the opposite side, letters. The debate is opened by Pirro, who assumes that the question is not the old one of the supremacy of arms or letters, but whether a lover should devote himself to arms rather than to letters, or the reverse. The leader acquiesces in this view and Pirro proceeds. After both sides have finished, Clarice is called upon to give her opinion, but excuses herself and asks Fausto to pronounce it. He also declines to utter an opinion without longer time for deliberation.

Alessandro and Lepido are then each enjoined to select one of the ladies present in order that the second question, Whether art or nature avails more in Love, should be decided by them.

⁴⁶ This is G. Bargagli's *Gioco delle Quistioni*, No. 47, p. 65, and represents the last stage of development of the Courts of Love in Italy. The controversy between Arms and Letters has been examined in Chapter IV of the present work, note 60.

Alessandro names Clitia to support the side of Nature; and Lepido chooses Olinda to maintain the side of Art. After the debate, the judges decide in favor of Nature, each of them giving briefly the grounds of his decision. Olinda gives as a forfeit, to be redeemed later, a gold bracelet set with gems.

Then follows the third question: Which is more powerful in love, beauty of the body or beauty of the mind? Pirro selects Clarice to defend the beauty of the mind; Fulvio chooses Celia to support the other side. As Clarice is engaged in the discussion, her place as judge is filled temporarily by Olinda, who pronounces in favor of the beauty of the mind, and Celia gives as forfeit a pearl earring.

Celia and Clarice are then commanded to select debaters for the fourth question: Whether one should love secretly or openly. Celia selects Fausto to defend secret love, and Clarice, Lepido to support the opposite side. The question is decided by Pirro, who had taken Fausto's place as judge, in favor of open love, and Fausto gives as forfeit a gold ring.

The game is now ended and Alessandro distributes the forfeits of the ladies among the gentlemen and *vice versa*, and resigns the sceptre, the *mestola*, to Celia in order that she may with this token of authority go in search of her forfeit and redeem it at the will of the possessor. She finds her earring in Fausto's hands and is about to fall on her knees, but he prevents her and declares he will exact no ransom, except that as a special favor she shall relate a story at her pleasure. She says this is only a nominal relinquishment of ransom, but after some opposition she relates the first *novella*.

In like manner Olinda seeks her forfeit and finds it in Fulvio's hands. He imposes as a penalty that she shall solve his doubt whether Antilia or Uguccione (in the story just told by Celia) loved the stronger. She pronounces in favor of Antilia and gives her reasons. Fulvio is satisfied and returns her bracelet. Lepido then seeks his forfeit and discovers it on Celia's finger, who gives it back on condition that he relates a story. The second *novella* told by Lepido then follows.

The game properly ends here and Alessandro resigns to Celia the symbol of authority, which she bestows upon Lepido, who proposes the Game of the Gardeners.⁴⁷ Each of the company

⁴⁷ A somewhat similar game is in Ringhieri, No. XXXVI, *Giuoco dell'Ortolano*. See note 54.

pretended to be a gardener proficient in his trade, and declared what seed he had especially in store. Then each one went to the other and tapping on his or her hand asked permission to enter his garden and sow his seed. When asked what seed, he was obliged in his reply to use the names of the various seeds chosen by the company. At the name of the last seed mentioned the person who had previously selected it had to rise and take his turn.

After this game was ended the symbol of authority was given to Pirro, who proposed as a diversion that they should represent a pastoral play or dialogue. The ladies took one end of the room and the gentlemen the other, and after making some slight changes in their dress to suit them better to the new character they had assumed, the men advanced towards the ladies and invited them to remain with them. Then followed a Song of Nymphs and Shepherds. At last the shepherds, emboldened, advanced and took the nymphs by the hand, and forming as many couples as there were ladies, the last being taken between two shepherds, they promenaded about the room and sang a stanza together, and after it various other pastoral songs. It was now time to break up, and in spite of Clarice's invitation to remain to supper they departed, promising to meet again the next and following days at the same time.

The second part opens with a long discourse on the power of Love, after which the author describes how the company assembled as agreed at the house of Clarice, who put into the hands of Fausto the symbol of authority. He relates a vision he had had of Love, who promised that the temple of his mother Venus should be freely opened to all who had to inquire or ask anything.

This vision gives Fausto an opportunity to propose the Game of the Temple of Love,⁴⁸ in which Clarice was to represent Venus in her temple and each of the company was to go and ask counsel, favor, etc., in regard to any case or accident which had happened to him in the course of love. For fear, however, that some unworthy demand might be made, the temple was to be under the guard of a minister (Fulvio), who was to listen and see that nothing unworthy was asked; if so, he was to drive the person from the temple.

⁴⁸ The Game of the Temple of Love is one of the games which G. Bargagli, No. 35, p. 51, mentions with disapproval.

The first demand is made by Pirro: He has served a noble and beautiful lady and she refuses to believe his love unless he gives her an infallible sign and sure pledge of his being a true and faithful lover. The minister pronounces him worthy of being heard, and the goddess utters the following sentence or decision: No one can give a greater proof of love than not to listen to another who asks him for his love (that is, of course, another than his lady).

Clitia is the second to interrogate the oracle, which she does by asking how a lady who is equally served by two lovers of equal merit shall choose between them. The minister does not object to this question, and the goddess answers: In the choice the good should yield to the better, and as there is no difference between the two there can be no choice; but they should be so treated that each will believe himself to be the more favored.

Alessandro asks why with him alone the maxim "Amor a nullo amato amar perdona" (Dante, *Inferno*, v, 103, "Love, that exempts no one beloved from loving") is not true. The minister rules out this question (it has already been decided by common opinion) as a vain waste of time. The goddess, however, expresses her willingness to answer the question and a long debate arises on the subject. As his first question has been ruled out, he asks a second, which is: In what way loving another can he in turn be loved by the same? The goddess replied with a majestic and cheerful countenance: "In loving, know yourself, and rightly esteem the one you love."

Olinda's turn was next, and she asked how she could escape the pangs of love and live as she has done up to that time. A great uproar arose at this demand, some accusing Olinda of being a rebel against Love, others defending her. At last the minister upbraided her and the goddess pronounced the sentence: "The greater the desire you show of not wishing to love, the more you shall love."

Lepido asks whether a lover should love one lady secretly and another openly at the same time, what pleasure they take in being loved in this fashion and whether this is permitted the lover so that not enjoying love in one, he may not lose it in the other. The minister says this has already been decided. Then Lepido asks if Love laughs at lovers' broken vows; and finally (and this question is permitted by the minister), why a

person who loves is sometimes scorned by the one he loves, and one who scorns is loved. The goddess replies: "A thing greatly desired and obtained with difficulty is prized more highly, and a thing even of value, but not desired, is lost with little or no regret."

Celia desires to know whether a young woman who is wooed by several youths and bestows her love on one, should still suffer the attentions of the others or banish them from her presence. The minister indulges in a long discourse on the subject of the dangers of rivalry, etc. The goddess replies that the vain association with those who are not loved is nothing but keeping open the wounds of others, without wishing to heal them, or allowing them to go to one who perchance might afford some relief for their sad lives. Nothing is now left but to redeem the few forfeits incurred in the course of the game. Olinda finds hers in Pirro's hands, who says that she has been sufficiently punished by the judgment pronounced upon her for her error, and the only penalty he requires of her is to relate a story. Then follows the first *novella* (of the second day) related by Olinda. There remains Alessandro's forfeit to be redeemed from the hands of Celia, who imposes on him the task of interpreting a dream of hers which she narrates at length. She saw a flock of doves and one dove remaining apart and taking no share in the pleasures of the others. Alessandro interprets the dream as referring to those ladies who live apart from pleasant and seemly companies.

The *mestola* is now resigned by Fausto to Celia, who entrusts it to Pirro. The new leader proposes the Game of the Siege, the idea of which, he says, is taken from life, which is one long battle, and from the present siege of the city. The game consists in each telling what he deems best to defend the Castle of Love, and another replying what is best to oppose to this defense. Olinda begins by saying that the cruelty of Love is the inexpugnable defense. Fulvio replies that humility and fidelity are the best means of attack. Each defends his statement and two judges, Alessandro and Clitia, pronounce opinion by the lips of Alessandro, and condemn both sides to give forfeits and to redeem them at once, without waiting for the end of the game as usually was done. Olinda finds her forfeit in the hands of Fausto, who imposes on her as a penalty to declare which have

the greater power in love, looks or words. She answers that looks have, and a discussion follows between her and Fausto on the subject. Fulvio finally redeems his forfeit from Celia by relating the second *novella* (of the second day).

The Game of the Siege is then resumed, Celia and Lepido being judges, by Clitia, who would set a guard within against the attack of lovers' warm and ardent words disguised in feigned and covert expressions, and raise the drawbridge against all manner of lascivious delights and effeminate pleasures and vain joy; and, finally, commit the guard of her honor to no other than herself. Fausto would employ against these means the glances of loving eyes. Celia finds both wrong and sentences them to receive penalties, Clitia from Pirro, Fausto from Olinda. Fausto is enjoined to pretend that the lady served by him is present and that he shall, for whatever reason seems good to him, set himself free from her service. He goes to a corner of the room and pretending that his lady is there addresses her and takes his leave of her. Pirro enjoins on Clitia the reverse of this penalty, that she shall beg some man most to her heart to accept her love, which she does.

Celia continues the same game by telling what she would do to defend the Castle of Love. She would raise a band of modest thoughts and seemly words, and desires free from love and rebellion. Lepido opposes boldness of heart, readiness of tongue, and quickness of hand. Later he adds, 'by the judges' permission, letters warm and ornate. Clarice and Pirro pronounce judgment against Lepido, who is sentenced by Celia to declare whether he would rather be loved by the one he hated, or hated by the one he loved. He decides in favor of the second.

Clarice and Alessandro are now the only ones left to continue the game. The former says the only defense against Love is in flight; the latter, that tears are the only means to soften Love. The judges pronounce against Clarice and in favor of Alessandro, whose reward is to pronounce the penalty of Clarice. This is to solve the following question: If two lovers were in Clarice's presence, and one of them gave her a present and she accepted it and at once gave it to the other lover, which of the two would she by these acts declare to be the favored one.⁴⁹ She answers that neither would be, one because his gift was not kept, the

⁴⁹ See the first question in the *Filocolo*, Chapter II, note 12, of present work.

other by receiving a gift apparently of no value to the donor. The game now ends and Pirro resigns the *mestola* to Clitia, by whom it is given to Lepido, who proposes the Game of Challenges and Reconciliations.

Lepido first indulges in a long prologue, in the course of which he proposes various games of cards and dice; but the ladies disapprove of these. Finally he proposes the game mentioned above. Each one utters an imperious epithet, such as "ingrate," "insidious," etc., and then a sentence containing words of peace (these are generally verses from Petrarch). After this, one of the gentlemen stands in front of one of the ladies and repeats the injurious words uttered by all the company (each one has to remember the one he uttered himself), and then the lady repeats the words of peace. When a pause is made the person whose epithet or words of peace were last pronounced by the player must arise and continue the game. When it is finished musical instruments are brought in, and a stanza is sung by each of the company, which then breaks up until the morrow.

When the company assemble the next day they decide to spend the third and last day as they have done the preceding one, and Pirro proposes the Game of the Blind Men.⁵⁰ Each gentleman is to pretend that he has become blind through love, and is to relate the true and powerful reasons which have reduced him to that state; then utter a brief prayer to be delivered from his blindness, and perform some act to show that he is blind. Then they shall be aided and treated in their needs by the ladies as they seem to deserve. It is difficult to analyze the game, as it consists wholly in conversation. After each has taken his turn Lepido is called but cannot be found. He has slipped out of the room and disguised himself as a blind man. At last he appears led in by a little dog belonging to Clarice, imitating evidently a certain blind man of the city. After some sport Lepido resumes his natural voice and continues the game. When it is ended he recites the first *novella* (of the third day) by way of voluntary penalty.

Fausto and Fulvio are then condemned to sing a song as the blind men do, and Alessandro to tell a story, which he does in the second *novella* (of the third day). When this is ended Fausto

⁵⁰ The Game of the Blind Men is G. Bargagli's *Giucoco dei Ciechi*, No. 65, p. 83.

proposes the Game of the Bath. The idea of this game arose from the frequent references early in the entertainment to the pains of love, etc. The game consists in each gentleman pretending to be ill with some complaint of love which he is to describe with all its symptoms. Then the ladies are supposed to be veins or springs of medicinal waters good for the various ills of love. Fulvio first delivers a long account of his malady. Then the master of the game, on this occasion called *commesario de' bagni*, points with a wand to Clitia, saying: "This, Fulvio, is the precious spring which can cure your ills, and is named the Spring of Tranquillity." Clitia then addresses Fulvio and shows how the remedy is to be applied. In gratitude Fulvio finally addresses to Clitia a verse, after which Alessandro takes his turn and declares that he suffers from timidity and is referred to Olinda, who is the Spring of Security. A long dialogue follows ending as above in a verse. Lepido is referred to the Spring of True Uprightness (Clarice); Pirro to the Spring of Hope (Celia). When the game has ended (there are no forfeits) the *mestola* is given by Olinda to Lepido, who proposes the Game of the Chase.⁵¹

After a long and tedious eulogy of the chase, the inventor of the game explains it as follows: Each gentleman imposes a name of a wild beast upon each lady, and each lady upon each gentleman. Then one of the ladies is to rise and holding one of her hands open behind her, a hunter is to follow her around the circle striking her hand with the *mestola* and calling to his aid all the other hunters, who straightway arising from their places with hostile voice follow the prey, calling her by name, and when the person pursued as a wild animal thinks she has been hunted enough she will say, that not the wild beast whose name she bears, mentioning it, is the spoiler of the fields or forests of Love, but such and such a beast, naming it, and explaining how and why it lays waste such places. Then the company will all raise the cry against this one, with the condition that if several beasts are mentioned, the last one named by a lady must be the name of a beast represented by a man, and the last mentioned by a man must be a name borne by a lady.

When the game is ended the *mestola* is finally consigned to Fulvio, who proposes that the day's entertainment shall conclude

⁵¹ There are somewhat similar games in G. Bargagli, *Gioco della Caccia d'Amore*, No. 99, p. 905, and Ringhieri, *Gioco della Caccia*, No. xl.

with a *ballo tondo*, or *ballo a canzoni*. This they then proceed to dance and sing in the customary way, after which the company breaks up to meet no more.

I cannot here trace the subsequent history of "parlor games" in Italy. It may be said, however, that they still serve to amuse Italian companies during the long and tiresome winter evenings, and that collections of these games still appear from the presses devoted to the diffusion of popular literature.⁵²

Even more interesting than Scipion Bargagli's work is another account of the employment of games for social diversion in the city of Siena. I allude to the *Novelle* of Pietro Fortini, which have never been examined from this standpoint. The author was born about the middle of the sixteenth century at Siena, where he died the 24th of January, 1562.⁵³ He was of a noble family and espoused the unpopular side of the Medici, which probably led to his frequent retirement from the city to his villa.

Fortini in the address to the reader (I, p. 9) says the reason why he has composed his work is his compassion for "certain poor foolish youths" inexperienced in speech and ingenious

⁵² I have seen two of the modern Italian collections of "parlor games"; they are: *Il Saputello in conversazione ovvero giuochi di sala e passatempi curiosi*, Florence, Adriano Salani, editore, 1889, 8vo, pp. 352; and *Giuochi di sala per divertirsi nelle conversazioni coll'aggiunta delle penitenze per quelli che non eseguiscano bene i giuochi*, Florence, Adriano Salani, editor, 1891, 12mo, pp. 128. A few of the games and penalties in these books are found also in the older collections mentioned in the text. We have considered games entirely from the cultivated and literary standpoint. From the point of view of folk-lore, the subject is most interesting and extensive. Ample materials for the study of this branch of the subject will be found in the admirable work of Pitrè already cited, *Bibliografia delle Tradizioni popolari d'Italia*. There is an interesting article "De' Giuochi popolari e fanciulleschi specialmente in Bologna fino al secolo XVI," by G. Ungarelli in the *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni popolari*, Palermo, 1892, Vol. XI, pp. 513-33. For games in France during the seventeenth century the reader should consult the valuable work by E. Roy, already cited, *La Vie et les Œuvres de Charles Sorel*, where in chapter ix is given an account of "parlor games" at that period. I have now an earlier collection of Italian "parlor games": *Il passatempo ossia Raccolta di Quaranta Giuochi e di Dodici Burle per divertire onestamente le brigate nelle veglie*. Firenze, 1798. Presso Anton Giuseppe Pagani e compagni, 16mo, pp. 64.

⁵³ The sources for Fortini's biography are mentioned in *Pietro Fortini, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle*. Von Jacob Ulrich. In *Festschrift zur Begrüssung der vom 28. September bis 1. Oktober in Zürich tagenden XXXIX. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, dargeboten von der Universität Zürich, Zürich, 1887, pp. 61-90. A complete publication of the novels was undertaken some years ago, but unfortunately has not yet been finished. It appeared under the title: *Novelle di Pietro Fortini, Senese*, Florence, 1888-1894, 3 vols., in the collection *Bibliotechina Grassocia*.

compositions, but still having some spark of love in their hearts: "hence it happens often that they wish to be present at assemblies and participate in conversations on love; and when they do, and their turn comes to recite, as is the custom, some novel or other thing suitable in such a gathering, they either run away, or acknowledge their ignorance, remaining there like statues, or images full of shame, showing equally their lack of wit and insufficiency." The work is divided into two parts entitled: *Le Giornate delle Novelle de' Novizi*, and *Le piacevoli et amoroze Notti de' Novizi*. The "Novices" are of course the beginners in love. The author says the novels will be told by "a gracious band of five no less virtuous than witty ladies, together with two elegant youths most devoted to the service of love." He further declares that a large part of the stories related under the form of *novelle* really happened, with a change of names and circumstances so as to give offence to no one. The names of the ladies are Aurelia, Fulgida, Adriana, Emilia, and Corintia, and of the youths, Ipolito and Costanzio.

This company meets, as usual, in a pleasing garden, and, with a desire to shun the disagreeable season, Adriana, beyond the others witty and amusing, proposes to spend the day in telling stories. Aurelia thinks they should prolong the diversion throughout the week. Corintia then makes a crown from a bush near by and places it on Costanzio's head, saying that it should be a token of his lordship for that day. Costanzio then calls on madonna Aurelia to begin, which she does, and here commences "la prima Giornata de le novelle de' Novitii sotto la signoria di Costanzio."

The First Day contains seven novels and concludes with music (p. 214). After the singing, Costanzio summons a servant and has her bring in a rich and splendid collation, and after a long conversation, the fair ladies, calling their attendants, return home.

On the Second Day in the same spot, Costanzio crowns Corintia, who commands Emilia to begin. The Second Day likewise contains seven novels. When the last is ended, the queen commands Adriana to sing some *canzonette*, and proposes that they should take the subject of Fortune for their rhymes. This they do and the day is ending when they finish. Corintia crowns Emilia, who says that the story-telling will be continued next

day, and since Adriana had restricted their songs to the subject of Fortune, she intends to confine the story-telling next day to "the evil life of wicked ecclesiastics." The company then breaks up (p. 379).

The Third Day opens as usual, with a *novella* by Costanzio. At the end of the twenty-first *novella*, Corintia and Aurelia sing. Emilia crowns Adriana, who assigns as the topic for the following day "diverse subjects as may be pleasing to each one."

The Fourth Day does not differ in the opening. The garden is described more fully, the company sitting under an arbor. Ipolito sings to the accompaniment of a *gravicembalo*. Then Fulgida begins her novel (p. 537). At the conclusion of the twenty-eighth *novelle* (Vol. II, p. 107), Emilia is commanded to sing, which she does to the sound of a lute. The subject of her song is still Fortune. Ipolito is then crowned, and assigns as a topic "whatever is most pleasing to each." The gentlemen see the ladies home, the servants not having arrived, and the day closes.

The Fifth Day (Vol. II, p. 117) begins as usual, the garden being described in greater detail, and Corintia relating the first *novella*. The day closes with songs by Fulgida and Costanzio. Fulgida is crowned queen for the next day.

The Sixth Day (Vol. II, p. 263) is peculiar. The company meet in the garden as usual, and Fulgida addresses them and expresses her will that story-telling should be omitted that day because it is Good Friday. In order, however, not to lose the day, she commands Costanzio and Ipolito to relate a part of their ill-rewarded love, and also entertain the company with "qualche bella rima." Costanzio says he will first narrate who the lady is who makes his heart languish so, then in the second part he will express his just demands. He then proceeds to sing (1st Part, pp. 267-8; 2nd Part, pp. 269-323). After a duett between Costanzio and Ipolito, the latter begins his song (pp. 331-369), most of which is in *versi sciolti*, describing the Palace of Venus, with the pictures on the walls (Story of Psyche, pp. 335-360; Story of Diana and Acteon, pp. 360-363; Judgment of Paris, p. 363; Venus and Mars, p. 364; Cleopatra, pp. 365-366; Laocoön, pp. 366-367; further description of the palace, pp. 368-369) Costanzio replies to Ipolito, singing the praises of Fortune in *ottava rima*, pp. 370-373. The company then adjourns over Saturday until Sunday.

On the Seventh Day the company meets in the afternoon in the same garden as usual, but seeks a cooler spot in a meadow watered by a stream. Fulgida, whose sway still continues, commands Emilia to begin. When Ipolito's turn comes he sings some *canzonette*, pp. 511-514, and Costanzio follows his example, pp. 515-517. The day ends with the forty-second *novella*; Aurelia is crowned and the company break up.

The Eighth Day begins as usual, and Costanzio relates the first (xliii.) *novella*. After the forty-ninth *novella*, the Queen wishes each of the band to recite some poetry. Ipolito begins, pp. 658-661; Fulgida, pp. 662-663; and then the others. Finally, the Queen addresses the company and says she will retain her authority until Sunday night, and invites all the others to supper that evening, after which they will have the customary assembly (*veglia*), after that she will bestow the garland on the one she wishes. The company agree to accept the invitation and then break up. This is the end of the first part or *Le Giornate de' Novizi*.

On Sunday afternoon the ladies gathered at Aurelia's house as the church bells were ringing for vespers and asked her where she wishes to hear prayers. They all started for the Madonna a Fonte Giusta and met not far from the house the young men. All went to church and then walked along the walls to the Camillia gate and as far as the Palazzo de' Diavoli. Several times Aurelia was asked what she intended to do that evening, but she would give no answer except that it was time to return home, as the supper hour was approaching. On the way the ladies bantered Ipolito on his fickleness.

When the company reached the house they were shown by the hostess into a large and rich apartment, where they found that great preparations had been made. A rich and beautiful theatre had been constructed with wonderful ingenuity and masterly art, with a scene (*prospettiva*) more beautiful than any that had ever been seen. While the company were gazing at the rich and beautiful work, a small table was brought by four servants into the middle of the theatre and covered with a delicate cloth and all other things needed. Then chairs were placed, the company sat down, and water for the hands was offered by two handsome youths, who then served many varied and delicate viands and precious wines. The company seemed to be in a

royal palace and thought their hostess bore herself as a queen; they paid little heed to the banquet, and kept looking about, thinking they saw always something new.

Costanzio finally asked leave to propound a question. After some discussion leave was granted, and he asked why a young woman caresses a young lover more than a husband, although both are equally rich, handsome, of the same age, nobility, etc. A discussion followed without any formal conclusion.

Ipolito had on the table before him, as all the others had, a roast fowl. He removed the heart and putting it in a silver dish presented it to Corintia, who politely accepted it and paid little attention to it. Soon after she removed the wings of her fowl and sent them together with the heart of Ipolito. He, seeing that the virtuous Corintia had signified that she did not wish to love him on account of his fickleness, was silent and grieved in his heart.

The fair Adriana was too virtuous to wish to make such a present to Costanzio; she took the heart of her fowl (she was sitting next to Costanzio) and to show how her heart constantly burned for him, with deep sighs she placed the heart on the salt-cellar on the salt which was in it, meaning that her heart was in ardent flames, for salt, as is known, inflames and consumes. Costanzio, to show that he did not wish her to burn for him, took a carafe of water and poured some on the heart.

At last every one was satiated with the abundance of food, and Costanzio, to clear up a doubt of his, took the empty breast of his pigeon and gave it to Madonna Emilia. She accepted it as a discreet and courteous person and secretly putting the heart of her pigeon into the empty breast of the one sent her by Costanzio, returned it to him saying: "Since Madonna Corintia returned the same present made her by Ipolito, so I return yours; be pleased to accept it, as I accepted it from you." Costanzio was overjoyed and his doubt entirely cleared up.

Many other presents were likewise made which gave rise to a thousand various interpretations. Finally the rich and splendid supper was ended, water was given for the hands, *confetti* were served, and the table removed.

The hostess took her place in the highest and richest seat of the theatre, and being seated commanded every one to do likewise. The company obeyed and began to talk of many things,

but their conversation was interrupted by sweet and gentle music. The guests wondered who made it, for they had seen no one but the servants in the theatre. The musicians were behind the proscenium and could not be seen. Finally an actor in a fantastic garb with a laurel bough in his hand came forth from one side of the stage and addressing the audience declared that he brought then a new comedy called *The Ring*, in prose, which was then acted and fills pp. 23-194.

After the play there was more music and a collation, with much talk about the comedy and other things. The hostess and queen, seeing that the time had come to relinquish her sway, arose and after a brief address crowned the fair Adriana. The new queen invited the company to sup at her house a week from that day, all to meet at the same hour at the same church as they had done that day, and to spend the time until supper in her garden in pleasant conversation. She then commanded the company to break up.

The ladies and gentlemen met as usual at the church at the appointed time, "the two youths, as is the wont of men, while the service lasted kept walking about the church for their amusement." After the service they all repaired to their hostess house, where they entered a small and artfully arranged garden, in which were constructed two not very high mounds, upon which four houses were built, "in prospectiva," so that they seemed real. At the foot of one of the mounds, not far from the house was a little valley and half way down it a little wood where thrushes could be hunted, and at one side of the pleasant garden, with wonderful art, was made a place like a theatre, so that all the company could sit there in comfort. It was covered with vines and boughs and flowers, and on one side was a grotto covered with shrubs, and a spring and basin where fish could be seen swimming in the clear cool water.

The hostess sat down on the green bank and making the others sit, commanded Costanzio to entertain them until the supper hour. While they were sitting there, birds and animals appeared in the grove, and frogs around the spring, so that every thing seemed real and not artificial. Costanzio excused himself; he was so taken unawares by the sudden invitation, but said he remembered an amusing story which he would relate. It is entitled *El Nuovo Messia* (pp. 206-226).

While they were conversing after the story a table was prepared not far from the artificial fountain, and the hostess commanded the company to be seated at it. A rich repast was served by several pages. After it was ended, the company returned to the place where they had first been seated and sweet music of instruments and voices was heard for half an hour; then one in the guise of Apollo came forth from one of the mounds and addressing the audience said they should hear a new comedy, *Lavinia*, which was now performed (pp. 231-404).

After the play there was a concert of an hour and the usual collation. Then they talked about the play, and Corintia was crowned queen. She expressed her disapproval of using Sunday for their entertainments and invited the company to her house on Thursday, at noon; meanwhile she would think of some diversion, and now because it was nearly day she commanded the company to break up (p. 407).

On the appointed day the company gathered at Corintia's house and seated themselves in the garden in a pleasant meadow under the shade of an arbor. The hostess asked the company to spend the time until supper in some pleasant and seemly diversion, and called upon Costanzio to celebrate his love in rhyme. He took a lute and sang (pp. 414-417), and continued at the request of the company (pp. 417-418). Then the queen commanded Aurelia to sing, who was followed by Ipolito and Adriana. The queen then conducted the party into a rich and ornate saloon, where was constructed with great art a stage representing Perugia with its houses and streets. The windows of the room were closed and the stage was brilliantly lighted by many lamps. A concert of violins followed for half an hour, then an actor came forth dressed as a philosopher, with bushy hair and beard and with a willow wand in hand. He recited the Prologue to the comedy *L'Anguilla* (The Eel), which was then performed (pp. 429-481).

The play was followed as usual by music and a collation. Then four youths entered and danced with the ladies until a great part of the night was past. The queen said she was unwilling that the party should break up although it was nearly day, for the shortness of the time had not allowed them to do what they should have done, adding, "Because we must now give a pleasing beginning to some game, you, Ipolito, as our prince, shall this

evening make a pleasant beginning of our games." Ipolito rose and modestly accepted the command and in token of his authority took the *mestola*, and announced as the game of the evening The Game of the Garden.⁵⁴ The game is then described in detail (pp. 485-593; it is the most elaborately related of any game I know). There are some forfeits in it, one of which consists in Fulgida singing some verses (pp. 514-515), and Corintia relating the story of Pachiarotto (pp. 540-572).

At the conclusion of the game Ipolito returned the *mestola* to Corintia, who praised his ingenuity and crowned him king to succeed her. He insisted on her remaining queen until the party ended. So she ordered the music to play for dancing and they all engaged in a *chiavanzana* or *ballo piano*. Before the dance was finished all the church bells were ringing for early mass, and Corintia resigned her rule into the hands of Ipolito. A light collation was served and Ipolito asked Messer Dorico (one of the four youths mentioned above) to sing a *canzone marcata*. The youths then accompanied the ladies home and thus ended the Third Night.

The manuscript of Fortini's *Novelle* has not been published beyond this point. I have seen the original at Siena for a few moments, but am unable to give any detailed description of it. The fourth, fifth, and sixth Nights under the rule of Ipolito contain three comedies not named and thirty *novelle*, the titles of which may be found in Ulrich. I did not notice anything of particular interest for the present work.

A still more interesting example of the use of games in polite society is to be found in the *Giucoco Piacevole* of Ascanio de Mori, who was born in 1533 and died in 1591,⁵⁵ the story of which is as follows.

⁵⁴ A similar game is in Scipio Bargagli's *I Trattenimenti*, p. 114, and in Ringhieri, No. XXXVI, *Giucoco dell'Ortolano*. See note 47.

⁵⁵ An account of Mori may be found in Passano, *I Novellieri Italiani*, Turin, 1878, Vol. I, p. 435. The edition I have used is: *Giucoco Piacevole d'Ascanio de Mori da Ceno. Ristampato più corretto et migliorato da lui; con la giunta d'alcune rime, et d'un Ragionamento del medesimo in lode delle Donne*. In Mantova, Presso Giacomo Ruffinello, 1580. The first edition was by the same printer in 1574, and a third followed at Mantua by F. Osanna in 1589 or 90, all in 4to. The work is dedicated to Vincenzo Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua. The edition of 1580 contains an address to the 'Cortesi Lettori' by Gio. Battista Cavallara, *medico*, in which he states that Ascanio wrote the *Giucoco Piacevole* for the prince and some ladies, to be seen by them alone; but that the work fell into the hands of a rival, who gave it secretly to the press under Ascanio's name as an affront to him. The author intended at first to avenge himself

In 1566, a year peculiarly happy for all Europe, on account of peace, plentiful harvests and a healthy season, many festivals were held in the most noble city of Brescia, and splendid triumphs, and games and tournaments, at an almost incredible expense, especially during the Carnival. More than any of the neighboring cities Brescia was full of the greatest pleasures which the noble mind could desire, the sweetness of which was increased by an intimacy full of courtesy and free from any suspicion of wrong, which prevailed among the ladies and gentlemen and all the people, who associated together day and night, "and it seemed as if Venus had changed Paphos and Gnidus into Brescia."

In this joyful Carnival some gentle spirits determined to give the final relish by reciting on the last night with royal pomp a new tragicomedy, the subject of which was the love of Jupiter and Alcmene. On the appointed night all went to the theatre. A company of ladies started for that purpose and while engaged in conversation found themselves at the door of the palace of Signora Beatrice Gambarà, and determined to call upon her and then continue their way to the theatre. They found the company just risen from the table and were shown into the parlor and seated. A collation was offered them and while they were enjoying it, they were informed that the performance was postponed for some reason. The company was greatly disappointed, as it was the last night of the Carnival and they had expected to spend it in pleasure. The hostess, Signora Beatrice, asked why they should not try to procure some diversion themselves, and proposed that they send for musicians and pass the evening in dancing. The others agreed, and while they were waiting for the music four gentlemen happened in: Count Alfonso Cavriolo, Cavalier Giulio Foresti, Signor Lucio Orsino de' Maggi, and Signor Tranquillo de' Palazzi, with a virtuous youth named Messer Fiorentio, brought by them on purpose with his clavichord.

As soon as these gentlemen had heard that the performance was postponed they had agreed among themselves to go the house of Signora Beatrice to dance. Messer Fiorentino began

by a resort to arms, but his friends persuaded him to print a corrected edition, which he did. The popularity of the book is attested by a statement from the printer, who says he has not a single copy of the edition of a thousand copies published a short time before. He therefore issues a new one with some additions. Mori also wrote fifteen *novelle* which enjoyed great favor and have been frequently reprinted. See Passano cited above.

to play and the ladies and gentlemen danced a *gagliarda*. After they had danced until they were tired of that diversion, Signor Beatrice, perceiving it, said: "I think, if it pleases you, that we should stop dancing and try to pass the evening agreeably by some diversion of games." All praised this idea and they sat down and discussed who should be the first to propose a game. A long contest ensued and finally Signora Beatrice was persuaded to be the one. She said: "I remember a game, which perchance will not displease you, fair ladies, because it is, in my judgment, very precious, and we are wont to play similar ones about the fire. Do not expect in it any mysteries such as the Cavalier has alluded to, for the place and my weak wit will not permit it.

"The game of which I speak is as follows. Just as we sit here in order, so the letters of the alphabet are to be assigned, giving to each one in the game one or more as is necessary. As there are nine persons in the game each will have two letters: A to me as I happen to be the first, B to the Count, C to the Cavalier, etc., and then M to me, beginning over again.

"After this, each one must recite an event, true or false, and in the course of the narration must name a city, and in it an inn with the landlord, then a garden in the same city, or in the suburbs, in which garden must be a nymph, a tree, and a terrestrial animal, to which animal each one of us will apply a motto in Italian or Latin, as shall please us best. Likewise there must be a bird in the tree, which shall sing a verse in Italian, either a sonnet or madrigal, or stanza or some other similar composition. All the things mentioned above, city, inn, host, and the rest (except the motto, which is at the discretion of each) must be words beginning with the letter assigned to the person who tells the story."⁵⁶

Signor Beatrice then proceeded to illustrate her proposed game. "As I was coming from Loreto, where I had gone to pay a vow to that most glorious Lady, I passed through Ancona, an important city of the Marches, and lodged at the Angel, where I was received by the landlord, a very worthy man named Antonello, a name and place I shall not easily forget on account of the courteous treatment I there received from him. Besides

⁵⁶ This game curiously enough is found in Edward Phillips's *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*, London, 1658. See Chapter XI, p. 438 of the present work. A similar game, *juego de las letras*, occurs in Guillen de Castro's play, *Los mal casados de Valoncia*, Act I, cited in Chapter XIII of the present work.

his good entertainment, he showed me the finest sights of the city, the churches, harbor, Loggia dei Mercatanti, the magazines and gardens, one of which surpassed the others and was called Altamira, from being on a hill, which forms a great theatre, from which can be seen the wide sea, and a thousand ships under sail, and Schiavonia with other countries, rocks, isles, and harbors. What seemed to me wonderful in that garden and especially worthy of attention was a straight pine (*Abete*), at the foot of which sat a beautiful nymph, combing her blond locks, which seemed like spun gold, around whom disported the sweet breeze (*Aurà*) and Love (*Amore*). Her name, which was Arethusa, she bore written in golden letters on a royal crown, which she then had by her side. I do not know whether she was the beloved of Alpheus or of another. On the skirt of her dress (a wonderful thing to see) was sleeping a unicorn (*Alicorno*) symbol of lascivious love, and it was more gentle than its nature permits. The device ran: With no other weapons (*Non con altre armi*). On the top of the tree I saw a large heron (*Aerone*), which in a wonderful manner sang some verses, of which I remember the following: "Ah, would that my warm affection might drive from my beloved's cold breast the frost which extinguishes in him the flames of love! Mourning would then be changed to laughter, and grief to joy. Love would listen to my sweet songs, and the stars, the sun, and the wind stand still. At the end of the song I left the garden and shortly after the city and returned in a few days to Brescia."

Signora Claudia said they all understood the game, so clearly had Signora Beatrice explained it. "Softly, Signora Claudia," said Signora Beatrice; "those who fail to mention the required thing with the proper initial must pay a forfeit to be redeemed at the end of the game; and whoever happens to have one of the forfeits in his hand will have the power to impose a penalty for its redemption. If one refuses to perform the penalty, the forfeit will be lost as is the custom in other games. Besides, when one has finished his or her part of the game, he or she shall add a riddle in verse, not under the rule of the initial letter."

An animated discussion then arose as to the difficulty of finding riddles, and the fear of losing one's forfeits. Finally, Signora Beatrice propounded her riddle: Sisters are we, friends of the Muses, singing we utter so sweet a sound that the confused soul

almost leaves itself. We are enclosed and confined where the faithful are baptized, and our virtue is so rewarded that we often live after death.

Signora Beatrice was forced to explain her riddle, which, she said, referred to the pipes in an organ, usually placed in a church, which had life or death as the bellows gave it to them.

Then follow the stories of the others, with an occasional mistake and the deposit of a forfeit.

When Signora Beatrice saw that the stories had ended and each had performed his part, without losing time she collected the forfeits and began to distribute them indiscriminately. To Signor Tranquillo she gave one of Signora Isabella's gloves, the other to the Count. To Signora Isabella she gave Signor Tranquillo's purse. To Signor Orsino fell the clasp which Signora Livia had given for Signora Leonora. Signora Beatrice herself kept the Count's *maninfede*, and assigned his diamond to Signora Leonora. To Signora Claudia she gave the portrait of the Cavalier, who not in vain demanded the watch deposited by Signor Tranquillo for Signora Isabella; and finally, Signora Livia had the *componimenti* of Signor Orsino.

After the forfeits were thus distributed, Signora Beatrice ordered Signor Tranquillo to command Signora Isabella what she had to do to receive back her pledge. He asked her to command him as her faithful servant and to lay aside any scorn she might have for him. The Count said she might recover her second glove by reciting a sonnet, which she did, declaring that she had written it lately for him.

Signora Isabella then commanded the Count to recite something in praise of his favorite. This he did in a rhapsody addressed to Love, and ending with a poem.

Signor Orsino then orders Signora Livia to solve the question: If Love cannot be without hope, and if we cannot hope for what we possess, whence happens it that possessing the thing we love, we love it still? Signora Livia explains briefly why this is so.

Signora Beatrice commands the Count to explain how the Prince should ordinarily dress. He replies in an allegorical manner: he should wear clothes not material but spiritual, *i.e.*, the love of his subjects, etc.

Signora Leonora commanded the Count to tell what kind of madness each of the ladies and gentlemen present would be

subject to in case he or she should go mad.⁵⁷ This he did, and when he came at last to himself, he asked Signora Beatrice to let Signor Tranquillo state it.

Signora Claudia asked the Cavalier to tell what he would do to make himself beloved by his enemy if he possessed all the power of Love.

The Cavaliere said to Signor Tranquillo: "If you want your watch you must answer me a thousand things." "Don't ask me," he replied, "a sea of questions; for I would rather leave you my forfeit." The Cavaliere finally asked him: "Which do you think was the greatest of all the gods adored by the Gentiles?" The reply was Saturn. A dispute ensued, which was ended by an equivocal speech by Signor Tranquillo.

Signora Livia then modestly commanded Signor Orsino, whose *componimenti* she held, to read them. He begged her to take his place and read them herself, and she complied with his request.

When she had finished, Signora Beatrice asked the Count to tell a story. He obeyed and related a *novella*. When the Count had finished his story, which was highly praised, both because it was narrated very well and because it was known to be true, Signora Beatrice, beginning already to discover the day through the chinks of the windows, after having graciously thanked the ladies and gentlemen for the favor they had done her, and having accepted thanks from them, summoned her maids. The servants then by her order threw open the windows and extinguished the lights, giving Phoebus an opportunity to enter. Then the company took leave of Signora Beatrice, and departed full of joy and inflamed with honorable thoughts, which ever after produced divine fruits.

There are some interesting allusions to parlor games in Antonfrancesco Doni's *I Marmi*.⁵⁸ He tells us that at the time when the King of Bohemia passed through Mantua various entertainments were held in his honor, although formal festivities were impossible on account of his brief stay. One evening,

⁵⁷ This forfeit is taken from the *Cortegiano*, where it constitutes the game proposed by Messer Cesare Gonzaga. See Cian's edition of the *Cortegiano*, p. 22. Similar games are in Girolamo Bargagli's *Dialogo de' Giuochi*, Nos. LXXI and LXXII, pp. 86 and 87, and in Sorel's *Les Récréations galantes*, p. 145, The Game of Folly, see also p. 127, and Ringhieri, No. LXXI, f. 87.

⁵⁸ *I Marmi*, Firenze, 1863, Vol. II, pp. 259 *et seq.*, cited by Zonta in his article "Arbitrati reali o questioni giucose," p. 631.

about the first hour of the night, the principal ladies and gentlemen and the great noblemen of the court met with the king and queen in a beautiful and well adorned hall in which were placed in the form of a crescent seats for all, very comfortable and splendid. There, either by the king or some one else, the company were seated, a lady and gentleman together. Then the queen told the king, who was standing, to be seated where it was most pleasing to him. There was no vacant seat; so the king approached a nobleman who was next to the queen and began to prove to him by good reasons that this place belonged to him and that the nobleman should go in search of some other lady. The nobleman declined with equally good reasons and was unwilling to yield his place. Finally, the king won with his great eloquence and the seat was reverently yielded to him.

The nobleman rose and went to another gentleman who had a lady seated by him and showed by the best of reasons that the place was not his. The arguments on both sides were so strong that neither would yield and the dispute was referred to the queen to decide. After reviewing briefly their arguments she concluded that the one who was seated should retain his place and the other should go in search of a lady, for that one was not his.

It was a fine thing to hear the nobleman's lament at having to yield so fair a lady and provide himself with another. At last he succeeded in winning a seat and the former occupant left the room. The lady likewise made a pitiful lamentation and the nobleman comforted her, but she would not accept him as her lover and showed with good reasons that her love was for one person and that living or dying she wished no other. The nobleman arose and went to another gentleman and overcame him. The one that was defeated asked the gift of a forfeit (*la perdida*) and received it.

The person who is narrating the event says that he was amazed at so much eloquence, which appeared impromptu. His friend remarks that perhaps the game was previously arranged and that the speakers had learned their parts. This was probable, answers the other, since the discussions were in Spanish, Italian, French, Latin, and German. The game lasted four hours, but seemed an hour only, so interesting were the discussions.

One of the speakers said he went the same evening to another private entertainment where was played another game, also involving eloquence. Each of the ladies and gentlemen assumed for their names a word which was appropriate for a Love Complaint. One took "Sventurato," another "Dolore," another "Lasso," etc. There were nine in all. Then one began the complaint and when he wished to stop he employed at the end of his discourse one of the names assumed by the others, such as "Lasso," or "Dolore," etc., and the one who bore that name had to continue, employing new words and inventions. The one who broke down, that is, could not find anything to say, dropped out of the game and his place was taken by some one else who could continue. Besides a Love Complaint, some other form might be used, such as *una disperata*, a *ringraziamento*, *una allegrezza*," etc.

There is a reference to an amusing parlor game in Luigini's *Il Libro della Bella Donna*,⁵⁹ already cited in Chapter III from another standpoint. The author tells us that at a certain wedding many of the ladies present were powdered and painted, and a lady who possessed only her natural beauty determined to put the others to shame. So after dinner a game was proposed in which a lady should be the leader and all the others must imitate her in whatever she did. After she had done a number of things in which she was followed by the other ladies, she ordered a maid to bring a basin full of water and place it on a stool. She then dipped her hands in the water and washed her face. The plight of the ladies whose faces were powdered and painted can be imagined.

⁵⁹ *Il Libro della Bella Donna*, Milano, 1863, in *Biblioteca Rara pubblicata da G. Daelli*, XXIII, p. 72.

CHAPTER VII.

The origin of Italian Etiquette to be found in Provence—The earliest Provençal *ensenhamen* of Arnaut de Mareuil—Garin li Brun's *ensenhamen*—Instruction for a noble youth by Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan—The two *ensenhamens* of Amanieu de Sescas, one for the instruction of a lady, the other for a squire—Imitation of Amanieu de Sescas's second *ensenhamen* by Lunel de Monteg—Sordello's *Documentum Honoris*—Provençal *ensenhamen* in the Ashburnham collection—Old-French works on Etiquette—Anglo-Norman *L'Aprise de Nurture*—*Doctrinal de Courtoisie*—*Doctrinal Sauvage*—Raoul de Houdenc's *Roman des Aïles*—*Ordre de Chevalerie* ascribed to Hue de Tabarie. *La Chastement des Dames* by Robert de Blois—Philippe de Navarre's *Quatre Ages de l'Homme*—Catalan *Book of Courtesy* based on the Latin *Facetus*—English works on Etiquette—*The Boke of Curtasye*—*The Babees Book*—Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*—Italian treatises on Etiquette—Bonvesin da Riva's *De quinquegenta curialitatibus ad mensam*—Francesco da Barberino's *Reggimento e costume di donna*—*Documenti d'Amore*—Fra Paolino's *Trattato de Regimine Rectoris*—Cardinal Dominici's *Del Governo di cura familiare*—Leon Battista Alberti and his work *Della Famiglia*—Pandolfini's *Il Governo della Famiglia a rifacimento* of the third book of Alberti's *Della Famiglia*—Matteo Palmieri's *Della Vita civile*—Its relation to Cicero's *De officiis*—Giovanni Battista Giralaldi's *Tre Dialoghi della Vita civile* inserted in the *Hecatommithi*—The *Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa—The same author's *Trattato degli Ufficij comuni tra gli amici superiori e inferiori*—Stefano Guazzo and his *Civil Conversazione*.

We have thus far considered the origin and development of various forms of social entertainment, and, incidentally, we have learned something of society itself and how it was moulded by certain influences foreign and native. It remains now to give, if possible, some more detailed and connected description of those external forms of society known as etiquette, and which, under the covering of many futile conventionalities, still reveal the spirit of the society which adopts them as its laws.

We have already had occasion in the first chapter to allude to the Codes of Love, which, at a very early date, prescribed the method of love-making, and contained many precepts for behavior in general. There were also at the same time works of a broader scope, treating of the various relations of the gentle lady or gentleman to the social world about them. These works were the forerunners of the elaborate treatises on etiquette which we shall study later.

The earliest Provençal *ensenhamen* is by Arnaut de Marueil, who flourished between 1170 and 1200.¹ Besides the usual lyrical poetry of the day, he wrote several love letters, of which style of composition he is probably the inventor, and a didactic poem or *ensenhamen* in six-syllable verse.² This work, 365 lines in length, is of a general nature and contains little that is specific.

The poet begins by saying that it is right that every one should learn from those who know more, and that the wisdom of Solomon, the learning of Plato, and the wit of Virgil, Homer, Porphyry, and others, would not be prized if it had been concealed. The poet therefore reflects how he can do and say what will honor him and be pleasing to the best. He frankly confesses that he is not a scholar, but only gives what he has learned by hearing and seeing, asking and listening. According to his knowledge he will show how one must behave in the world to have good renown.

First of all he who wishes to lead the courteous life must fear and honor God. On all occasions public and private he must learn actions and behavior, manners and bearing, from people both good and bad, and retain the good.

He is wise who studies the proper time to avenge his injuries and reward his friends. Nobility requires one to be humble to the good and haughty to the bad. True nobility is born in the heart. A man may leave lands to his son, but the latter will not have worth if he does not have it from his own heart. Gold and silver will never give worth if one does not have a noble heart. Prowess issues from the heart; that is the best ancestry. Knowledge and learning, wisdom, liberality, and power bestow worth forever.

There are various kinds of worth and honor arising from various kinds of praise. Cavaliers are esteemed, some because they are good warriors, others because they are good table companions; some are esteemed for their service, others for their dress; some are doughty knights, others pleasing courtiers. These qualities are rarely found together, but he who has more of them is more highly esteemed.

¹ See Diez, *Leben der Troubadours*, ed. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1882, p. 103, and Fauriel, *Histoire de la poésie provençale*, Paris, 1847, Vol. II, p. 45.

² Printed in Raynouard, *Choix*, Vol. IV, pp. 405-18, and Mahn, *Werke der Troubadours*, Vol. I, pp. 176-84.

Women likewise are differently esteemed, some for their beauty, others for their worth, some are pleasing, others wise, some well-spoken, others well-mannered. Beauty is very becoming to women, but learning and knowledge are their greatest charm.

So the bourgeois are prized for their rank, pleasant deeds, courtesy, frankness, and cheerfulness. Some are good courtiers and know how to pay suit to ladies, and some know how to dance and joust.

The clerks are next considered. Some are esteemed for their learning, others for their courtesy; some for their eloquence, others for their deeds; some for their goodness, others for their liberality.

No one in the classes above described, lady or knight or clerk, is so perfect as to be without defect.

The poet concludes with a reference to the early days of the world when mankind was at peace and observed moderation and righteousness. Now, however, no one is prized who does not destroy his neighbor. The poet is more grieved for the young than for himself, for he is not dismayed at anything provided God preserves for him his lady who keeps him from all other desires but to obey her. The poem then ends, as is usual in Provençal lyrics, with a direct appeal to the lady herself.

Another work of the kind was produced in the second half of the twelfth century, also by a Provençal poet, Garin li Brun, who is otherwise known only by a single tenzon.³ The details of his life are wholly lacking; the early biography of the poet simply says: "Garin li Brun was a gentle castellan of Veillac, in the bishopric of Puoi-Sainte-Marie, and was a good poet, and instructed women how they should behave. He composed neither *vers* nor *chansos*, but *tenzons*."⁴ Unfortunately the work has not been edited, and is known only by the extracts from it given in Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'Amor*.⁵

"A well-bred lady should welcome every one in her house, but not the bad like the good, for there are many who are so ill-bred

³ The tenzon is printed in Raynouard, *Choix*, Vol. IV, p. 436; Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, 1306; and *Parnasse occitanien*, 367. For Garin li Brun see Bartsch's article in *Jahrbuch für eng. und rom. Lit.*, Vol. III, pp. 399-409, where are reprinted the extracts given in the *Breviari d'Amor*.

⁴ See Mahn, *Biog. der Troub.* 74; and Raynouard, *Choix*, Vol. V, p. 156.

⁵ I have used Azais's edition: *Le Breviari d'Amor de Matfre Ermengaud publié par la Société Archéologique*, etc., de Béziers. Béziers et Paris, no date, 2 vols.

that if they are treated in a friendly way they will make a great talk about it; therefore much should not be done for them, for they can be sufficiently paid with a brief greeting.

"When she goes to church let her companion be such that she shall not be shamed on his account, and let her go straight and gently and make little noise, for it is not good manners for a lady to go quickly through the streets nor to take too long steps lest she become weary by her walking.

"A lady should be cheerful, for with a little cheerfulness she enhances her worth.⁶

"When one visits you, Ladies, and invites you to sit, at the beginning first consider who it is with whom you are speaking. Hear his words and answer him accordingly for from his speech you can judge what reply is befitting him, whether good or bad. For a wise and clever man knows a fool by his speech: a good word said to such is as if buried, for he does not discern it well, or if he does, he forgets it; wherefore a good word should be said to such as enjoy it.

"You should be sparing of speech, for words well weighed will please the most. You should have regard to the occasion, and when it is proper, speak gently and slowly, neither too loud nor too low. Be not so rash as to speak first of any important topic, for you might err. Be not intimate with one who is not a suitable companion for you, nor with those of low degree; a lady who is too intimate with one who is not suitable to her, causes foolish talk and it easily turns out harmful for her.⁷

"According as you see a man let your manner be; when you know his will, let yours be the same. Be gay with the gay and your worth will increase, and courteous to the courteous, and it will be of great profit to you. But with intelligent men you should be quiet: wise behavior you must display, and be careful not to laugh too much and talk folly. Laughter when there is no occasion soon turns to annoyance. There is a time for laughter and a time for thought.

"He who among wise men wishes to speak foolishly, or sensibly among the foolish, is not very intelligent. A fool does not know what to answer one who addresses him with profound wisdom.

⁶ *Breviari, ed. cit.*, II, pp. 523-4.

⁷ *Breviari, ed. cit.*, II, pp. 530-1.

"Let it not seem to you a small gain to honor strangers. Extend then to them a welcome beyond your will, and never show them that you do not wish to do it. For it is a pleasant gain to win friends by good companionship, and no detriment. If a valiant knight parts from you happy, all his life you will be thanked by him."⁸

Finally, courtesy is thus defined: "Courtesy, if you wish to know, is this, that one understands how to speak and act so that he may be loved and not be a source of annoyance. He also may be said to be courteous who can discern folly, and mock what is tiresome; and, what is pleasing to others, divert in a courtly manner. But not every one is courteous: many who are named courteous are arrant rustics. It is easy to speak of courtesy and hard to observe it. Courtesy consists in gentle dress, and in gentle reception, in love and in gentle speech."⁹

Somewhat later is the *ensenhamen* of Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan, a work intended to instruct a noble youth in the courtly life.¹⁰ The poet feigns that he was about to indulge in the pastime of falconry when he met a handsome youth, who appeared buried in his thoughts and who without a word of greeting seized the poet's rein and asked his aid in these words: "Seigneur, by God's mercy I entreat thee to aid me, for I have come from afar to thee to ask counsel, for thou art wise and brave, how I shall prepare myself to love. For I love a lady very fair and good, but nothing that I do seems to please her. The truth I shall tell thee, I wish to love and I do not know how. Have regard for me and consider what I am and what I should be, so that thou mayest be my teacher and instruct me how I shall behave so that she may deign to love me and on no pretext may say me nay."

The poet dismissed his followers and dismounting took the stranger by the hand and invited him to be his guest until the morrow and promised to grant his request if his name warranted it. The stranger straightway told who he was, and the poet after learning it esteemed him a thousand times more than before.

⁸ *Breviari*, ed. cit., II, pp. 536-7.

⁹ *Breviari*, ed. cit., II, pp. 591-2.

¹⁰ Published by Bartsch in his *Provenzalisches Lesebuch*, Elberfeld, 1855, pp. 132-139; partially in Raynouard, *Choix*, Vols. II, pp. 309-309, V, pp. 41-44, and in Galvani, *Osservazioni sulla poesia de' Trovatori*, p. 269. See also Milot, *Histoire litt. des Troub.*, Paris, 1802, Vol. III, pp. 62-76.

He took him to his abode, where there were the diversions of chess and "tables," of singing and of story-telling. There they remained until sunset, when they ate in the great hall and then went to bed. At dawn the priest summoned them to mass, which was followed by dinner. After it the poet and his guest left the hall and entered a garden where they sat down by a laurel, and the poet thus addressed his guest: "Friend, now you shall learn of me what you wished: of wealth or wisdom I shall say nothing, for these are two things of which I think little; but be only joyful, clever, and bold, for these are three good qualities." The poet further declares that he did not begin to love until he had learned all that was to be known of the lovers of olden times from a master of love. This his guest should learn from him, and he proceeds to enumerate some of these lovers and their stories: Paris, Tristan, Aeneas, Ighaure, Iwein, Apollonius of Tyre, and Arthur.

Then follow minute directions about personal cleanliness and neatness in dress. The hair should be worn not too long, the beard and moustaches short. The eyes and hands should be carefully watched, for they are often the messengers of the heart. Foolish glances and gestures should be avoided. One should have two squires, polite and well spoken. They should refrain from gaming when sent on a mission.

Rules then follow for behavior at home. Guests should be treated with hospitality. Refreshment should be given them according to the season, but the host should on no account wait upon them, but leave that to the servants, who should be well trained and not whisper to the master. Food and other necessities should be provided beforehand.

When the youth goes to court he should be liberal in his expenditures and keep open house. No doorkeeper should be stationed to keep out squires or pages, minstrel or beggar. If he games it should be for high play; games of hazard are befitting only to mean men, who throw a hundred times for a penny. He who takes up the dice and puts them down loses his worth. He should not be angry when he loses nor change his place so as to disturb the play. Nor should he show anger in his words; for if he does he will lose favor that very day. Elaborate directions then follow for the choice of a horse and weapons. A cavalier should possess property of his own and not be obliged

to seek what he needs wrongfully or in war. A lady does not want a lover who is thus forced to leave her, but one who can each day increase his worth. Of such a one a lady is not ashamed, rather she is happy and if he asks her for her love she will be quick to respond.

More, however, than wealth should the youth love chivalry, and his heart should be more set upon this than anything else. He should be bold, the last to retreat, the first to attack. Directions are then given for behavior in tournaments. Even if he loses his horse he should not refrain from fighting; if he loses his lance he should draw his sword and not delay to deal such blows that "God, hell, and paradise" may know of them.

With such actions, continues the poet, he has won many fair and worthy ladies, in proof of which he proceeds to enumerate a long list of ladies who apparently have given him their love openly, and concludes by saying that he might tell more, but he does not wish to reveal those who give him their love in secret. The poem ends with the words:

Cavayer, bels amicx,
Cortes e pros e ricx,
Er vuell siatz manens
D'aquestz ensenhamens.

"Cavalier, fair friend, courteous and doughty and lusty, I now wish you to be enriched by these instructions."

The most interesting of the Provençal etiquette books are two *ensenhamens* of the last quarter of the thirteenth century by Amanieu de Sescas, who is known also by two love letters.¹¹ One of the *ensenhamens* has for its object the instruction of a lady; the other, the instruction of a squire or youth.

These works, like those which have just been considered, are narrative in their form; in the first the scene is laid in the month of May, when "the birds are gay and sing in the woods." The poet, who is parted from his mistress, whose beauty he extols,

¹¹ The name of the writer was formerly given as des Escas; it is, however, de Sescas; see *Romania*, I, p. 384. The love letters are in Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, I, p. 499, Mila y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, p. 454 (in *Obras completas*, Barcelona, 1889, Vol. II); Raynouard, *Choix*, V, p. 20; and Mila y Fontanals, *op. cit.*, p. 450. The *ensenhamens* are to be found: the one for the lady, in Bartsch, *Provenzalisches Lesebuch*, pp. 140-148 (a fragment in the same author's *Chrestomathie Provençale*, Elberfeld, 1880, pp. 330-331), and Mila y Fontanals, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-450; the other for a squire, in Bartsch, *Denkmäler der provenzalischen Litteratur*, Stuttgart, 1856, pp. 104-114; and in Mila y Fontanals, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-438.

is plunged in grief at her absence and is thinking how and in what way he can see her. While in this pensive mood he encounters a pleasing maiden, who, after greeting him, takes him by the hand and leads him aside to sit upon a bench. There she asks him to teach her how a maiden should behave so as to avoid mistakes and to win the favor of others. The poet expresses his willingness to serve her and compliments her on her desire for knowledge, which is a sign of wisdom.

The first counsel is to be an early riser, and in this respect to anticipate her mistress so that if she calls she will find her suitably dressed and shod. Before she laces herself she should wash her arms and hands and then lace her sleeves tightly. The finger nails are not to be so long as to show dirt, and the head should be kept cleaner than anything else, for it is seen the most. The teeth should be cleansed every morning. All this should be done before she is seen by any one. She should always have a bright mirror in which to see her color and her face, so that she can correct anything which displeases her about it.

In the morning she should aid her mistress on arising with what she needs, but she should not enter the room until the master has risen, unless she be summoned. Afterwards she may enter to know her mistress' pleasure. If it is her pleasure to rise, aid her properly and prepare her attire before she commands, and bring her before she leaves her bed needle and silk and thread, so that she can adorn herself, and comb her hair, and that with which she may wish to ornament it. The maid should not leave her mistress until she is dressed, and when she has risen she should bring her the mirror to see whether there is anything wrong about lace, band for the hair, or fillet, so that she can repair it. When she is properly attired fresh clear water should be brought her to wash her hands and face, and a fine towel to dry them; and her garments should be carefully examined so that no one can be so sharp-sighted as to correct anything wrong.

Then the maid can enter or leave the hall, and should respond amiably to all who greet her, but not be in haste to speak, or walk except with measured steps.

When she goes to the monastery for service and to hear mass, she should keep her eyes from foolish gazing, bent on the ground or on the altar, and there she should not engage in conversation

or consultation. When she has left the church, however, if she wishes diversion she may take it with those who wish, but not to excess; for noise and uproar are annoying. A noisy maiden is not liked, nor is it becoming, and the most knowing say that it is not good. She should not, if she knows it, wear a skirt or gown or other dress unfastened (*descoszut*).

If she wishes to begin the diversion of *jocx-partitz*,¹² she should not make the subjects discourteous, but agreeable and polite.

At table she should have water placed before her and temper her wine so that it do her no harm, for a maid and youth are of no worth if they overload themselves with wine, and it also gives rise to evil habits which need not be mentioned here. She should not urge her companion nor the others round about to eat, for it is not proper to urge a man who is healthy; but what he has before him he will eat if he pleases. If, however, he has no dish before him, and she should be urgent the invitation will be foolish.

If servants are lacking the maid should help to carve the food before any other lady companion, but if her companion be a gentleman, he will be very ill-bred if he does not help her as well as himself. When the meal is finished and the mistress has risen and washed her hands, the maid should wash hers, for it is a wholesome thing to cleanse one's hands after eating. She should do this in suitable company, and when she takes her seat she should go down so far that of her own will she should not be on the same level as her mistress; if the latter prevents this, the maid should take care to have two ladies or two gentlemen between her and her mistress.

If at that time a gentleman pays her court she should not be shy or curt, but defend herself with pleasant words. If his conversation is tiresome ask him some news: "Which ladies are the fairest, the Gascon or English; which are the more courteous, the truer and better." And if he reply: "The Gascons," answer fearlessly: "Sir, saving your honor, the ladies of England are handsomer than those of any other land." If he says: "The English," reply: "Sir, may it not displease you, the Gascons are fairer." He will thus be involved in a discussion and the maid can invite other companions to decide the dispute.

¹² For *jocx-partitz* see Chapter I, p. 9.

No one who addresses the maid should find her ill-spoken, even if he were the enemy of all her friends; for as a man is esteemed when he is brave against his enemies, so the maid will be prized and praised if she is courteous and gentle, and humble and agreeable to all good people.

She should not be proud or harsh of speech, for she can find other pleasant modes of defence, yea, more than five hundred, without saying anything unseemly and without erring.

If, in order to live joyfully, the maid wish a lover, she should not choose him for his wealth, for wealth is not worth the good will of people. She should choose an agreeable person of good birth. The words in which the lover should proffer his love and the answer the lady should make him are given at length. This passage, however, is of greater importance for the question of mediæval love and may be omitted here. The lady is carefully advised as to her relations to her lover, which are to be purely Platonic.

The lady will be likely to have other suitors: one will entreat her with his glances, another with sighs, another through a messenger, which is a great wrong, for the secret is made known to three. The way in which one of these suitors will address her is also given at length as well as the reply in which she declines the offer of his love. The answer to be given to the one who employs a messenger is also reported in full.

The remainder of the *ensenhamen* is occupied by complimentary references to various ladies of Provence, from whose example the maid who is the object of the poet's instruction can learn every lesson of courtesy.

The scene of the instruction for a squire is laid at Christmas-tide, "when wind blows and rain falls and cold winter appears with snow and ice." The poet was in his comfortable house with his squires speaking of pleasure and of arms and love. The fire was bright and the floors covered with straw, and for their cheer they had wine both red and white. They had just risen from the table when a gentle enamoured youth addressed the poet in these words: "Sir, they say that you know more of Love than any lover ever born, although he be a scholar. You although not a scholar know of Love, how he is born, and whence he comes and how he nourishes those whom he chooses. Wherefore I entreat you to tell me and the others who are in your service

how we can advance among the bad and the good." The poet modestly replies that he wishes he knew as much as the youth declares he does and gently reproves him for his immoderate praise. Still, although he has not as much understanding as is needed, he will comply with the youth's request, for he has seen much of all kinds of people, good and bad, and knows how a wise man can learn of another less wise than himself.

The first instruction is to remember what one hears. The second, to be careful of what company one keeps. Then one should not have a tongue ready to mock or speak ill, for it is a mean trade and shames the one who practices it. Be not deceitful, lying, or treacherous, for God hates every treacherous man. If one wishes to be honored and loved in this world he should be generous, truthful, bold, and well-spoken, and his dress should be neat and handsome, and suitable to his rank. If he cannot have cloth of value he should have well fashioned the poor cloth he has. If he is poor he should at least have good and handsome hose and shoes, belt, purse, and knife. With these he will be well dressed if his hair is properly arranged. He should not wear clothes that are unfastened: it is better to wear those that are torn; the former is a token of ill-breeding, the latter of poverty only. It requires no great knowledge to appear well in what is fine; but he appears neat and courteous who wears well that which is not fine.

He should be a true lover of his lady evening and morning, weeks, months, and years, so that she may ever find him ready to do her will. If he sees any friend of hers anywhere he should be so agreeable to him that the friend may report praise of him to his mistress. Praise engenders love more than anything else. This is so true that a man has fallen in love with a woman whom he has never seen simply from hearing her praised. A woman loves in the same way. Therefore one should strive to be doughty, generous, true and gay, clever and learned, so that people may speak of him and the lady whom he loves may hear of it.

When he sees his lady he should not be backward in telling her how her love has conquered him. If she listen to him he should conceal it so that no one know it, and deny it if anyone assert it. Especially he should not reveal it to a friend no matter how intimate he is, for all the lady's relatives and friends will be angry if it is known, and so the lover will lose both the lady

and her relatives, and no woman will ever henceforth deem him a true lover.

If the lady secretly does her lover's pleasure, he should secretly and without boasting enhance her worth and make her liked by the noblest. "If she causes him jealousy and excuses herself and says that there was nothing in what the lover saw with his own eyes, he should reply: 'Lady, I am sure you tell the truth, but I think I dreamed it.' Grant what is false as well as what is true, and thus you can have her love, provided you are always a courtier and a soldier."

The court is the abode where love and worth live, and one who does not frequent it or neglects it is not wise in love, for one must frequent courts to improve himself. The court is the school of the good, and there we can distinguish the worthy from the bad. There the ignorant and foolish see wisdom and improve, and one grows more courteous and intelligent.

But, continues the poet, I know to my sorrow, that you are not rich enough to follow the court without serving some lord who wishes to visit it. He therefore advises the object of his instruction to serve such a lord as loves honor and fame and ostentation, and who enhances his own worth and that of those who serve him. This lord he should serve as long as he is worthy without disdain day and night. He should not be too proud to kneel while he is a squire, but should serve with good will, so that he may be praised by all who see him and by her whom he loves. He should extol his lord and sound his praises everywhere, at the same time concealing his bad qualities with all his might.

The squire should be careful to attend his master when he retires and when he rises if his presence be needed. There are, however, circumstances when a master can dispense with his squire's presence.

If his master errs the squire should point out his error, but secretly and with good advice. If the squire becomes so intimate with his master that the latter willingly believes him, he should not be a flatterer, or be vexed and jealous if his other companions are preferred to him, for a lord should divide his power among his people, obeying some and advancing others. The lord must win the love of his people in various ways, sometimes by gifts and sometimes by pleasant speech and good cheer.

If the lord has war near by or afar, the squire should have a light, strong, swift horse under seven years old, well trained and obedient to the bit, which he will not need to spur in case of need. Then follow minute directions as to the squire's armor and his behavior in battle.

When the squire's valor is certain, the poet says he will give him as lord a gentle count whom he loves and with whom he is satisfied, Bernard of Astarac, who possesses all the qualities which a doughty knight needs.

The poem concludes with a message which the writer sends to Bernard by the squire whom he has just instructed: "'Amanieu de Sescas, seigneur count, greets you and tells you that your valor has so increased that he has it in his heart and will to serve you ever. And he has commanded me to come to you as to my lord, in order that I may serve you for his sake. And I shall serve you as long as life lasts, loyally and truly while you are a knight.' Thus I wish you to address the valiant count, for I know that in his service you will win worth and her whom a well-taught squire loves so much."

This *ensenhamen* of Amanieu de Sescas was imitated some years later (in 1326) by Lunel de Monteg, who refers to Amanieu by name.¹³ In Lunel's *ensenhamen* the poet, while walking along the road plunged in a revery on account of his lady who had refused to see him for a long time, encounters the squire and leads him home. This is evidently a reminiscence of the beginning of Amanieu's *ensenhamen* for the maid. The squire with the same exaggerated compliments as in Amanieu asks Lunel to instruct him. Lunel contents himself by saying that such sense and such good qualities as the squire ascribes to him are not in him nor even the half, but since the squire has asked him he will willingly consent if he knows anything of the matter.

The squire should first of all choose such a lord as he may have honor from, and after he has been with him two or three months he should not leave him; for, adds the poet, I have heard that one

¹³ Published by Bartsch in his *Denkmäler*, pp. 114-124, and by E. Forestié in *P. de Lunel, dit Cavalier Lunel de Montech*, Montauban, 1891. A review of the latter work may be found in the *Romania*, XXI, pp. 304-306. In Bartsch's *Denkmäler*, p. 101, the *ensenhamen* of Amanieu de Sescas bears the title: "So es l'ensenhamen del escudier que fe aquel meteis dieu d'amors." In Lunel de Monteg (ed. Forestié, p. 35), the squire who wishes to be instructed says: "Those who lived anciently have written many a fine *ensenhamen*, as you well know, and I have heard say that you knew Amanieu who was called the God of Love, how he instructed the maid and the squire."

cannot find any squire good longer than a week. He should have good manners, than which nothing will cause him to be more esteemed and advanced. His dress should be fine and clean and never if possible put in pawn. He should not be lazy, but an early riser, and should first care for his horse, for which elaborate directions are given. This care is for the winter; somewhat different is that for the summer.

The lord will give the squire an account of his own horse's peculiarities; so it is needless to dwell on that. The squire should not be irritable or fastidious. He should be on good terms with his master's household and not interfere unless something is done to the lord's harm or his family's. He should let his deeds show his valor and not be vain and boastful. He should not be deceitful, quarrelsome, or talkative, for great quarrels and tumults arise from slanderers.

The squire should not frequent taverns, or anywhere pursue wine, women, and gaming. He should avoid bad company and be careful not to indulge too freely in drink, for he would lose his good name at once. He should be careful of his relations to the women of the household, and above all to his master's wife. If at home he should look out for the house, and know how to prepare dinner if necessary. At the table he should not sit down or eat until he has served his master, unless otherwise commanded; and he should not take counsel with the others or be surly, which is worse. If it is fitting for him to cheer the others he should do it politely and without grumbling. He should be of a cheerful disposition and if sent anywhere should not say: "If you send me, Lord, I cannot find what you wish." Such a one would seem full of sloth.

Further, the squire should be loyal and true to his lord, and careful of his money, so that if a reckoning is demanded his accounts may be found correct. He should not concede any of his master's rights to anyone if it might be said that he had done it by deceit. He should avoid as much as possible the rôle of messenger. He should arm his master in case of need, and see that his horse is ready. He should be a pleasant companion to his lord and a ready servant.

The squire should not change masters often, and should only depart when it is to his detriment to remain. He should not speak ill of a master whom he has left, nor associate himself with his enemies. In this matter he should follow a happy mean.

He should bring news pleasantly and never return home in anger. Thus he will earn the money which was left to every good squire whom one can find.

The poet concludes with the words: "I shall be glad if you are such a squire, and you will be, for I firmly believe you have retained in your mind what I have told you; but now it is time for us to enter the castle and dine, for we have had a profitable talk. After we had dined he rendered me a hundred thanks and went away to the duchy which the French had besieged and which the English held.¹⁴ Wherefore I remind you that this poem was made in the month of September as men count MCCCXXVI."

It will be seen that while Lunel de Monteg's *ensenhamen* is an imitation of Amanieu's, it is not a slavish copy.

The most extensive of all the Provençal *ensenhamens* is by an Italian poet, Sordello of Mantua, immortalized by Dante.¹⁵ It was composed about 1240 and comprises 1327 verses of eight syllables and bears the title *Documentum honoris*.

Although Sordello's *ensenhamen* is the longest, it is the least interesting of all, owing to its vague and general character. It is a moral treatise on the life of a lady or gentlemen of rank, with but few directions of a particular nature. The poet indulges in

¹⁴ There is a lacuna in the version in Bartsch's *Denkmäler*, p. 124, l. 6, which reads:

Vas lo duguat
Que pog . . . W. assetjat
Avian Frances.
Lo cal tenio los Angles.

This lacuna is conjecturally filled by Forestié as follows:

Vas lo Duguat,
Que Pog W(ilhem) assetait

and he translates the passage in question as follows: "et puis s'en alla vers le Duché où Pech-Guilhem assiégué par les Français, était defendu par les Anglais." He says in a note: "L'interlocuteur de Cavalier Lunel se rendait dans le duché de Guyenne pour prendre part à la guerre dite des Bâtards ou de Gascogne." Of the place in question he says: "Puyguilhem en Perigord: Alfonse d'Espagne, seigneur de Lunel, lieutenant du Roi de France en Languedoc, fut chargé de la direction de cette campagne de 1326 contre les Anglais qui, de connivance avec certains bâtards de la noblesse gasconne, attaquaient les châteaux du Roi. Cette campagne commença en juillet 1326 par le siège de Tonneins. Le siège de Puyguilhem s'ouvrit vers le 20 août et finit vers le 15 septembre."

¹⁵ See *Vita e Poesie di Sordello di Goito*, per Cesare de Lollis, Halle, 1896 (*Romanische Bibliothek*, XI), and Palazzi, *Le poesie inedite di Sordello*, Venice, 1887. The latter work has given rise to an extensive polemic, for which see the bibliography in V. Crescini, *Sordello*, Verona, 1897, Nota at end of work.

many melancholy reflections upon the corrupt state of the world and the decline of virtue.

Four things must be well done to win esteem: armor must be kept in good order; hauberk, likewise; if the lord is absent guests must be willingly served; and faith must be kept in word and deed. Every one should show what is good in himself and conceal what is bad. Borrowed money should be repaid, for debts are a heavy burden.

One must be master of his wealth and use it for gifts and expenses. Whoever praises wealth for other reasons should be termed its slave. Secret giving should be commended, and true friendship requires one to neglect his own affairs for his friend's.

No one who loves true merit should speak ill of three things: women, poor knights, and minstrels. "How can one disparage women whom one ought to love, honor, and prize, or a poor knight whom one ought to advance and welcome, or a minstrel who is dependent upon the bounty of others?"

It cannot be said that nobility arises from gentle birth alone, for the gentle born are often bad and the bourgeois worthy and honored; but a noble and gentle heart is the master of all good deeds.

One must be moderate in his expenditures; immoderate expenditure brings no praise but only ruin. It is not enough to do what is to one's honor and profit; one must also know how to avoid his dishonor and loss.

Above all, he who wishes to rule with good sense, must endeavour every day to know the world and not to allow it to know him. "A man is not wise, in truth, if he does not often pretend that what pleases him is displeasing, and what is displeasing is pleasing."

No one should come to a decision in an important matter when he is in great joy or great anger; for when one is in this state his judgment is not well tempered.

It is a wonder how any cowardly and covetous knight can dare pay suit to a good woman, or how she can listen to him; for he is no more than half a knight. No one can be complete in love unless he is bold and generous. A woman can have no more esteem or honor than her lover has worth.

It is very needful, then, that a woman consider well whom she will love, for she might love one for whose sake she would lose

her worth and injure her body; but she does not for a worthy knight, if they love without deceit. A worthy lady does not err if she loves such a knight, provided they know how to observe such love as is proper. A woman should hold to one if she wishes to love, and consider well which she shall choose, for after she has chosen him she cannot abandon him any more than a wife can her husband. Marriages have been dissolved on account of relationship; but nothing but death or fatal fault can dissolve love.

A worthy woman who wishes to rule well must at times be blind, deaf, and dumb. She must be dignified with her intimate friends and friendly to strangers.

The poet in conclusion excuses himself for not having practiced what he preaches; but he has done all with good intention. His motive has been to earn the gratitude of the worthy and somewhat to display his own wisdom. If he wished to extend his *ensenhamen* he could easily do so; for he is far from having exhausted his arguments and authorities. If he has displayed anything in his *ensenhamen* which is pleasing to people, if he has said or done anything good, it is all due to Lady Agradiva, with whose praise the poem ends.

Such is a brief résumé of this long and tiresome production, which throws but little light on the manners and customs of mediæval society.

One other Provençal *ensenhamen* remains to be noticed. It is by an unknown author and is contained in a manuscript of the Libri collection sold a few years ago by Lord Ashburnham to the Italian government. It has not yet been published and I know it only by the brief account of it given by P. Meyer in the *Romania*, Vol. XIV, pp. 519-20. He says: "This *ensenhamen*, which is composed of some hundred verses, resembles very little those by Garin li Brun, Arnaut de Marueil or Amanieu de Sescas. On the contrary it is quite like, so far as substance goes, the *Contenance de Table*, of which Monmerqué has published three very different versions at the end of Madame de Saint-Surin's work entitled *L'Hôtel de Cluny au moyen âge*." One of these versions has been printed in Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1855, Vol. I, pp. 186-193, which I shall examine later.

The brief extract given by Meyer runs as follows: "When you are at table bless the food with the sign of the cross. Before

eating remember the poor and help them, for one should give to God the flower of his feast, the best, for he will serve God more in thanksgiving than he does with the food. When you are eating at table take care not to laugh immoderately, for one who does this is soon mocked. Do not eat until you see the others begin. Do not talk too much at table over your food. Whoever does this is deemed silly and under the influence of wine. Take care with whom you eat and how you should behave."

The *ensenhamen* concludes with the words: "Do not forget for your good, if you love and believe in God, to give him praise when you rise from the table. Every one will take pattern by you and cease to do evil and learn to do good."^{15a}

If we turn now to French literature we shall find a number of poems extending back to the thirteenth century, which give instructions as to the conduct of life. Some of these are general moral treatises, and some are devoted to a particular class, or to some restricted branch of etiquette, as table manners. There is no one which gives general instructions in all branches of etiquette for both sexes. We shall examine these works rapidly, beginning with an Anglo-Norman poem found in manuscripts at Cambridge and Oxford.¹⁶ It is 185 lines in length and in the Cambridge version the compiler is named Urbane. In the Oxford manuscript the work bears the title: *L'Apprise de Nurture* (The Teaching of Breeding). The compiler, "a wise man of great worth, who formerly lived in honor, devised this for his son, and showed him of his good sense and said: Dear son, now listen, if I speak anything good, give ear to it. I wish to teach you breeding while you are of tender age, for I tell you truly that without breeding one is of little worth."

In the first place, serve God and heed the Church. Honor father and mother and you will have grace, health, and long

^{15a} There is a Provençal *ensenhamen* relating to table manners which I have not been able to see: *Cortesie da tavole in latino e provenzale*. Per Nozze Cassin-D'Ancona, Pisa, tip. Mariotti, 1893. The notice of this work by F. N[ovati] in the *Giornale storico*, XXI, 446-7, refers briefly and exclusively to the Latin text, which N. says is a *rifacimento* of the one published by him in *Carmina Medii Aevi* (*Operette inedite o rare*, No. 4). "Il secondo testo (i.e., the Provençal) è tolto dal Cod. Asburn. 40, zibaldone del secolo xiv., messo insieme da un Pietro de Serras avignonese, raccoglitore zelante, ma ignorante assai, di svariate scritture."

¹⁶ Referred to in *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1880, p. 73, *Romania*, XV, 284, and published by Frederic Spencer in *Modern Language Notes*, 1889, pp. 101-106.

life. The good youth should stand before his master at eating; he should not "apiler ne apouer," nor scratch himself, nor laugh nor be surly, nor make sport of any one. He will be attentive to the service and will not eat before the others. When the good people are seated, and he has given them bread, he should place before them cups of ale to set them at their comfort, then soup, and afterwards other dishes. Then he should go around the table and cheer the guests with his courteous and cheerful aspect. After the meal water should be given to the barons and knights kneeling. He should also kneel while his lord and lady drink.

The youth should learn to speak well before people as breeding requires. If he does not know "language" and will not learn it, one might say in his presence things of great evil and dishonor to him.

If in the course of his walks he meets great or small, he should open his mouth and greet them politely. If he goes about like a deaf man and makes no reply he will be accused of being disdainful and ill-bred.

If any present, great or small, is given him, he should receive it kneeling, and return thanks politely. He should not forget his benefactors, and should repay them when he has the power.

He should not speak rudely to man, woman, or child, nor be disdainful to any one.

For his honor's sake he should avoid loose women, gaming, and bad company. He who frequents loose women and taverns will soon waste his money.

If he becomes rich he should not be arrogant, nor bear himself too simply, but courteously as his honor demands. He should not be too proud, for pride reigns awhile and great shame follows.

At the table of another he should not speak too much lest he be taken for a foolish person. He should not blame the food set before him, but take it willingly and eat and drink what he finds.

If he marries, he should choose a wise woman so that he may not repent of his marriage. He should love his wife and not covet the wife of another. If he has children he should teach them good trades so that they may defend their lives from poverty.

If he becomes poor he should not be too sorrowful, for Christ sends all people these reverses. Those who hope in Him He afterwards cheers. Therefore he should pray God and thank his grace.

If the object of the instruction has acquired a friend he should never do him despite for any foolish pleasure. He should heartily love his friend.

If any one commits a wrong against him he should not take vengeance with sword or lance, but send good people to the offender and urge him to make amends. If any one asks counsel of him, he should give it according to the law, in good faith, without flattery, that he may some day be grateful for it.

He should not promise what he has not, for fair promises and no gifts are a poor comfort.

If he goes to law he must answer in court according to the law without threats.

From the rich he should take gifts, and aid the poor for God's sake. The wealth which he amasses he should expend wisely and not in bad company.

We often see foolish people sell their lands and convert all their property into ready money which they spend in clothing and feasting women who afterwards mock those who did them such honor.

The poem concludes with the words: "As long as the purse lasts you can have woman's love; when the purse is shut you will have woman's scorn. Dear son, I beg you, be well warned against this. More I shall not tell you now, but I commend you to God."

Of the same century is the *Doctrinal de Courtoisie*, which differs little from the *Doctrinal Sauvage*, so called from the name of the author.¹⁷ The latter has been published by A. Jubinal in *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux*, etc., Paris, 1842, Vol. II, pp. 150-161.

The poem is entirely general in its nature. Bad company should be avoided. The poor should not be despised. One should be true to his friend, hospitable, not given to backbiting. The vassal should be loyal to his lord. One should not be curious, nor find fault with good men.

¹⁷ The *Doctrinal de Courtoisie* has not yet been edited and I know it only from the notice in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIII, p. 238.

Special instructions are given in regard to three classes: the great, the poor, and the rich. The first should honor God, the Virgin, and the Church, render justice impartially, not allow their bailiffs to rule harshly. They should be liberal in their expenditures and not forget the poor; be of cheerful look, and dress handsomely. The poor should acquire learning and strive after such good qualities that they can win honor and wealth. He who cannot acquire wealth should love God so that he may enter Paradise. If he becomes rich he should remember the poor.

Finally, the rich should wear fine robes, have a brilliant retinue and bestow rich gifts, and assume a fierce look to make themselves feared. They may afterwards indulge in proper amusements. They should not be forgetful of the Church, but should do all they can for its advancement. They should avoid all base sins, and give ear to no vile word. "If a man leads such a life, and can thus bring it to a close, in my opinion, he will save his soul."

Of a general nature also is the *Roman des Ailes* by the Belgian *trouvère* Raoul de Houdenc, who flourished at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century.¹⁸ The poem in question was published by A. Scheler in *Trouvères Belges, Nouvelle série*, Louvain, 1879, pp. 248-271.

The two "wings" from which the poem (six hundred and sixty lines of eight-syllable verse) takes its name are the two wings of Prowess: Liberality and Courtesy, without which it cannot mount high. Liberality is the right wing, and Courtesy the left, and each wing has seven feathers. The seven feathers of Liberality are: Boldness in giving, Indifference to wealth, Liberality to rich and poor, Observance of promises, Promptness in giving, Giving largely, and Hospitality.

The seven feathers of Courtesy are: Reverence for the Church, Humility, Avoidance of boasting, Cheerfulness, Freedom from envy, Freedom from faultfinding and slander, Friendship and Love. The poem concludes with a long comparison (lines 511-632) of Love to the rose, to wine, and to the sea.¹⁹

¹⁸ See *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXX, p. 46.

¹⁹ Another similar poem is mentioned by Gaston Paris in his *Vie de Saint Alexis*, Paris, 1872, p. 210, in describing the MS. 12471 (Anc. Suppl. fr. 632^a). A part of its contents, fol. 11, vo. A, is a work entitled, *C'est li roumans du Vilainnengouste*. After citing a few lines at the beginning and the end, Paris says: "Ce poème est une sorte de doctrinal de courtoisie, comme on en possède plusieurs. Les paragraphes commencent souvent par cette formule: Vilainnengouste dit. Le même ouvrage se retrouve sans titre dans un ms. de Turin: voy. Scheler, *Notice et extraits*, p. 86."

A work on special etiquette is the *Ordre de Chevalerie*, ascribed to Hue de Tabarie, a follower of Godfrey of Bouillon in the first Crusade.²⁰ The poem is really of the thirteenth century and is a work of historical fiction. The supposed writer, Hue de Tabarie, is represented as captured in a battle by Saladin, who demands from him a ransom of a hundred thousand bezants. Hue declares that he cannot raise this sum, and Saladin gives him permission to return to France and obtain it, under promise of returning as a prisoner in case he fails to do so. Before he departs, however, Saladin insists on knowing how the order of knighthood is conferred. Hue refuses to inform him on the ground that he, Saladin, has not been baptized and is not a Christian. At last Hue yields to the sultan's imperative command and causes Saladin to be duly bathed and clothed and invested with the order of knighthood, after fully explaining to him the meaning of the various ceremonies.

When he has finished, the grateful sultan allows him to free ten of his companions who are in captivity, and to raise his own ransom from the fifty emirs of Saladin by asking each of them for a gift.

The most interesting and valuable of the mediæval treatises on etiquette is also of a somewhat special character. It was designed for the instruction of a lady, and was composed by Robert of Blois, a trouvère who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century.²¹ The work is entitled *Le Chastement des Dames* and is 1099 lines in length in the usual eight-syllable verse.

The author states at the beginning that his object is to teach women how they should behave "in their going and in their coming, in their speech and in their silence." If a woman talks too much she is blamed, and on the other hand if she does not know

²⁰ Published by Barbazan and Méon in *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1808, Vol. I, pp. 59-79. There is now an excellent modern edition by an American scholar, Professor R. T. House, in *University of Oklahoma Bulletin*, Feb. 1, 1919, "L'Ordene de Chevalerie; an old French Poem. Text, with Introduction and Notes."

²¹ See *Romania*, XVI, p. 1 *et seq.* for a list of his works, and on p. 30 a reference which serves to date them; *Romania*, XVII, p. 282, and XVIII, p. 207. For Robert de Blois and his works see *Hist. litt. de la France*, Vols. XVI, pp. 29, 30, 175, 219, and XXIII, pp. 735-749. The *Chastement des Dames* is printed in Barbazan et Méon, Vol. II, pp. 184-209. It was later inserted by the author in his romance of *Beudois*; and appears in the recent edition of Robert of Blois by Ulrich: *Robert von Blois sämtliche Werke zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Jacob Ulrich*, Bd. iii, Berlin, 1895, pp. 57-78.

how to address people she is less esteemed. She should welcome in a courteous way the coming and the going and should not be diverted from this by the fact that some are boastful and misinterpret her actions.

When she goes to the church or elsewhere, she should be careful not to "trot or run," but go straight with proper steps, not too much in advance of her company. She should not linger on the way but look straight ahead. Those whom she meets she should greet politely; it does not cost much and the one who willingly greets others is more esteemed.

A woman should not allow any man besides her husband to take liberties with her. She should likewise be careful of her glances, and not often look at a man unless she bears him love. When women often look at a man he is apt to think it arises from love. This is not strange, for "the eyes are the messengers of Love."

If any one sues for a lady's love she should not boast of it. A woman should conceal her love for she does not know what may happen in the future.

A woman should be careful of her dress and not display her person too freely.

Gifts should be avoided except from relatives, in that case a girdle, knife, purse, clasp; or ring may be accepted if the donor's intention is good. But valuable gifts secretly bestowed should be refused.

A woman should refrain from scolding, swearing, and gluttony. Veils should be worn only on certain occasions, as when riding, etc. A woman should unveil her face when she enters the church.

Directions are then given for those who are pale or have a bad breath.

At church a woman should be very circumspect, for there are many there to notice her.

If the lady can sing she should do so at the right time and place, but if she sings too much she can make her accomplishment too cheap. She should not refuse to sing when asked to do so in company.

The hands should be kept very clean, and the nails often cut. They should not project beyond the flesh so as to accumulate dirt. Affability and neatness are better than beauty.

When a lady passes before another's house she should not stop and look in. If she wishes to enter she should cough or speak at the door to make known her approach.

At the table a lady should guard against laughing or speaking too much. If she eats with another she should put the daintiest morsels before him and not choose the finest or largest for herself. She should take care not to eat a morsel too large or too hot: in one case she might strangle, in the other burn her mouth.

When she drinks she should wipe her mouth, but not her eyes or her nose. She should not be too liberal if she eats at the table of another, for it is not courtesy to be lavish of another's property. She should not find fault with the food placed before her; if she does not like it, she need not eat it; for that she will not be blamed.

A woman should not be guilty of the great vice of lying. No one will love or serve a woman who is accustomed to lie. A worthy man would rather be wounded than convicted of falsehood. Neither God nor men love a liar, and the mouth that utters falsehoods slays the soul.

The writer in verses 559-749 takes up the question of a lady's behavior to a suitor. Many a lady, he says, when her love is sought is so confused that she does not know what to say or how to conceal her love. She consequently remains silent and injures herself, for if she does not know how to conceal her love her suitor may think her won too easily and depreciate her worth. As health is sweeter after illness, and fair weather after rain, so is love that is not won too easily. The writer then gives an imaginary dialogue between the lover and his lady, as well as a *chanson* in which the suitor expresses his sorrow. The lady's answer is then given at length.

The remainder of the poem (lines 750-1099) is a brief treatise on Love, which need not detain us here as it properly belongs in another place.²²

The work concludes with impressing upon lovers the two greatest courtesies that one can know: one is love, the other giving. A lover should conceal his love unless it be to a friend whose truth and loyalty he has tested.

Among the works which we are now considering one is of much importance for the history of mediæval culture, although

²² Chapter I, p. 7.

its very general character takes it out of the class of treatises on Etiquette. I allude to the *Quatre Ages de l'Homme* by Philippe de Navarre, who was born at the close of the twelfth century and died between 1261 and 1264. He early went to the Orient and was present at the siege of Damietta in 1218, and afterwards entered the service of the kings of Cyprus, becoming one of the most powerful and honored lords of that island.²³

The work in question was written at the close of the author's life and is a moral treatise on the four ages of man. Minute directions are given for the early training and education of children. There is not space here to cite this at length, but the part relating to woman may be briefly referred to as it will serve as a *pendant* to the work of Robert de Blois just examined.

Philippe says (p. 14) that all who have charge of females in their infancy should teach them that they should be under command and subjection; that they should not be bold in speech or in evil deeds; that they should not be gadabouts nor beggars, nor covetous nor spendthrifts. They should learn some trade in childhood, and should know how to spin and sew. A woman should not learn reading or writing, unless she intends to be a nun, for much harm has come to women from reading and writing (p. 16). They should avoid bad company. They should be taught to preserve a fair and simple countenance; their looks should be quiet and gentle, not bent too fixedly, nor too high nor too low, but straightforward. They should not lean out of windows and should pass quietly before people.

When they are at marriages or other festivals, they should be taught not to be too free of speech, or too familiar, or too awkward. It is better to be a little scornful in manner and haughty, than to be too easy, especially to those who surround them and make a pretext of serving them. It is very becoming in a woman to speak little; for in speaking too much one often utters folly.

A noble thing is a woman well bred and of good manners. This should be willingly learned and remembered, for many a poor maiden has been chosen and called to be a rich lady and nobly married on account of her good fame.

Women have great advantage over men in one respect: a man to be deemed good must be courteous and liberal and bold

²³ See the preface to Marcel de Fréville's edition of the *Quatre Ages de l'Homme* in the *Société des anciens textes français*, Paris, 1888.

and wise; a woman if she guard well her body can hold her head up everywhere and all her other faults are hidden. Hence daughters do not need so much instruction as sons. What has been said above will suffice if they learn and perform it.

In the fourteenth century we find an interesting Catalan *Book of Courtesy*, translated, or rather, adapted from an earlier Latin poem incorrectly attributed to John de Garlandia, who flourished about 1230.²⁴ The Latin poem is in distichs, 510 lines in length. A large portion of it, lines 131 to 384, is occupied with an *Art of Love* in imitation of Ovid's, and need not detain us now. Lines 385-438 contain advice in regard to friendship, and lines 439 to the end, 510, give instruction concerning the professions of judge, physician, soldier, and the state of old age.

The first 130 lines only concern us here. The subjects of the instruction are: "the clerk and layman, the old man, boy and youth, the knight and common soldier. Truthfulness is insisted upon, although the truth is not to be spoken at all times. It is the height of rudeness to utter foul words. One should praise others moderately, but the wise man never praises himself. One should speak little and that well considered. Pride should be avoided, but mildness should be cultivated. Every one should be studious in his own profession so that he may be learned in it. Idleness is to be shunned. Liberality is to be displayed on the proper occasion, according to one's means. The body should be adorned, but not in a way unsuitable to one's profession. The wealthy may dress well and live shrewdly as to food and drink. The art of writing should be cultivated so that one may live by his learning. The clerk should be docile, associate with the old, be chaste, studious, learn without ceasing, be attentive to the sacred service, observant of his vows. His robe should cover his feet, he should not frequent spectacles, and should walk with gravity. If he has means, he should not be sparing of them. When he is old he should admonish the people to observe what is seemly.

The layman is next instructed. When a child, his tutor, if his father is dead, should provide for his studies. In his tender

²⁴ The Catalan version as well as the Latin original were published for the first time by A. Morel-Fatio in the *Romania*, XV, pp. 192-235. See the article on John Garland in *Dict. Nat. Biography*, Vol. XX, pp. 436-439. See also Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits*, XXVII, Pt. II, 15-20, "Notices sur les œuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garlande."

years he should learn to love books, whether he may like letters so as to become a clerk, or may wish to become a physician, doctor, scribe, or poet.

If he is to become a soldier, he should learn horsemanship, first serving as squire, and grow inured to hardship. He who wishes to become a merchant should first learn to know money, and explore lands fit for trade.

If a youth desires to learn other mechanic (*fabriles*) arts, he should be industrious, for he who is instructed in his youth will be better skilled in his trade. It is hard to learn what one does not like, but nature fortunately has created many trades and endowed men with many gifts.

The joys of life, however, should not be sacrificed for study. All should rejoice at festal seasons or other proper times. Then the youth should dance and sing and indulge in love, "without which there are no joys." But all this should be done in the proper season.

The youth should see that his hair is not black, for that color is more suitable for the old. His brow should be uncovered, the hair being deftly cut and confined behind the ears. Long hair is unbecoming a man, and is more often cultivated by women. His dress should not be so long as to impede his movements. The feet and legs should not be incased in loose boots (*caligis*), but in shoes (*sotulariis*); still, all things should be done according to the custom of the country, and he should not be the only one to do what every one else avoids.

Among the joyful the youth should rejoice, and sympathize with the sorrowful if he is in their company. Association with the old is instructive, and he who fears to be bad should go with the good. He should honor all and scorn none, although it be a poor man. He should give place to his betters, and incline to the old, always honoring them with cheerfulness. Among his betters he should speak little, and revolve long in his mind what he does speak. His feet should often tend to the abode of the wise and he should note attentively what is spoken there. Then follow the instructions in the art of love already alluded to.

The Catalan version is 1743 lines in length and is in eight-syllable verse, rhyming in couplets. It will be seen at once that it is much longer than the original. The first 130 lines of the

the favorite diversion of the sixteenth century. None of the various introductions written in imitation of Boccaccio compare in interest with that of the *Decameron*, although some are entertaining and even valuable for our present purpose.³⁵ After a time the various *motifs* were pretty well exhausted and writers were compelled either to publish their *novelle* as independent stories without any connection whatever, or to devise some other scheme for introducing them to the reader. The most natural one was to dedicate each story to some person and prefix a dedicatory letter, sometimes of an entirely general and perfunctory nature, but sometimes giving an account of the origin of the *novella*. The latter method was followed by the greatest of Italian novelists after Boccaccio, and thanks to him we have an invaluable account of Italian society in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Matteo Bandello was born at Castelnuovo in the Milanese, of a wealthy and noble family.³⁶ The date of his birth is not known, but it was towards the end of the fifteenth century. His family

³⁵ Some of these, viz.: Straparola's *Le Piacevoli Notti*, Scipione Bargagli's *I Trattenimenti*, Fortini's *Novelle*, and Ascanio de Mori's *Giuoco Piacevole* will be mentioned in Chapter VI. There is no good monograph on the Italian Novel, that of Dr. Marcus Landau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des italienischen Novelle*, Vienna, 1875, being singularly superficial and defective.

³⁶ Materials for Bandello's life may be found in Mazzuchelli, reprinted in *Novelle del Bandello*, London, 1791-93, Presso Riccardo Bancker, Vol. I, p. iii (this edition of Bandello by Gaetano Poggiali is a reprint of the rare first edition of Lucca, 1554 and Lyons, 1573, Part IV, and is the one I shall cite in this chapter); and especially in the *Nuova Antologia*, Vols. 125, 126 (1892), "Vita italiana in un novelliere del Cinquecento" by E. Masi. A general account of Bandello and his novels may be found also in J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, Italian Literature*, Part II, New York, 1882, pp. 63-78. For Bandello's relations to Isabella d'Este see Luzio-Renier in *Giornale storico*, Vol. XXXIV (1899), "Coltura e relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este," pp. 77 et seq. There is a more accessible edition of Bandello's *Novelle* in the *Raccolta di novellieri italiani*, published by Piomba at Turin, 1853. The *novelle* of Bandello occupy four volumes. The publisher does not mention the edition followed by him, but it is probably the one of London, 1791-93, which, it may be said, was really published at Leghorn and edited by Gaetano Poggiali.

These editions have now been superseded by the edition in the *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1910-12: *Matteo Bandello. Le Novelle*, a cura di Gioachino Brognoligo, five volumes.

Two articles similar to those of Masi in the *Nuova Antologia* mentioned above are to be found in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vols. 108 (1902), pp. 324-367; 109 (1902), pp. 83-106, by H. Meyer, "Matteo Bandello nach seinen Widmungen." These articles as well as those of Masi deal largely with the personal history of Bandello and with the general history of his times. Neither dwells to any extent on the topics in which I am interested, viz., the social observances of the day. I have not been able to see several of the works cited by Brognoligo in the *Nota* at the

were adherents of Ludovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, and when he was dispossessed by the French in 1499, lost their property by confiscation. His uncle, Vincenzio Bandello, was prior of the Dominican convent delle Grazie in Milan, well known to travellers as containing in the refectory Leonardo da Vinci's famous painting of the Last Supper, and became in 1501 general of the whole Dominican order. Matteo was placed as a child with his uncle in the convent at Milan and pursued his studies there and at Genoa and Pavia until 1505, when he accompanied his uncle to Rome, visiting Florence on the way. In 1508 he was at the court of Louis XII at Blois engaged in some diplomatic service. In 1509 he published his first work, a Latin translation of Boccaccio's novel of *Tito e Gisippo* (x, 8). He remained in the service of the Bentivoglia family until 1512, when that family lost forever their lordship of Bologna, in consequence of the battle of Ravenna. Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico il Moro, was proclaimed Duke of Milan. Three years later Louis XII died and was succeeded by Francis I, who immediately undertook the reconquest of Milan. The victory of Marignano on the 13th of September, 1525, amply compensated for the defeat of Ravenna, and again the duchy of Milan fell into the hands of the French. The partisans of Maximilian were banished, and among them was Bandello, who transferred his allegiance to the court of Mantua, where he enjoyed the patronage of the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga and his wife Isabella, already well known to our readers as the sister-in-law of the Duchess of Urbino.³⁷

He had become acquainted with the Marchesa Isabella at Milan, either when she was present at the marriage of her sister Beatrice to Ludovico il Moro in 1490,³⁸ or in 1513 at the court of Maximilian. It is the court of Mantua or the minor courts connected with it which Bandello describes in the prefaces to his novels, which afford such precious materials for the history of Italian society during this period.

end of the last volume of his edition, pp. 348-349. Apparently the articles by Masi mentioned above have been published in book-form: *Matteo Bandello, o la vita italiana in un novelliere del Cinquecento*, Bologna, 1900. For Bandello in English see Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 41, No. 26.

³⁷ See Luzio-Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

³⁸ Ludovico il Moro married Beatrice, daughter of Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, in 1490. She died Jan. 2, 1497, leaving two sons, Maximilian and Francesco.

lines in length, and is in stanzas of four lines of Alexandrine verse, rhyming in couplets.²⁸

The poet introduces himself in the first stanza: "Fra Bonvesin de la Riva, who dwells in the town of Legnano, here tells of the courtesies of the table; of fifty courtesies which should serve at the table Fra Bonvesin now speaks to you anew. The first is to think of the poor, for when thou feedest the poor, thou feedest thy Shepherd, who will feed thee after death in eternal bliss." The second courtesy relates to the manner of offering water for the hands; the third cautions against haste in taking a place from which one may be turned out. The fourth courtesy consists in blessing the food with the sign of the cross; the fifth, in sitting properly at the table in suitable attitude, dress, and aspect. The sixth forbids to lean on the table or stretch one's arms upon it.

One should be temperate in eating, not too hasty, nor fill the mouth too full. He should speak little, and swallow his food before he drinks. He should not pass the cup to one within whose reach it is unless requested. When the cup is taken, it should be held in both hands and the mouth wiped before drinking. Even if one does not wish to drink, if the cup is offered him he must accept it. Intoxication should be avoided. One should not rise from his place to greet a newcomer. One should not suck his food from his spoon, like a beast eating its fodder. When one sneezes or coughs he should turn his face aside.

Blame not the dishes when you are at a banquet, but say they are all good. The author adds: "I have found many guilty of this bad custom, saying, This is ill cooked, or, This is ill salted."

It is impossible to follow Bonvesin in the minute rules for behavior which follow. The poem thus concludes: "The following [xlix.] courtesy is, When you have eaten see that Jesus Christ is glorified in it. He who receives service from any well-wishing person if he does not thank him is very ungrateful. The fiftieth afterwards is, Finally, wash the hands, then drink some good wine. The hands may be washed a little after the banquet and cleansed from grease and dirt."

English Text Society. There is also a reprint of the Berlin MS. used by Bekker, in Monaci's *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, Fasc. secondo, Città di Castello, 1897, pp. 399-404.

²⁸ Usually in Bonvesin's Alexandrines the same rhyme is preserved in all four lines of the stanza.

We have already seen, at the close of Chapter I, that Francesco da Barberino played an important part in introducing into Italy the social diversions of the South of France. His works are properly speaking treatises on Etiquette, and as such demand our more extended consideration in this place. I shall examine first the *Reggimento e costume di donna*, which although not completed until after the *Documenti d'Amore* was begun at an earlier date.²⁹

The work commences with a *Proemio*, in which Madonna, an allegorical figure,³⁰ declares to the author that she had recently spoken with Honesty and at the request of many other ladies had lamented with her over the fact that many had written works on good manners for men, but not for women.³¹ Then Madonna begged Honesty for her own honor and that of her companion Courtesy, to deign to speak with Industry and devise some way by which another lady named Eloquence should speak of the subject and have her words written down. Honesty replied that she was willing to fulfil her behest, but that no one of the Virtues could write a book so that the human intellect could read it. It would be better therefore that Madonna should find some one to write, and the Virtues would entrust to one of their number the whole matter, and inform the writer so that he

²⁹ A. Thomas, *Francesco da Barberino*, Paris, 1883, p. 72, concludes that the author before departing for France (in 1309) had worked on the *Reggimento* and brought it to a very advanced stage of completion. This was at Padua in 1308. His long stay in France until 1313 resulted, from a literary point of view, in the composition of the *Documenti*, but not their completion. The first months of his return to Italy were devoted to this task, and it was upon its completion that he resumed work on the *Reggimento* and finished it. The *Reggimento* was first published by G. Manzi in 1815, at Rome, in a very unsatisfactory manner, from a copy made in 1667 of the sole manuscript of the work in the Barberini library at Rome. Manzi's edition was reprinted by Silvestri, Milan, 1842, without any improvement. Finally in 1875, Count Carlo Baudi di Vesme published the first adequate edition in the *Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua*, Bologna. In the original manuscript, unfortunately now lost, each division of the work began with a miniature explained in the following verse. In the unique manuscript in the Barberini library these miniatures are not reproduced, but space is left for them, and in the edition last cited their place is also indicated.

³⁰ Interpreted by some to denote Divine Wisdom, or Wisdom; by others referred to "the allegory of the conception expressed in the poem *L'Intelligenza*." See A. Borgognoni, *Studi d'erudizione e d'arte*, Bologna, 1877 (*Scelta di curiosità lett. Disp.* CLVI), Vol. I, p. 239. For *L'Intelligenza*, see the work just cited, also T. Casini, *Geschichte der ital. Litt.*, p. 54.

³¹ This is a singular mistake on the part of Barberino, as the reader of this chapter knows. Perhaps Barberino was referring to Italian, but I know of no work on Etiquette prior to Bonvesin's on table manners, and of no subsequent work devoted solely to men.

would have no trouble about thinking, but only of guiding his pen over the paper. Madonna responded that she had a faithful servant named Francesco with whom she would speak and bring back his answer presently. Francesco begs Madonna to unveil herself to him. She refuses because she does not wish to be known. Francesco hesitates about replying, but at last consents, and she leads him to Honesty, "who sits clothed in perse, with one hand holding Industry, and with the other commanding Eloquence."

They meet these ladies in a meadow and Madonna bids Francesco kneel to them. Honesty commands Industry and Eloquence to tell Francesco her purpose and then depart with him and abide with him until his work is finished. Honesty then addresses Eloquence and defines the character of the treatise. It shall be of manners pertaining to women, from which men also may draw profit. It shall be clearly expressed so that every woman may be able to remember it. It shall not be in rhyme, but may be strewn here and there with fine *gobbolette*³² and fair *novellette* by way of example. It shall be in "vulgar" Tuscan alone, although some "vulgar" consonants from other countries where Eloquence is most at home may be mingled with it. This matter of the vulgar tongue is said to please the Lady (Madonna), who instigated the affair, and who is worthy of honor and thanks. Francesco then reluctantly leaves Madonna with Honesty and proceeds to his task.

He first enumerates the divisions of his work, premising that he will not divide it according to ages, but according to rank (*gradi*), into twenty parts, and each part will have certain distinct degrees (*gradi*) of itself. The best idea perhaps that can be given of this curious and voluminous work will be the author's division in his own words.

"The first part will relate how a young girl should behave when she begins to know good and evil and to fear shame. The second, when she reaches the age of marriage. The third, when the time for marriage has past. The fourth, if, after she despairs of ever having a husband, she happens to have one, and abides at

³² The word *gobbolette* or *cobbolette* is a diminutive of *gobbola* or *cobbola*, which is the same as the Provençal *cobla* and Spanish *copla* (Latin *copula*), a stanza or strophe. Barberino has just said that he did not intend to use rhyme, and then adds that for the sake of pleasure he will intersperse (*seminare*) his work with fine verses or couplets, *i.e.*, in rhyme. I see no other explanation of the word.

home awhile before going to him. The fifth, how she should behave after she is married, on the first, second, and third day, to the fifteenth; and the first month and the second, and the third, and how until her end; if there are children how to behave before, and after; and how to behave if none; and how she should behave in old age.

"The sixth, how she should behave if she lose her husband, and how if she be old, and how if she be of middle age, and how if she remain young, and how if she have children, and how if she have not, and how if she remain mistress of her husband's property, and if she, thus widowed, assume the robe or garb of religion.

"The seventh, how she should behave if she remarry, and how if it be to one her superior, and how if to an inferior and less powerful (*possente*), and how if she marry a third time; and how, if after being a widow and taking a husband, she remain some time at home before going to him; and how remarriage is praised and blamed.

"The eighth, how she should behave who assumes at home the robe of religion; and how it is praised or not. The ninth, how if perpetually confined in a monastery; and how as abbess, and treasurer (*camarlinga*), and prioress, and every other portress and nun. The tenth, how she should behave who is immured alone and is called hermitess, and how I blame her.

"The eleventh, how a maid should behave who is assigned to a lady as a companion; and how if there be only one, and how if she have company in such an office. The twelfth, how each maidservant should behave, if she serve the mistress alone, and if the mistress together with the master, and if the master alone, and how this is praised or not.

"The thirteenth, how a nurse should behave who lives in the house, and how one who lives without. The fourteenth, how the maidservant or slave should behave; and how, after she becomes a slave, she can free herself.

"The fifteenth, how every kind of women of middle class should behave, and those of lower and poorer rank, and all, except those of dissolute life who sell their honor for money, whom I do not mean to include in my writing, nor make mention of them, for they are not worthy of being named.

"The sixteenth part will treat of certain general instructions for every woman in regard to her ornaments and the risks (*adventure*)

to which she is exposed. The seventeenth will treat of their consolations, and the eighteenth of questions of love and of courtesy and gentility, since sometimes a woman must know how to speak and say and reply and act among people. The nineteenth will treat of certain jests (*motetti*) and speeches (*parlari*) by a lady to gentlemen, and other kinds of men and women.

"The twentieth treats of certain prayers of theirs: and in this part is the conclusion of the book, and how I bear it back to that lady above mentioned, and how she receives it, and how the Virtues come before her."

The allegory crops out here and there: Francesco cannot long remain absent from Madonna and in the second part he withdraws into a garden near by where he has lately been told that his lady abides. After a brief interview she bids him resume his task and dismisses him. She reappears in the fourth part and Francesco seeks to enter her palace, but is repulsed by Vigilance (*Cautela*). Courtesy finally introduces him by stealth, but Madonna discovers his presence and orders him to be bound by Pleasure and Sweetness (*Dolcietza*) and brought before her. Francesco appeases her anger by declaring that his coming is the fulfilment of a vision he had had a few days before, and about which he had made a sonnet. He reads it and Madonna allows him to withdraw, keeping the garland and the veil which served as his bonds. In the sixth part Pity and Courtesy conduct Francesco again to the presence of Madonna, who promises to examine his work the next day.

Again in the ninth part Francesco attempts to behold Madonna. After a difficult journey, in which a she-bear acts as his guide, he has the usual brief interview with his lady. In the sixteenth part Francesco again suspends his task and is tempted by Voluptuousness to visit her abode; Francesco withstands the temptation and reaches Madonna, who gives him to drink of a fountain, and promises him other favors at the proper time. Francesco continues his task, but in a short time he declares that he can labor no longer unless he sees the lady who affords him repose in every condition. Penitence then leads him to Eternal Light, who promises to be his guide to Madonna. Francesco says he will return presently after he has written certain things which he has promised and which he wishes to bear with him to that lady. Purity next interrupts Francesco to

tell him he need not hasten with his task, for Eternal Light sends him word that he cannot find his lady on earth, but that she has gone to heaven, where she intends to make a long sojourn. Purity meanwhile is willing to take up her abode in the writer's breast. Francesco hesitates, and begs Purity to return the next day when he will be better disposed to follow the way which will enhance his worth.

The conclusion of the work follows in the twentieth part. Eloquence announces the arrival of a noble company, whom she enumerates; among them are: Prudence, Circumspection, Justice, Severity, Liberality, Temperance, Modesty, etc. Francesco is eager to pass on and reach his lady. He asks the way of Charity, Love, Hope, and Intellect. He finally reaches her presence and addresses her in an impassioned speech which concludes with the words: "Before returning to heaven deign to show me some favor that I may be an example to all that it is a gain to serve such a great lady." Madonna replies, expressing her satisfaction at Francesco's work, and bestowing upon him a jewel from the crown which she brought from heaven, the property of which is to endow one who knows how to "read" it at the proper moment with intelligence of all things. Nothing shall be hidden from the owner "save those things alone which God reserves for himself, and against whose force all power is lacking." Francesco humbly replies that he is not worthy of the gift, but accepts it if it is his lady's will, and asks where it is, and also when she will return to heaven so that he may behold her ascension. Her ascension, she declares, depends upon the will of the Lord from whom she receives her form, and in whom is every change of hers. As to the stone promised him, "here it is, for I give it to thee: it is thine. Now consider only that thou preserve it well."

The work is interspersed with prose stories of no great interest, which show the influence of Provence on the writer, and which prepared the way for a class of literature, the *novelle*, in which Italy soon excelled.³³ The most singular episode of the work is

³³ There are some twenty-seven *novellette* (including the brief anecdotes) in the *Reggimento*, which vary in length from a few lines to six pages (p. 273, "Inn Ispangnia si leggìe che fu anticamente uno monistero," etc.). Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 42, says of these: "Ces récits ne sont pas toujours d'un intérêt bien vif; parfois, ils ne sont pas très appropriés à l'usage que l'auteur veut en faire; mais le style en est facile et animé. La narration montre déjà plus d'art que l'on n'en trouve dans le *Novellino*, et la langue de l'auteur fait

contained in the fifth part, which treats, as we have already seen, of how a maiden should behave "after she is married, and how the first, and second, and third day, down to the fifteenth, and the first month," etc. This statement gives no idea of the remarkable episode which follows, and which is an elaborate account of the marriage of a queen, filling, with the accompanying instructions (fifty-four in number), no less than sixty-six pages.

It is impossible to follow Francesco in the minute rules for behavior which he gives in his voluminous work. They show that at that time, the beginning of the fourteenth century, there was a general consensus of opinion in regard to etiquette, and that it was in Provence that the subject first received attention.³⁴ The most interesting of Francesco's instructions refer to the early education of girls. Many of the precepts are already familiar to the reader. The same control over the eyes, and moderation in speaking and gesture, the same readiness to sing and even dance when requested to do so for the entertainment of company are recommended. The author is in grave doubt about the advisability of teaching girls reading and writing. If the girl becomes mistress of lands and vassals this knowledge will be a benefit. If she is of lower degree it is questionable. The author seems to conclude that she should learn other things and let reading and writing alone, although, he naively adds, "I know that in saying this I offend lovers." Nuns may learn these things, although if it were not for the requirements of their service, the author would advise relinquishing this dangerous knowledge. The young girl should further refrain from too great familiarity with the other sex, and should not accept

pressentir celle que saura si bien employer le maître du genre, messer Giovanni Boccaccio." Some of the *novellette* are taken from Provençal sources; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 49, says two (pp. 169 and 247) are taken from the works of the Countess de Die (Beatritz de Dia), and another (p. 171) from Peire Vidal, who is cited by Barberino: "Racconta Piero Vitale, etc." Barberino was the author of a work now lost, *Fiori di Novelle*; see Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 78. By some, erroneously, Barberino is supposed to be the author of the Italian collection known as the *Novellino*; see on this subject Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Bartoli, *I primi due secoli della letteratura ital.*, p. 296; and D'Ancona, *Studj di critica e storia letteraria*, Bologna, 1880, pp. 263 *et seq.*

³⁴ An interesting comparison between Barberino's *Reggimento* and Provençal and Old-French literature has been made by E. Gorra in *Studi di critica letteraria*, Bologna, 1892, pp. 357-388. This article should be supplemented by a review by the same author in the *Giornale storico*, Vol. XVI, pp. 268-278, of *El costume delle donne con un capitolo de le XXXIII bellezze*, Florence, Alla Libreria Dante, 1889, which will be examined in the following note.

valuable gifts. If the girl is the daughter of a farmer (*lavorator di terra*) or similar person, she should learn how to sew, spin, cook, and take care of the house. She should not attend too much to dress, but may have somewhat greater liberty than the other classes in singing, playing, and laughing.³⁵

³⁵ In this connection may be mentioned a work similar in scope to the *Reggimento*, although of later date and of much less importance and interest. I refer to *El costume delle donne*, cited in the preceding note. The work in question was published by S. Morpurgo from a work printed at Brescia, "per Damiano et Jacomo Philippo fratelli l'anno del M. D. xxxvi nel mese di Octob.," of four leaves in 4to, with double columns. The author is not known and it is impossible to tell whether the work belongs to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It consists of fifty stanzas in *ottava rima*. The purpose of the author is to show "with what love a maid of great excellence should be reared from her infancy until her marriage, and afterwards of her continence" (*ed. cit.*, p. 5). The child should be diligently accustomed to good manners, taught to love and revere God and the saints; when she errs she should be punished. She should be taught the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria and the other prayers which lead God to pardon sin. From the age of seven she should be sent to school and be urged to acquire knowledge, "which brings honor, wealth, and respect." She should attend to spinning and cooking and be ready to do whatever is necessary in the house. She should not be allowed to associate with boys, nor be too free in her manners when at festivals. She should rather go discreetly to seemly pleasures and prayers. When she is ten and begins to give heed to herself great pains should be taken to keep her from error. She should not use perfumes or paint for her face. She should not roam about visiting the houses of neighbors like a mad woman. She should never be idle at home; but always attend to weaving, and sewing, or cutting out garments, or other seemly thing; never remain by the window, or go abroad unattended. From unseemly jests and laughter she should discreetly refrain, as well as from hearing or seeing what is foul. She should not be accustomed to the sight of men, for she will become too bold. In stanzas xi to xxi is told how the parents are to choose for her a husband according to her station, and what counsels her mother should give her for her guidance. The rules which follow (stanzas xxiv to l) concern behavior after marriage. The wife should keep her eyes upon the ground, not looking at another. She should speak but little, not bitterly, and after due consideration. She should be economical and a good housekeeper, spinning and weaving with her own hands. She should learn from her husband with whom to associate, and not speak with any one in secret. Temperance in eating and drinking is enjoined upon the wife. At table she should speak little and only after due thought, and eat in moderation. Excessive ornament in dress should be avoided. Reproofs should be borne with patience. At home she should make herself liked and not indulge in boastful talk. The husband should not be asked for money or costly things except in case of great need. The wife should not contradict her husband but say what he wishes. Stanzas xxxvii to xliii contain rules for behavior at church and towards ecclesiastics. When for his honor the husband allows his wife to go to balls, festivals, weddings, concerts, and banquets, if she knows that she ought not to do so, she should devise some lawful excuse and remain at home. The remaining stanzas contain general admonitions and warnings in case the preceding injunctions are not heeded. The above work has been carefully examined and commented upon by E. Gorra in the article mentioned in the last note. The *Costume delle donne* is followed by a *Capitolo delle trentatre cose che convien alla donna a esser bella*, the consideration of which belongs more properly to Chapter III, where other similar works are discussed.

The second work by Francesco da Barberino, the *Documenti d'Amore*, or, as it may be translated, *The Precepts of Love*, belongs so far as it is a treatise on Love to the third chapter of this work. We have now to consider it as a treatise on Etiquette. The *Documenti d'Amor* was probably composed during the author's stay in Provence, from 1309 to 1313, although it was not completed until his return to Italy in 1313.³⁶ It is also an allegorical work, although the allegory does not play as important a part in it as in the *Reggimento*. In the *Documenti*, Barberino at the request of Love collects his faithful servitors in his stronghold and takes his own place humbly among the inferiors. Love then dictated all the precepts of the following work to Eloquence and she repeated them to the servitors who wrote them down. Love and Courtesy commanded Barberino to send these precepts to those who were not present in this "high parliament," but who wish the supremacy of Love. The work is divided into twelve parts and each was written and dictated first to Love by twelve of his attendants, who are depicted at the head of each chapter. These twelve ladies are: Docility, Industry, Constancy, Discretion, Patience, Hope, Prudence, Glory, Justice, Innocence, Gratitude, and Eternity. A figure of one of these stands at the head of each part and is followed by a description varying in length and versification. The parts also vary in verse and length, containing from one to twenty-seven *documenti* or precepts. Sometimes the *documenti* are lengthened by the insertion of "rules," as under Industry, where in the fifth *documento* one hundred and fifty rules of prudent and virtuous living are given. Still more singular is the insertion, in the same part, in the sixth *documento* of fifty *mottetti*, contained in stanzas of varying length and measure. These are introduced because "one sometimes has to speak secretly; therefore Industry teaches what obscure *mottetti* are."³⁷ The part of the work in which we are now interested is that relating to Etiquette and is contained chiefly under the first

³⁶ The *Documenti d'Amore* was first printed at Rome in 1640, 4to, by Federico Ubaldini. This edition is adorned by thirteen beautiful engravings, besides the title-page, by Bloemaert, Greuter, and others, and is a rare work. There are reprints: Venice, 1820, in Vol. VII of *Parnasso Italiano*, 16 vols. in 16mo; and 1846. The best edition is the one in the *Società Filologica romana*, Rome, 1905-1915, edited by Francesco Egidi. Two volumes are complete and two *fascicoli* of the third have been issued.

³⁷ See Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

heading of Docility, although the seventh part, under Prudence, contains many general instructions for various professions.³⁸ In the former are treated at length such topics as: Vices in speaking and their remedy (5); What should be done to be pleasing in associating with every one (6); What should be observed in associating with person of every rank (7). Table manners are treated in the eighth *documento*, although in a much more general way than in Bonvesin da Riva. In connection with this topic may be mentioned a related subject treated in the twenty-second *documento*: How one should behave in serving great personages. Some fifty-three separate instructions are given, and in the next *documento* similar instructions are given to a lord in regard to his behavior to his servants. It is impossible to follow the author in all his details, but a quite complete treatise on Etiquette might be drawn from this first division of his work.

While it cannot be shown that Francesco da Barberino has followed a Provençal source for either of his works, still it is true that by his long residence in the South of France he was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of its civilization, both social and literary. It is difficult to state in any precise way what his influence was in his own country. His works certainly were not popular, if we may judge by the small number of manuscripts, but the author's social prominence and long sojourn in Florence (where he died in 1348) must have made him personally influential, and he doubtless was no inconsiderable factor in the evolution of Italian society.

The Italian works hitherto cited have been of a special character, dealing either with a particular branch of Etiquette, as table manners, or with a particular class, as woman. The only exception has been the last mentioned work, which is almost a treatise on Etiquette in general. It is in fact the most general treatise which we shall encounter until the sixteenth century. There is, however, another important class of works which demand our attention for a moment, although they are not strictly speaking treatises on Etiquette. They are more properly educational works, dealing with a profession or class, as that of ruler, or the family, or, finally, society in general.

³⁸ Such as the guard of a city in time of peace and war (6); how to travel by land (8); dangers of the sea, and how they may in part be avoided (9); how jurists should behave (14); of good physicians and their qualities (15); how to be a good notary (16); etc.

An example of the first is the *Trattato de Regimine Rectoris* by Fra Paolino, a Franciscan monk probably born at Venice at an unknown date. The work in question was dedicated to Marino Badoer, Duke of Crete, who occupied that rank from 1313 to 1315. Fra Paolino was engaged in various embassies and was appointed bishop of Pozzuoli in 1324. He is said to have lived until 1344. The work just mentioned is, as its name implies, a treatise on the rule of a governor, and is divided into three parts, which treat of the government of himself, of his family, and of the state.³⁹ In the first part are treated the virtues needful to a ruler, and the vices opposed to them; the passions which agitate the mind; and the manners of the various ages and conditions of men. The second part treats of the choice of a wife; the education of the children; and the economical administration of the family. In the third part the author discusses the various kinds of governments in cities; the election of councillors; laws, and how judges should execute and the people obey them. There are many precepts of general etiquette scattered through the work, as in Chapter LIX, How children are to be taught in regard to eating and drinking; Chapter LXII, What care should be taken of daughters, etc.

Of a more ascetic character is the work by Cardinal Giovanni Dominici, *Del Governo di cura familiare*.⁴⁰ The author, a Dominican friar of Florence, celebrated as a preacher and monastic reformer, was created cardinal by Gregory XII in 1408, and died as legate in Hungary in 1419. The work in question was addressed towards the beginning of the century to Bartolommea Alberti, a relative of the famous Leon Battista, and wife of the Antonio Alberti, to whom belonged the villa Paradiso, which we had occasion to mention in the second chapter of the present work.

Far more interesting and important is the work by Leon Battista Alberti, *Della Famiglia*, composed between 1437 and 1441. The author, son of Lorenzo Alberti, was born in Genoa

³⁹ The work was first published by A. Mussafia, Vienna, 1868. See the editor's introduction.

⁴⁰ Florence, 1860. See Gaspary, *Storia della lett. ital.*, I, p. 180, and note, p. 348, where Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, I, 43, is cited. Dominici was also the author of *Dell'Amore di carità*, Bologna, 1889 (*Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua*), an ascetic work of little interest. There is a good life of Dominici by A. Rösler, *Cardinal Johannes Dominici, O. Pr. 1357-1419. Ein Reformatorenbild aus der Zeit des grossen Schisma*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1893.

in 1404, while his father was in exile. The entire Alberti family had been banished from Florence in 1401, and were not allowed to return until 1428. Leon Battista received the most careful education and studied law at the University of Bologna. He afterwards became a papal "abbreviator," and accompanied Pope Eugenio VI when he fled from Rome in 1434, and remained for some time in Florence. In 1464 he lost his office as "abbreviator" but continued to dwell in Rome, where he died in 1472. Battista cultivated architecture, painting, and sculpture, and wrote important works on the theory of those arts, as well as displaying his practical knowledge by constructing the Rucellai palace, the façade of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, and the splendid church of St. Andrea at Mantua.

We have already had occasion in the third chapter to examine Alberti's treatises on love; there remain, of present interest to us, only the works devoted to the rearing and education of a family. These are: *Della Famiglia*, to which I shall return in a moment; *Cena di Famiglia*, a sort of appendix to the *Della Famiglia*, and which will be examined in connection with that work; and those writings more or less intimately connected with the *Della Famiglia*: *Avvertimenti matrimoniali*; *Intorno al tor Donna*; and *Sofrona, dialogo ove si ragiona della difesa delle Donne*. The character of all these is sufficiently indicated by their titles.⁴¹

The most important of all these works is the *Della Famiglia*, in regard to the authorship of a part of which an animated discussion has arisen. The anonymous author (suspected of being Alberti himself) of the *Life of Alberti* printed by Muratori and Bonucci says (Bonucci, p. xciv): "Scripsitque praeterea et affinium suorum gratia, ut linguae latinae ignaris prodesset, patrio sermone annum ante trigesimum aetatis suae etruscos libros, primum, secundum, ac tertium de Familia, quos Romae die nonagesimo, quam inchoarat, absolvit; sed inelimos, et asperos, neque usquequaque etruscos." This was during his first stay in Rome, in 1432-34. In 1443 he submitted the work to the revision of two of his friends and published it probably in that same year. The fourth book had been added in 1441. The completed work remained in manuscript until 1734, when

⁴¹ The *Della Famiglia* is found in A. Bonucci's edition of Alberti's *Opere volgari*, Florence, 1843-1849, Vol. II, pp. 3-481; the *Cena di Famiglia* in Vol. I, pp. 165-183; *Avvertimenti matrimoniali* in Vol. I, pp. 189-210; *Intorno al tor Donna* in Vol. I, pp. 215-224; and *Sofrona* in Vol. I, pp. 229-236.

Manni printed the third book as a work by Agnolo Pandolfini. It was not until a little before 1840 that Manni's mistake was discovered by Antonio Corsi, an official of the *Accademia della Crusca*, and in 1843 the third book of Alberti's work was published in Naples by Francesco Palermo under the name of the rightful author. Finally, in 1845, Anicio Bonucci edited all of Alberti's Italian works and proved clearly that the work attributed to Pandolfini was the third book of Alberti's *Della Famiglia*.⁴²

The object of the work is described in the *Proemio* (Vol. II, p. 17, ed. Bonucci): "Voi vedrete . . . in che modo si multiplichi la famiglia, con che arte diventi fortunata e beata, con che ragioni si acquisti grazia, benevolenzia e amistà, con che discipline alla famiglia s'accresca e diffonda onore, fama e gloria, e in che modo si commendi 'l nome della famiglia a sempiterna laude ed immortalità." The form of the work is the usual dialogue, in which the interlocutors are various members of the Alberti family who have gathered around the deathbed of Lorenzo, Battista's father, in Padua. The dying man is awaiting with the utmost anxiety the arrival of his brother Ricciardo in order to arrange some family matters with him as well as to commend to him his sons Battista and Carlo. Meanwhile the father, who feels invigorated by the hope of soon seeing his brother, gives to his children his last counsels.

The work is divided into four books, the last of which was, as we have seen, added later, and does not stand in any very close relation to the others. The first book deals with "the duty of the old towards the young, of the young towards their elders, and of the education of children." Children should be governed by love rather than by fear, and yet their youthful and fickle desires should not be granted. Parents should not be too liberal and at the same time avarice is always dangerous and blameworthy. Children should revere grey hairs, and take counsel with their parents, their elders, and other friends. Wealth is of less value than virtue, and adversity is not without its use for

⁴² It is not necessary to go into the details of the discussion since then. A good summary of the case may be found in G. Mancini's *Vita di Leon Battista Alberti*, Florence, Sansoni, 1882, pp. 258 *et seq.* The latest and most complete refutation of Pandolfini's claim to the work in question is in the *Giornale storico*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1-52, "Agnolo Pandolfini e il Governo della Famiglia" by F. C. Pellegrini.

the young. The office of parent is not an easy one. Children should be nursed by their mothers, as many evils arise from a bad nurse. Children should not be left too much to the care of women. Careful attention should be paid to physical exercise, which is good not only for the body but also for the mind. The education of children should occupy the parents' mind more than amassing wealth, which is inconvenient and useless to one who does not know how to use it. Falsehood is to be shunned. Children are not to be punished with blows, but with fear and severity. Too great kindness (*pietà*), negligence, and liberty on the part of the parents is harmful. Learning makes a gentleman of a rustic, and letters are of inestimable benefit. Gambling is execrable. Fortune neither gives nor takes away virtue, learning, or manners, but is more injurious to the good. Poverty is nothing to be ashamed of; rather it makes men acquainted with virtue.

In the second book (I use Mancini's analysis for convenience) friendship and love are discussed. Instinctive and brutal love are distinguished from that which joins minds with seemly affection; the former is almost always selfish and passionate, the latter is the basis of conjugal affection. The understanding between two minds seems divine; and love between husband and wife should be perfect, consecrated, supported and increased by affection for the children. Nature and reason demonstrate the necessity of marriage; and young men, after the twenty-fifth year, should choose for their companion a woman who affords the least ground for scandal and blame. The utmost diligence should be employed in this choice. The woman who in her acts, words, and dress does not show modesty, will hardly be well mannered (*costumata*), and no greater misfortune than an unvirtuous wife can happen to a family. After the choice is made, one should "pregare Iddio, che le dia grazia d'essere feconda con pace e onestà della casa, molto pregarlo; però che sempre fu raro e sol beneficio di Dio abbattersi a moglie in tutto pacifica e costumatissima" (*Op. volg.*, II, p. 166). If they wish to have children who are healthy and intelligent (*vispi*) the husband and wife should live cheerfully and soberly, without passion and disturbance. The health of the family is above all, and in illness one should think less of the expense than of life. Families in order to preserve their influence and authority should avoid

divisions; where there are no children recourse may be had to adoption. Every one seeks happiness, although every one thinks to find it in different things. "Non stimo," says Lionardo (II, p. 196), "essere altra felicità, se non vivere lieto, e senza bisogno, e con onore." To whatever profession one devotes himself, he should try to become more skilful than others, and should be persuaded that he can accomplish what he wishes, provided he possesses a true and firm will. One should not deem trade base and inglorious since the gain is the honored reward of the labor and honest solicitude. We should engage in pursuits which demand industry, talent, and bodily exertion, in which the mind is free from evil passions, and from which we may draw a profit which will be a compensation for the intelligence displayed and for the hardships endured. Wealth is the fruit of pains and skill, poverty, of idleness, carelessness, and prodigality. Let us always take counsel with honesty, and "non sia ineta al proposito questa similitudine. Stimete che l'ombra vostra sia questa divina e santissima onestà" (II, p. 214). It will serve as a shield against adverse fortune, it will not cause us to repent of our actions or words, and we shall find ourselves rich and honored. Poverty is less injurious than dishonor, and the greatest wealth consists in a good name.

In the third book Alberti treats of the way of enjoying wealth and of the duties of a good (*ottimo*) father. Prodigals and avaricious men are fools. Between unreasonable expenses and the deprivation of what is necessary stands economy, which teaches how to use the gifts of fortune in proportion to necessity and to preserve the surplus. Men possess three things: the soul, the body, and time; let us use them worthily. If our country demands our services let us deem ourselves honored by it; but let us not usurp public affairs, nor reduce an honorable office to a shop or place of booty. To rule others let us not neglect our own affairs, and in public matters let us take the part yielded to us by our skill and the favor of our fellow citizens, not the part claimed by ambition and presumption. The family should be united under the same roof and at one table. The father should imitate the spider which watches from the centre of his web: all should proceed from him; he should always be on the lookout and provide: attention and diligence make every great deed easy. The wife should preserve in the house what the husband gains without,

and regulate the domestic economy. The husband should know how to make himself loved by his wife and obeyed by his servants; he should remember that good manners win affection and respect, and that money "was invented to spend in order to receive things in exchange for it."

Wealth should be kept partly in ready money, partly in land. One must avoid the flatteries of the great, be liberal with his friends, dispose of his income to the advantage and honor of his family. Young children should be treated with such liberality as will keep them from the vices and wicked actions committed from lack of money. We should ask from our friends as little as possible, and only when compelled by necessity; but if we keep our own property and do not desire another's, we shall rarely need to have recourse to our friends. The family should be reared with diligence rather than with expense, and this should be "*pari o minore che l'entrata, e in tutte le cose, atti, parole, pensieri e fatti nostri, siamo giusti, veritieri e massai. Così saremo fortunati, amati e riveriti*" (II, p. 374).

To the three books, in which he treated of the best means of directing the family, Battista after some time added a fourth, in which with less spontaneity, but with greater learning and more numerous maxims than in the first three he discourses of friendship. The treatises which had survived from antiquity did not please him, "*giacchè oggi troviamo in questa materia de' nostri scrittori solo Cicerone ed in qualche epistola Seneca, ed i Greci hanno Aristotile e Luciano*" (II, p. 409). He shows in this book "*con che arti s'acquisti amicizia, come s'accresca, come si riscinda, che cagion sia da racquistarla, qual industria s'approvi a conservarla*" (II, p. 480). Noteworthy is the admonition there given that the best revenge for wrongs received is to excel one's adversary in famous deeds, and in meriting the respect and praises of the good.⁴³

⁴³ Many years later the same subject tempted the great poet Tasso, who wrote in 1580 in his prison in the Hospital of St. Anna at Ferrara, his beautiful dialogue, *Il Padre di Famiglia* (*Opere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. by G. Rosini, Pisa, 1822, Vol. VII, pp. 1-47). In 1578 the poet secretly left Urbino where he had taken refuge after his second flight from Ferrara, and betook himself to Piedmont intending to place himself under the protection of the Duke of Savoy. While on his way from Novara to Vercelli, "in abito di sconosciuto peregrino" he reached at nightfall the river Sesia which was swollen by the rain and impossible to cross. There he encountered a youth returning from the chase who invited him to spend the night in his house near by. Tasso accepts his invitation, without, however, revealing his identity, and accompanies him

The much cited work, *Il Governo della Famiglia*, attributed to Agnolo Pandolfini (who died in 1446), is, as has been shown above, nothing but a *rifacimento* of the third book of Alberti, and does not deserve any further attention here.⁴⁴

Alberti's work, as we have seen, deals with a particular portion of society, the family, although the author's treatment of the topic is broad and general. It was reserved for a Florentine, a contemporary of Alberti's, to produce the first general work dealing with society as a whole. Matteo Palmieri was born in Florence on the 13th of January, 1406.⁴⁵ He received a careful education and entered the service of the Florentine commonwealth, filling various offices up to that of Gonfaloniere of Justice, and engaging in embassies to popes and emperors. He

home. There he meets the youth's father, the owner of the villa, who after supper narrates to the poet the instructions he had received from his father when at the age of seventy he resigned to him the care of his estate. The division of the dialogue is as follows: The care of a father of a family extends to two things, persons and property, and with persons three offices must be discharged; of husband, father, and master; as regards property two ends are proposed, its preservation and increase. First the discourse turns on the relations of the husband to his wife. In a suitable marriage, condition and age should be considered. The wife should be younger than her husband so that they may grow old together. The wife's behavior to her husband, her toilette, and the question of beauty are next considered. Then follows the care of children: the mother should nurse them, they should be reared not too delicately, in the fear of God, obedient to their parents, and "equally practiced in praiseworthy exercises of the mind and body." The relations between master and servant are then considered, with the different ranks of servants and their treatment. The care of property is next discussed. Property may be artificial or natural, animate or inanimate. These are defined. The care and preservation of the various kinds of property are then described, reminding the reader of Xenophon's beautiful dialogue, *The Economist*, which was undoubtedly in Tasso's mind. In conclusion two kinds of increase of property are examined, the natural, such as arises from lands and herds, and that which is not natural, exchange (*cambio*) and usury. The work is written in the most elegant language and is one of the most interesting of Tasso's dialogues. Particularly pleasing is the introduction and the picture of the family and their happy country life.

⁴⁴ A readable article on Pandolfini and the work attributed to him may be found in Valéry [A. C. Pasquin], *Curiosités et anecdotes italiennes*, Paris, 1842, pp. 117-142, "Ange Pandolfini et son traité du gouvernement de la famille."

⁴⁵ For Matteo Palmieri see Gaspary, *Storia della letteratura ital.*, pp. 172, 347. See also E. Moore, *Dante and his early biographers*, London, 1890, pp. 115-118. There is a brief notice of Palmieri in the Milan edition of the *Vita civile* soon to be mentioned. See also J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, Italian Literature*, New York, 1882, Vol. II, p. 548. I have also consulted: Ercole Bottari, "Matteo Palmieri. Studio." (*Estratto dal vol. XXIV degli Atti delle R. Accademia lucchese*. Lucca, tip. Giusti, 1885, 8vo, pp. 78.) Of little value except for parallels with Cicero; see Note 48. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des classischen Alt.*, Berlin, 1880, Vol. I, p. 293; II, p. 466. There is a note in *The Academy*, Aug. 5, 1882, Vol. XXII, pp. 107-8, by S. M. on "The alleged heresy in the Palmieri Botticelli."

died in 1478. Palmieri was the author of several historical works, a poem, *La Città di Vita*,⁴⁶ in imitation of the *Divina Commedia*, and the treatise *Della Vita Civile*, the only one of his works in which we are at present interested.⁴⁷

The *Vita Civile* is in the usual dialogue form, divided into four books, and dedicated to Alessandro degli Alessandri, "ottimo cittadino," a distinguished Florentine jurist. The interlocutors are the Agnolo Pandolfini above mentioned as the supposed author of the third book of Alberti's *Governo della Famiglia*, Francesco Sachetti, the grandson of the famous novelist, and Luigi Guicciardini. The scene of the work is Mugello, a suburb of Florence, whither the interlocutors are supposed to have fled from the plague of 1430, "because it was close by, and more healthful than any place in the neighborhood, and at that time full of worthy citizens, who had taken refuge from the pestilence in a spot so near." In the *Proemio* the author gives a brief analysis of his work as follows: "The whole work is divided into four books. In the first the newborn child is carefully led to the perfect age of man, showing with what nourishment (*nutrimento*) and with what training (*arti*) he should become more excellent than others. The two following books are written about Honesty, and contain how the man of perfect age should act in private and public according to all moral virtues. The first of these books copiously treats of Temperance and Fortitude and Prudence; afterwards, of other virtues embraced in these. The next book is the third in order and is all given to Justice, which is the best part of mortals, and above all others necessary to maintain every well ordered republic; wherefore here is treated at length civil justice; how government is carried on in peace and war; how within the city by those who are in the magistracies, and without the walls, by public ministers, the public welfare is provided for. The last book is written of

⁴⁶ See Symonds, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 548 *et seq.*; *Giornale storico*, XXIII, pp. 182-207, VII, pp. 263-4; *Rivista critica della litt. ital.*, III, col. 148-150 *et seq.*; and *The Academy*, Vol. XXII, pp. 107-8.

⁴⁷ I have used the modern reprint: *Della vita civile, trattato di Mateo Palmieri, cittadino Fiorentino*, Milano, Bettoni, 1830, 16mo, and the rare early impression, without place, date, or printer, sq. 16mo, ff. 99, ascribed by Ebert to Giunta, Florence, "perhaps earlier than 1529." The British Museum Catalogue ascribes it to Giunta, 1528? and calls it 8vo. There is a copy in the Cornell University Library, bound up with the *Convito* of Dante printed by Marchio Sessa at Venice in 1531. The only article on this work with which I am acquainted is by Valery, in work cited above, pp. 80-117, "Mathieu Palmieri et sa *Vie Civile*," which contains a very full analysis of the work.

Utility only, and provides for the plenty, ornament, means, and abundant wealth of the whole civil body: then in the last part, as final conclusion, not without worthy doctrine, is shown what is the state of the souls, which in the world, intent upon the public welfare, have lived according to the precepts of the Life written by us, as a reward for which they have been placed by God in heaven, to rejoice eternally in glory with his saints."

It will be seen that the first book only is original with Palmieri; the three others correspond to the three books of Cicero's *De Officiis*. It is impossible to give here a detailed comparison of the two works; Palmieri's is a dialogue, Cicero's a more formal treatise; but the former uses the latter constantly and freely, translating him at times quite closely.⁴⁸ Still, Palmieri has used his original in a very free manner, making large additions of his own, as for example, in the fourth book, where he introduces a long disquisition upon friendship (pp. 177 *et seq.*), while Cicero (II, 9) contents himself with referring to his own work on the subject. In the same book Palmieri enumerates, among the means of acquiring good-will, hospitality (p. 185); this leads him to speak of banquets and to give the rules concerning them. There should be not less than three nor more than nine guests; and five things should be observed, a suitable number of suitable persons, a fitting place, a convenient time: and, a blameless repast. The guests should not be too loquacious, nor too silent, but moderate talkers. The conversation should not turn on things subtle, doubtful, or difficult, but rather cheerful, pleasing, and profitable. In the same book is a digression (pp. 195-198) on country life based on Xenophon's *Economist*. Palmieri also introduces into his book a large number of illustrative examples not found in the *De Officiis*; some of these are taken from other classical sources, and some from Italian history and tradition.

⁴⁸ See Bk. II, p. 65, "Dicono che infino da principio, etc.," which corresponds to Cicero, I, 4, 11 (Teubner, ed. Müller, p. 5); III, p. 115, "Due vituperandi modi sono d'ingiustizia," to Cicero, I, 7, 23 (p. 9); III, p. 117, "Suole alle volte, etc.," to Cicero, I, 10, 33 (p. 12). Sometimes Palmieri rearranges, as where he translates the story of Sicyonius (Cicero, II, 23, p. 85) and uses it in his Bk. III, p. 157. Compare Palmieri, Bk. IV, p. 169, with Cicero, II, 4 (p. 61); IV, p. 184, with Cicero, II, 9 (p. 67); Palmieri, II, 104, with Cicero, I, 35 (p. 42). Sometimes Cicero is cited by name, as in the last quotation, "come ammonisce Tullio." Even the first book of Palmieri's work is not wholly original, but rests on Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*; see a very important article by Domenico Bassi in *Giornale storico*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 182-207, "Il primo libro della *Vita Civile* di Matteo Palmieri e l'*Institutio Oratoria* di Quintiliano."

To the latter class belongs the singular story of Dante, who after the battle of Campaldino (June 11th, 1289) finds among the dead and wounded a friend who comes to life long enough to narrate his experiences in the other world after his death.⁴⁹

Returning now to Palmieri's most original part, the first book, we find the object of the whole work set forth in the introductory words of Agnolo Pandolfini (p. 7): "We shall take a newborn child, and lead him to old age and the end of his life, relating what is becoming to every virtuous person in each age, and in whatever rank or dignity he may be found." In the first place the newborn child should be nursed by the mother on account of various dangers which may arise from entrusting it to a nurse, but as the latter custom prevails among many, rules are given for choosing a suitable one. Early childhood, after the nurse has been dismissed, is then minutely described. Playfellows should be carefully chosen in order that improper and unseemly words and gestures may not be learned. The father should himself set a good example. Good and seemly things should be talked of at home, and even the words of the women should be admonitions to virtuous living, by which the children shall be frightened from evil and prepared to love good; "as telling them about the horned and hairy monster (*orco*) being in hell to catch the bad children, and how the good ones go to paradise dancing with the angels, and similar things useful to instruct the tender age."

The proper age to begin serious instruction is not settled; some think it varies with each child, others think that before seven children are not fit for learning. Still it is better to begin early, even when the child is with the nurse; and by means of simple devices the child may be taught his letters, for example, and much valuable time be spared. When the proper age has arrived the father should use every diligence in the choice of a tutor, and the example of Philip is cited, who chose Aristotle to instruct Alexander. The character of a good tutor and his relations to his pupil are then described. The method of instruction does not enter into Palmieri's scope, although the subjects of instruction do. Attention should be paid to bodily exercises, and the child should be allowed to play ball, run, jump, and indulge every seemly motion of the body, preserving always due

⁴⁹ Palmieri, Bk. IV, pp. 219-229; see also G. Papanti, *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, Livorno, 1873, pp. 98 *et seq.*

moderation. Music and geometry are highly praised as training voice and mind. Grammar and philosophy are next dwelt upon, and their supreme importance pointed out.

Then follows, at the request of one of the listeners, Luigi Guicciardini, a long disquisition on the different ages of man, and the characteristics of each age. Palmieri next returns to his subject proper by describing youth, to which he has now brought his child, with its dangers and temptations. One of his interlocutors is surprised that Pandolfini makes no mention of corporal punishment in his scheme of education, and asks the reason. The answer is that there are other and more effective methods of correction, such as praise and blame, and various rewards. The question of dress is then discussed. Except on festal occasions, when a richer garb may be worn, the usual dress of citizens should be employed, and all effeminate manners or ornaments should be shunned.

The bodily exercises of youths should be the use of weapons in joust and fencing (*schermaglie*), horsemanship and fowling. More highly to be praised is hunting wild beasts. In all these moderation is to be observed; and they should not cause mental exercises to be forgotten, namely the sciences and industrial arts, such as painting, sculpture, intaglio work, architecture, etc. This multiplicity of learning amazes the hearers, one of whom asks how so much can be learned at once. Pandolfini explains that such is the nature of our genius that it can carry on various operations at the same time, as a music teacher keeps time, plays an instrument, and corrects his pupil's faults all at once. Another listener asks why it rarely happens that men greatly excel others in human works. One reason is that we are satisfied with what we are taught and do not seek to improve. This leads to a reference to Giotto, "before whom painting was dead," and to Leonardo Aretino, who "restored to men the sweetness of the Latin tongue."

The discourse then turns on the exercises of full-grown youths, which should follow the usual customs of the city. This is the time to choose a manner of life for which each one feels himself most apt, and in which he hopes to live in a worthier way. Our care should be not to live, but to live well and decently. We should first decide who and what we wish to be and what sort of life we desire to follow. One of the interlocutors asks

how one man becomes a good friar, another a good emperor, and another a good citizen. Pandolfini answers with a philosophical discussion of the four cardinal virtues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice. Each of these is exercised according to four "generations" of virtue contained in each; the first are called civil, the second purgatorial, the third, of minds already purged, the fourth, exemplary or truly divine. These virtues are then fully considered in their effects on man, and the book closes with the question whether children should always obey their parents, or if not, in what things.

The remaining books, as we have already seen, are more general in their character and have less originality. Although Palmieri's work does not go into details, it is agreeably written and still repays perusal.

A work of similar nature to Palmieri's was written about the same time by Giovan Battista Giraldi, who assumed in addition the name Cintio.⁵⁰ This scholar was born at Ferrara in 1504, and was professor of philosophy and rhetoric in that city from 1532. From 1547 he was ducal secretary, and from 1563 to 1566 an instructor in the University of Mondovì in Piedmont, which he followed when it was transferred to Turin in 1566. He was unable to endure the climate of the latter city, and removed to Pavia, where he taught from 1568 to 1571, dying at Ferrara in December, 1573. Giraldi wrote, besides a history of Ferrara in Latin, two treatises on the composition of romances and tragedies, nine tragedies, and a collection of novels entitled *Hecatommithi ovvero Cento Novelle*.⁵¹ This collection, which is

⁵⁰ For Giraldi see Gaspary, *Storia della lett. ital.*, II, p. 198, who cites Barotti, *Memorie istoriche di letterati ferraresi*, I, Ferrara, 1792, pp. 390, *et seq.*, and corrections in Tiraboschi, *Storia della lett. ital.*, Vol. VII, p. 944. For Giraldi's tragedies see Pietro Bilancini, *Giambattista Giraldi e la tragedia italiana nel secolo XVI*, Aquila, 1890. In regard to the novels; see J. A. Symonds, *Italian literature*, II, p. 103, and Dr. M. Landau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ital. Novelle*, Vienna, 1875, who cites Tiraboschi *ut supra*; Ginguéné, *Histoire litt. d'Italie*, VIII, 474; Liebrecht, *Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, Berlin, 1851, pp. 276 *et seq.*; Gamba, *Bibliog.* 91; Passano, *I Novellieri ital. in prosa*, 2d ed. Turin, 1878, I, pp. 352 *et seq.*; Brunet, *Manuel*, II, 307; and F. W. V. Schmidt, *Petri Alfonsi Disciplina Clericalis*, Berlin, 1827, p. 144. To these may be added *Catalogo dei novellieri ital. in prosa raccolti e posseduti da G. Papanti*, Livorno, 1871, p. 173 *et seq.*

⁵¹ There are in reality one hundred and eleven *novelle*, the introduction containing ten, and the tenth *novella* of the fifth decade has a *novella* inserted in it. For editions of the *Hecatommithi* see Passano and Papanti cited above. I have used the convenient edition in the *Raccolta di Novellieri italiani* published by Pomba, Turin, 1854, in which the *Hecatommithi* fills three volumes; and the edition of Venice, 1584, to be mentioned more fully later.

Giraldi's most famous work, has furnished an inexhaustible source of materials for succeeding playwrights and novelists, Shakespeare, as is well known, being indebted to it for *Othello* and *Measure for Measure*.⁵² The author has imitated Boccaccio in many ways, in the Greek title and number of novels, and the frame in which the stories are set.

Giraldi feigns that the Sack of Rome in 1572 (minutely described by the author) was followed by famine and pestilence equally fatal to the Romans and their conquerors. During the horrors of this pestilence a band of Roman ladies and gentlemen took refuge in a palace of the Colonna family. As the plague did not abate, the gentleman who had given the company refuge in his palace withdrew to Fondi, leaving behind him the company, which was too numerous to take with him. After a long discussion of what was best to do under the circumstances, the company followed the advice of one of their number and determined to leave Italy and betake themselves to Marseilles, where they would remain until the wretched condition of their country improved. They took ship at Cività Vecchia and sailed early one Sunday morning in two vessels, the ladies and gentlemen in one, and the servants in the other. The company spent the time in various diversions and conversation until the hour for dinner. After it some of the youths constrained by the presence of the older men and women withdrew to the other ship and one of their number proposed that they should pass the time until evening in talking of some pleasant subject. A long discussion followed as to who should propose the topic, and finally Flaminio assumed the responsibility and stated that the subject should be love and how there could be peace in it. The kind of love to be discussed is then settled; it is of the most earthly character. After a long conversation on the subject, they decided that each should tell a story appropriate to the subject and which when ended should be discussed in a friendly manner by the company. Fabio then began the ten novels of the Introduction,

⁵² For English indebtedness to Giraldi see E. Koeppl, *Studien zur Geschichte der ital. Novelle in der Englischen Litteratur*, Strassburg, 1892, p. 98, and Miss M. A. Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 476, No. 390. The indebtedness of the English drama from 1600 to the Restoration to the Italian Novelists is the subject of Adèle Ott, *Die Italienische Novelle im Englischen Drama von 1600 bis zur Restauration*, Zürich, 1904. The Italian novelists examined are Boccaccio, Bandello, Giraldi, Fioretino, Malespini, Masuccio Salernitano, and Macchiavelli.

the general subject of which was "intorno agli amori dionesti de' giovani verso le femmine impudiche." Each story when ended gives rise to a discussion as was proposed.

After the discussion in the tenth *novella*, Flaminio sang a *canzone* on the pains of love, and the vessel arrived at Talamone, where a landing was made and the two parties joined in a promenade through the pleasant neighborhood. After supper the ladies inquired how the youths had passed the time and when they learned that they had done so in relating *novelle*, they determined to pass the following day in the same manner. After further discussion it was resolved that, as there were ten young ladies and as many gentlemen, five ladies and five gentlemen should tell stories on the morrow and the others should listen; the next day those who had listened should narrate, and so on until they reached the end of their journey. Lots were then cast to decide who should tell stories on the morrow and the day following and in what order, and finally, Fabio was elected king for the remainder of the journey and all were enjoined to obey him. The voyage lasted ten days, beside the one described in the Introduction, and one hundred *novelle* were related, interspersed with discussions and *canzoni*, in imitation, of course, of the *Decameron*.

At the close of the fifth day or decade, a storm arose which interrupted the voyage for three days. The company had reached Genoa, where they were hospitably entertained, and the usual diversion of story-telling was suspended for a time. In the later editions of the *Hecatommithi* the sixth decade follows the fifth immediately, and there is only a brief reference to the interruption of the voyage in the usual short introduction to the decade: "The light of the new day with its brilliant rays had dispelled the darkness, and summoned every one to his labors, when the noble band, after taking leave of their hosts and thanking them, made ready for the journey; and all having embarked, they began joyfully to plough the waves of the sea, which was very calm, and with pleasing and happy discourses they went their way, passing joyfully in various games the time and relieving the ennui of the ship." In the earlier editions, however, an extensive digression, singularly out of keeping with the character of the rest of the work, is here introduced. It is entitled "Tre Dialoghi della Vita Civile, li quali a gli huomini mostrano come deuno ammaestrare i loro figliuoli, et a giovani come ben

reggersi," and occupies seventy-two folios, or one hundred and forty-four pages in the edition of Venice, 1584.⁵³ The work as has been seen from the title is in the usual dialogue form and the interlocutors are: Lelio, Fabio, and Torquato, all three Roman gentlemen, and Signore Giannettino d'Oria, a Genoese nobleman.

The dialogue opens with a request from Signore Giannettino to Fabio to tell him and the other Genoese present "qual maniera di vivere si debba proporre l'huomo in questa vita, per arrivare a quel fine, che è giudicato da più savi il migliore, fra le cose humane" (fol. 5 vo.). Lelio replies that it is needless to attempt to instruct citizens of such a noble city in their duties. Giannettino entreats Lelio to grant his request "comminciando dal nascimento dell' huomo, et conducendolo infino a quel termine che egli sia atto di arrivare a questo ottimo fine" (fol. 6 ro.). Lelio finally yields and begins by stating that Plato and Aristotle have excelled all others who have written on human life and manners; one writing more abundantly, the other more orderly. "And because both have been excellent, I, in this discourse of mine, shall not force myself to follow either, but I shall take from one and the other what seems to me most fitting to fulfil our wish, and if I recall anything else uttered by other noble writers and lofty spirits I shall not hesitate to lay them before you for your greater and fuller satisfaction."

The work which follows is a dry and tedious philosophical disquisition, relieved at long intervals by a few classical anec-

⁵³ The *Tre Dialoghi della Vita civile* are found, so far as I know, only in the following editions: Monte Regale, 1565 (the rare first edition, which I have used in the Biblioteca Marucelliana at Florence); Venice, 1566, 1574, 1580, 1584, 1593, and 1608. The edition I have used is the fifth, Venice, 1584, Appresso Fabio and Agostin Zoppini Fratelli, 2 parts in 4to. In spite of its dull character this part of the *Hecatommithi* was translated as a separate work by the indefatigable French translator, G. Chappuis, under the title: *Dialogues philosophiques et très-utiles Italiens-François, touchant la vie Civile, etc. Traduits des trois excellens Dialogues Italiens de M. Ian Baptiste Giraldi Cynthien, Gentilhomme Ferrarois*. Par Gabriel Chappuis Tourangeau. A Paris, Pour Abel l'Angilier, 1583, 8vo. The Italian text is on the left hand page, the French translation on the right. Chappuis says in the preface (*Epistre*) that the young lords and gentlemen reading this book: "se peuvent heureusement dresser et habituer à la vertu, presque autant ou plus que s'ils avoient couru toute l'Italie, que l'on dit estre l'escole de toute vertu, civilité et honnesteté." Giraldi is also the author of a work belonging to the class of treatises on courtly life; it bears the title: *Discorso intorno a quello che si conviene a un giovane nobile . . . nel servire un gran Principe*, Pavia, 1569, 8vo. I have not seen this work, but there are copies in the library at Perugia and in the British Museum. Miss M. A. Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 476, No. 390, gives an interesting account of an imitation in Eng. of the *Vita Civile* by Lodowick Bryskett.

dotes, and based largely on Aristotle's *Ethics* and Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*. The usual precepts are given about the early rearing of the child: the mother should nurse it if possible, if not, a proper nurse should be chosen according to the rules given by the author. As the child grows up he should not see or hear any blameworthy thing, and he should be taught the knowledge of God. Later he should be entrusted to a good master. There is a long digression (pp. 16-20) on duelling, which is severely blamed. The vices and dangers of youth are treated in the second book, as well as the subjects of study, such as music, poetry, geometry, arithmetic, logic, and rhetoric. In the third book the author considers the office of philosophy in regard to the instruction of youth, and the question of predestination and freewill. The principal virtues and vices are also discussed and considerable space is devoted, as in the *Ethics*, to the subject of friendship. This brief analysis will show how little the work contains for our purpose. It is valuable chiefly as showing the interest which the age took in discussions upon conduct and the proper ordering of civil life, and the great influence exerted on such discussions by the writers of ancient Greece and Rome.

There are in Italian many other similar works, of which a few of the most important may be mentioned here. The first is a very elaborate treatise on education by Alessandro Piccolomini. This distinguished author was born in Siena on the 13th of June, 1508, and devoted his life to the study of letters. He was a member of the Academy of the Intronati, and late in life was made Archbishop of Patras and coadjutor of the Archbishop of Siena, where he died in 1578. Among his early works is *La Raffaella* or *Dialogo della bella creanza delle Donne*, first printed at Venice in 1539. In this dialogue the interlocutors are Madonna Raffaella and Margarita, the former an old woman who plays the rôle of Celestina in the famous Spanish novel, and the latter a young wife whom Madonna Raffaella tempts to a life of gallantry. She begins with instructions for the toilette and gives receipts for various cosmetics. The care of the hair is next considered and directions are given in regard to linen, hosiery, etc. From this subject the old woman passes to the behavior of a gentle lady in every-day life. The lady is supposed to be young, that is, not over thirty-two. The rules for behavior concern

the care of the house, relations to husband and society. In all these things the wife is enjoined not to make a movement, or utter a word that oversteps the bounds of modesty and propriety (*onestà*). The reason, as Madonna Raffaella explains, is that a woman's honor does not consist in her acts but in her reputation. This leads to the final topic of instruction, the lady's behavior towards her lovers, and the wise choice of one endowed with those qualities necessary to a gentlemen and a lover, "whom, after she has chosen him, she must love with all her heart and all her mind, and favor and caress in due manner." Then follows a description of the lovers to be avoided, namely, those too young, too old, the vain, strangers, etc. The qualities of the desirable lover are then depicted, and the way he should be treated by the lady. Madonna Margarita is shocked by the crude propositions of the old woman, and declares that she supposed the love in question was "of the mind, and virtuous, for so she heard one evening in a company during a game, from one of the Intronati present." The old woman then craftily leads up to the object of the dialogue, viz., to make Madonna Margarita acquainted with the fact that there is a suitable lover awaiting her consent to offer himself to her. Margarita, it is needless to say, gives her consent, and the old woman departs to bear him the joyful news. This work is a sort of *Ars Amandi* and contains much that is valuable for contemporary manners. The author later lamented its cynical and immoral character and expressed his repentance in a work entitled *Dell' Instituzione morale libri XII*, Venice, 1560, a later version of *De la institutione di tutta la vita de l'Homo nato nobile e in citta libera*. *Libri X in lingua Toscana*, Venice, apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1543, in 12mo. This work was composed for the instruction of Alessandro Colom-bini, the infant son of Madonna Laudomia Forteguerri, to whom the author had stood godfather at his recent baptism. The work in question is based on Plato and is an elaborate treatise on education, in which the training suitable to the various ages is discussed. Much space is devoted to ethics, and the whole of the eighth book contains a treatise on Friendship. The subject of Love fills the ninth book, and the tenth and last book is devoted to the precepts of married life. The work is very general in its character and offers little that is valuable for our present purpose.

Some time later the prolific Ludovico Dolce, born at Venice in 1508, published a similar work, having, however, for its subject the education of woman. The work is entitled *Della Institutione delle Donne*, Venice, 1547. I have used the fourth edition, Venice, Giolito, 1560. The work is divided into three books and is in the usual dialogue form, with but two interlocutors, Dorothea and Flaminio. The subject of the first book is the young unmarried woman, of the second, the wife, and of the third, the widow. In the first book the usual directions for the rearing of children are given, such as, the mother must nurse her offspring, care must be taken in the choice of a nurse, etc. Dolce believes, contrary to the opinion of the day, that a woman should receive a literary education. Greek he omits, partly not to lay so heavy a weight on the shoulders of women, and partly because a knowledge of Italian and Latin will suffice. She is advised to read almost all the Latin poets, except Virgil, of which she should not read the whole, and the chaster and more moral parts of Horace. She should read Prudentius, Prosper, Juvenius, Paulinus, and of the modern Latin writers, the *Christiad* of Sannazaro and that of Vida. Of Latin prose writers she can read all of Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, and the other historians. In the vulgar tongue she should avoid above all Boccaccio's *novelle*, and above all read Dante and Petrarch. To these may be added "the divine works of Bembo, the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro, the moral and elegant dialogues of Sperone, and the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione, from which in my judgment she can learn all the virtues and fair and seemly manners which belong to gentle ladies." Rules are given for food, dress, and entertainments. The use of cosmetics is blamed, as well as games of chance, and the book concludes with advice to fathers in choosing husbands for their daughters. The second and third books are of comparatively little interest, the admonitions being general in character and mostly of a religious nature.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ There are many other works of a similar nature in the literature of the sixteenth century. Some of those which I know only by the title are: *Dialogo del gentilhuomo Veneziano*, Venice, 1566; Bernardino Pino, *Del Galantuomo*, s. l. et a.; and Fabrizio Campani, *Della vita civile, ovvero del senno*, Venice, 1586. I have examined Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi ovvero ammaestramenti ne quali con prudenti e christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano a un vero gentil huomo*, Venice, 1554, and Milan, 1559. The author, according to Ginguené, *Histoire littéraire d'Italie*, Vol. VII, p. 575, was commander of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem and died in 1554. The work

The works which we have just examined are ethical treatises with but little reference to the rules of behavior in polite society. The first of the modern books on etiquette, if we exclude the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione as designed for a special class, is the *Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa, a work which enjoyed the greatest favor for many years.⁵⁵

Giovanni della Casa was born June 28, 1503, of an illustrious Tuscan family which had given many statesmen and scholars to the Commonwealth. The place of his birth is not known, but his biographer Casotti says it was probably at Mugello, the original home of the Casa family, which the father was obliged to leave for some reason connected with the disturbed condition of the country. The child was taken to Bologna to be reared, while the parents took up their abode in Rome, where the mother died in 1510. Giovanni received his early education in Bologna, and later at Florence, whither he returned with his father about 1542. His first intention was to devote himself to the service of the state, but for some unknown reason he changed his mind and removed to Rome, where he continued his secular studies and took up theology, acquiring the favor of Pope Paul III, and his nephew the Cardinal Alexander Farnese. For some years he occupied at Florence the position of Apostolic Commissary for receiving the papal tithes. In 1540 he was made a member of the Florentine Academy, earlier the *Accademia degli Umidi*. After Casa's return to Rome he was created Archbishop of Benevento (in 1544) and in the same year Apostolic Nunzio to the Republic of Venice, which position he filled until the death of Paul III (in 1549). He then returned to Rome, where he sold his place as Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, made his will, and returned to Venice, where he proposed to spend the remainder of his life in quiet and study and in the society of his friends. He died in Rome on the 14th of November, 1556.

is an extensive moral treatise covering the whole range of life, and mostly in the form of brief injunctions, although some of the chapters are treatises of considerable length. It is dry and dull.

⁵⁵ I have used for my notice of Della Casa the life by Gio. Battista Casotti prefixed to the Florentine edition by Giuseppe Manni of 1707, and reprinted in the edition of the *Classici Italiani*, Milan, 1806, 3 vols., the one I have used for the *Galateo*. The life by Casotti is the basis of the subsequent notices of Della Casa. I have also consulted Tiraboschi, Ginguené, etc. There is a life of Della Casa which I have not seen by Filippo Gerardi, *Biografia di Monsignore Giovanni della Casa*, Rome, 1836.

Casa's literary works consist of a few orations, letters, poetry, and two treatises, in which we are now alone interested. These are the famous *Galateo* and *Trattato degli Ufficj comuni tra gli Amici superiori e inferiori*.⁵⁶

The *Galateo ovvero de' Costumi*, to give it the full title, is said to take its name from Galeazzo Florimonte, Bishop of Sessa, and its subject is sufficiently indicated in a sub-title, which runs: "In which under the person of an unlearned old man instructing a youth of his, are discussed the manners which should be observed or avoided in society." The old man addresses his pupil directly and says he proposes to point out to him the places where he may easily fall or miss his way in the journey of life, which he is just beginning, and which his instructor has almost

⁵⁶ I have used for these works, as has already been stated, the edition in the *Classici Italiani*. The first edition of the works of Della Casa was Venice, 1558, 4to, two years after the author's death. There are editions of the collected works: Florence, 1707, 6 parts in 4to; Venice, 1738-29, 5 vols., 4to; Naples, 1733, 6 vols., 4to; Venice, 1752, 4to; and Milan, 1804, 3 vols., 8vo, the edition cited above. The *Galateo* has been frequently reprinted, and has been translated into Latin, French, Spanish, German, and English. The British Museum has the following French translations: *Le Galathée, ou la manière et façon comme le gentilhomme se doit gouverner en toute compagnie, traduit d'Italien en François par J. du Peyrat*, Paris, 1562, 8vo; *Trattato de Costumi . . . fatto nuovamente Italiano et Francese, etc.*, Italian and French, Lione, 1573, 8vo; *Le Galatée, premièrement composé en Italien par J. de la Casa et depuis mis en François, Latin, et Espagnol par divers auteurs, etc.*, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, Jean de Tournes (Lyons) 1598, 16mo; *Le Galatée . . . et depuis mis en François, Latin, Allemand, et Espagnol*, Genève, 1609, 12mo. The same library also possesses the following English translations: *The Epitome of good manners, extracted from M. J. de la Casa* (Out of the treatise called *Galatée*), London, 1616, 8vo; *The Refin'd Courtier: or, a correction of several indecencies crept into civil conversation* (In part translated and abridged from G. della Casa's *Galateus* by N. W.), London, 1663, 12mo; London, 1686, 12mo; *Galateo of Manners or Instructions to a young Gentleman how to behave himself in Conversation, etc.*, written originally in Italian and done into English, London, 1703, 12mo; *Galateo: or, a treatise on Politeness . . . From the Italian of Monsig. G. de la Casa, etc.*, London, 1774, 16mo; *The Refined Courtier . . . To which are added The Adventures of a Bashful Man*, London, 1804, 16mo. The *Trattato degli Ufficj* was also translated into English: *The Arts of Grandeur and Submission: or a Discourse concerning the Behaviour of Great Men towards their inferiours; and of inferiour personages towards men of greater quality. Written in Latin by J. Casa and rendered into English by H. Stubbe*. Second edition, London, 1670, 12mo. This is in the British Museum. The Bodleian has the first edition, London, 1665, 8vo. See Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, No. 377, p. 459. There is a scarce reprint of the first English translation of the *Galateo: Galateo. Of Manners and Behaviours in Familiar Conversation*. By Giovanni della Casa, Archbishop of Benevento. A faithful reproduction of the English Translation made by Robert Peterson of Lincoln's Inn in the Year 1576. Edited by Herbert J. Reid, F. S. A., F. R. S. L., Librarian and Member of Council, Royal Society of Literature. Privately printed, 1892. A bibliographical Proem, pp. iii-xi, gives editions. etc. The editor says Peterson's is the first and only complete translation into English.

ended; and because his tender age will not bear more important and subtle instructions, reserving them for a more suitable time, he will begin with what to many may appear frivolous, viz., that which he deems it proper to do in order to be able, in communicating and associating with people, to be well-bred and pleasing and of good manners. He further explains that although liberality or constancy or magnanimity are greater and more laudable than good manners, still the former are perhaps quite as useful to their possessors, since the other greater qualities can so seldom be displayed. It cannot be denied that for one disposed to live in cities and among men it is a most useful thing to know how to be gracious and pleasing in his customs and manners.

In order that one may learn this more readily he must temper and order his manners, not according to his own will, but according to the pleasure of those with whom he associates, to whom his manners must be addressed, and this in moderation, for he who delights too much in aiding the pleasure of others in society and company, seems rather a buffoon or jester, or perchance a flatterer, than a well-bred gentleman; and so on the other hand he who gives no heed to pleasing or displeasing others is rude and ill-bred and disagreeable. In order then that our manners shall be pleasing when we have regard to the pleasure of others, and not our own, if we examine what those things are which generally please most men, we shall easily discover what manners are to be avoided in living with them and what are to be adopted.

Whatever act is annoying to any of the senses, what is contrary to the appetite, and, besides, what recalls to the imagination things disagreeable to it, and likewise what the mind loathes, is disagreeable and should not be performed. Various instances of the violation of this rule are given, and an anecdote is told of how a bishop of Verona brought to the attention of a guest of his a grave defect in his manners which he had never known.

Various faults in table manners are then considered, some of them already noticed in the mediæval treatises (especially as to the manners of servants).

Other faults are then mentioned, which, without annoying any sense are displeasing to the appetite of most people. Such are sleeping in company, or rising and walking about, where others are sitting, or yawning and stretching oneself, or taking a letter

from the pocket and reading it. Worse still is cutting the nails, humming to oneself, drumming with the fingers, nudging one with the elbow when talking to him.

Dress is next considered. The usual fashion should be followed, and the garments should be well fitting and becoming. Good manners should accompany fine dresses. Examples are given of people who bore company, who are never ready, and who are selfish and whimsical.

Pride should be avoided and time and place considered. One should not get angry at the table, especially if there are strangers present.

Stubbornness is reproved, as well as rudeness and coldness. One should not be melancholy or absent-minded, although those who are absorbed in the speculations of the liberal arts may be excused. Punctiliousness and sensitiveness are to be blamed. Associating with such people is like having to do with delicate glassware, they have to be treated with such care. These qualities should be left to women.

In conversation many faults are committed, and first, in the subject matter, which should not be low or frivolous. One should not take a theme too subtle or too delicate. One should carefully avoid a subject likely to cause any of the company to blush or to be put to shame. Nothing nasty should be spoken of, although it may be amusing to hear, because it is not well for decent persons to please others except in decent things. One should never say anything against God or the saints, either seriously or in jest, however amusing it may be—a fault committed by the noble company in Boccaccio's work. To speak jestingly of God is not only the fault of a wicked and impious man, but is also the vice of an ill-bred person. One should not talk of things unsuited to the time and persons who are listening; things which at a proper time would be good. Therefore one should not repeat the sermons of Friar Nastagio to young women when they wish to joke. Neither at festivals nor at the table should melancholy stories be told, nor wounds, illness, deaths, or pestilence be mentioned. When subjects like these are brought forward they should be changed in a skilful manner for something brighter. Those err who talk constantly about their children and nurse and wife. "My little boy made me laugh so heartily last night; just listen: you never saw a sweeter child than my

Momo; my wife is such a one, Cecchina said; surely you would never believe how clever she is."

Dreams should not be related, unless, as in the case of one cited by Della Casa, they are of unusual interest. If dreams which have a shadow of truth are vain, what shall be said of lies, which have no foundation? Various kinds of lies are described. One should not boast of his nobility, honors, or wealth, much less of his judgment. On the other hand he should not degrade himself, or falsely humble himself.

The author then passes to the discussion of what he calls ceremonies, *i.e.*, formal modes of address. Origin and abuse of these. They are employed for three reasons: utility, vanity, and duty. Examples of these, and description of modes of address in various parts of Italy.

One should not speak ill of others, or argue and dispute. Advice should not be given unsought, and one should not undertake to correct the faults of men and reprove them, or give final sentence in everything, or lay down the law to every one. One should never mock any one, even an enemy. Various ways in which this may be done. There is no difference between mocking and ridiculing except in the intent. Some claim that jokes may be played at times, but one must consider many things. One must not joke about serious things, much less about shameful things. Examples of jokes from the *Decameron*. Another kind of joking consists in telling a story and imitating the manners, etc., of the persons in the story. Examples of how not to do it. Other rules for story-telling. Rules for the language to be employed. The words should be clear and pleasant as to sound and meaning. Further rules for speech, and mode of pronunciation.

Faults committed in talking; some cannot cease speaking, and let no one else talk. One should not interfere with another in telling a story, or interrupt or be inattentive or finish his sentences for him. As excessive talking is wearisome, so excessive silence is hateful. Long digression on the necessity of early training and the government of ourselves by reason.

Men are fond of beauty, symmetry, and proportion, definition; of these terms. We should not be content with doing good things, but should study to make them beautiful too, *i.e.*, we should adorn our manners and customs, shun vices, and especially the

most foul, as sensuality, avarice, cruelty, etc. Various classes of vices are then described.

One should regard due measure in walking, standing, sitting, in act, bearing, dress, words, silence, in repose and in motion. A man should not adorn himself like a woman, nor use perfumes, except simple ones. Dress should be according to the fashion of others of your age and condition, not too rich. Some anecdotes illustrating this. Rules for bodily gestures: one should not run in the street, or walk too slowly, like a woman, or move the arms too much, or stare at people. We should reprove even a horse for an improper gait.

In conclusion additional table manners are given. The use of toothpicks is mentioned; they should not be worn on a chain around the neck. Custom of drinking healths (*brindisi*), mentioned and blamed. Invitations should not be accepted from the seneschal. Some miscellaneous injunctions at the end: not to laugh too loudly, or at one's own sayings, etc.

The *Galateo* was later supplemented by a brief treatise (it occupies forty-nine pages in the edition of the *Classici Italiani*) in Latin, translated by the author himself into Italian under the title *Trattato degli Ufficj comuni tra gli Amici superiori e inferiori*. This work is of a very general character and, as the title indicates, deals with the relations between superiors and inferiors. The author begins by saying that it was easy for the ancients to rule their domestics because they were slaves; nowadays it is different, and difficulties constantly arise. To lighten these, Della Casa says he has collected some instructions, and composed, as it were, an art of that friendship which exists between powerful and rich men and poor and low persons, on whom has been bestowed the hateful name of servitude. The author examines the various causes which lead men to dwell together: pleasure, utility, friendship. Various kinds of friendship. The rich and the poor are then characterized. Then follow rules for the inferior to observe: he must be gentle and yielding, obedient and reverent, but without flattery. His words should be humble, "rimesse e pressochè sprezzate." If he has to resist it should be done little by little, and timidly and seldom, and only when necessity compels, "for resistance is not a token of an obedient man." Sometimes in conversations and banquets questions arise of doubtful and subtle things in which learned and ingenious

men dispute, argue, upbraid, and otherwise act foolishly. This is not a sign of reverence or obedience. One must not jest with powerful friends, and must endure the jokes of superiors. One should be agreeable and cheerful, avoid gloom and silence, be moderate in speaking, which is a token of reverence. And yet adulation should be avoided as well as flattery. All the inferior's movements and acts should display good manners, reverence, and respect. Dress should be neat and fitting. Other good qualities are diligence, readiness, cleverness, etc.

Faults on the part of superiors are then blamed: pride, cruelty, injustice, tyranny, anger, etc. These are contrary to charity and Christian humility, as well as to common humanity. Superiors should observe two things, one "che con clemenza e amorevolezza usino dell'opera e de'servigi degli amici bassi, risguardando alla condizione e al grado loro; l'altra, che non siano ritrosi, non difficili, non fastidiosi." How superiors should behave. Diligent servants should be duly rewarded, and their comfort should be attended to. Advantages of treating servants well.

This work, as is evident from this brief analysis, is of little interest for our present purpose. Its originality is not great, and like the other works of the same class already mentioned, it is based more or less on the classical treatises on Ethics, in this particular case on Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*.

Another similar, but far more elaborate, work is the *Civil Conversazione* of Stefano Guazzo, which also enjoyed the greatest popularity and which presents perhaps the most complete picture of Italian society in the sixteenth century.⁵⁷

The author was born of a noble family at the city of Casale in the year 1530. His father, Giovanni, was for thirty-six years treasurer of the dukes of Mantua and Monferrato. He died in 1573, leaving four sons. Stefano devoted himself to the study of law, and became secretary to the Duchess Margherita, the last of the Paleologhi, who was left a widow by the death of

⁵⁷ There is a brief life of Stefano Guazzo by G. Canna, *Della Vita e degli scritti di Stefano Guazzo*, Florence, 1872, an academic lecture of little value. Scanty materials for Guazzo's life are to be found in *Bibliografia storica degli Stati della Monarchia di Savoia compilata da Antonio Manno (publicata per cura della R. Deputazione di storia patria)*, Turin, 1892, t. IV, pp. 88-129, Casale. On p. 115, s. v. *Illustrati* (Società accademica), the author cites Quadrio, Tiraboschi, Arnaud, *Diss. sulle Accademie*, and T. Vallauri, *Delle società letterarie del Piemonte libri due*, Turin, 1844. The works cited contain nothing of importance, as is the case also with G. Morano, *Catalogo degli illustri scrittori di Casale*, Asti, 1771.

Federico Gonzaga in 1540. Stefano filled this same office to the Duke Guglielmo, son of the Federico just mentioned, who succeeded his brother Francesco in 1550. Guazzo afterwards entered the service of Ludovico Gonzaga, later Duke of Nevers, brother of Francesco and Guglielmo. In the service of this prince Guazzo spent seven years in France and after his return in 1559, he was again sent by the Duke Guglielmo as ambassador to Charles IX in 1564. In 1566 he was sent as ambassador to the new Pope, Pius IV. This same year Guazzo married Francesca Da Ponte and retired from public life, devoting the remainder of his days to the study of literature. Some years before (probably in 1561) he had founded the Academy degli Illustrati, and he now devoted himself to its improvement. He was twice married, his first wife dying in 1575, and the father of four children, only two of whom, a son and a daughter, survived childhood. The daughter married a jurist of Asti, and the son, Giovanni Antonio, followed his father's early studies and became a magistrate at Trino. In order to assist this son in his legal studies, Stefano Guazzo removed at the end of 1589 to Pavia, where he lived until his death on the 6th of December, 1593.

Guazzo was the author of a few mediocre Italian and Latin poems; a funeral oration on the Duchess Margherita;⁵⁸ two collections of letters;⁵⁹ a volume of dialogues on various subjects connected with literature, politics and ethics;⁶⁰ the famous treatise on etiquette known as *La Civil Conversazione*;⁶¹ and *La Ghirlanda*

⁵⁸ Canna, *op. cit.*, p. 9, says this funeral oration was printed at Trino in 1567. I have not seen it mentioned in any catalogue of the numerous Italian libraries which I have visited.

⁵⁹ *Lettere del signor Stefano Guazzo, Gentilhuomo di Casale di Monferrato*, Venice, Barezzi, 1590, 1596 (somewhat enlarged), 1599, 1603, 1606, 1611, and 1614. *Lettere volgari di diversi gentilhuomo del Monferrato raccolte da Messer Stefano Guazzo*, Brescia, 1563, 1565, and 1566.

⁶⁰ *Dialoghi piacevoli del Sig. Stefano Guazzo, Gentilhuomo di Casale di Monferrato*, Venice, 1586, Piacenza, 1587, Venice, 1590, 1604, and 1610. There is also a German translation of the xiith Dialogue, "Della Morte," *Euthanasia* . . . Leipzig, 1625, 4to, in the British Museum.

⁶¹ I have used the first edition: *La Civil Conversatione del Sig. Stefano Guazzo, Gentilhuomo di Casale di Monferrato*, Brescia, Appresso Tomaso Bozzola, 1574, 4to. There are other editions as follows: Venice, 1575, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1586, 1588, 1590, 1593, 1596, 1600, 1604, 1609, 1611, 1621, and 1628. Latin translations appeared at Amberg, 1602, and 1608; Strassburg, 1614; Leipzig, 1635; and Leyden, 1650. There are two English translations: *The Civile Conversation of Stefano Guazzo, written first in Italian, divided into four books, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie* . . . The fourth translated out of Italian by B. Young, London, 1586, 4to, blackletter; *The Art of Conversation. In three parts. Translated . . . into English (from the Italian entitled La civil conversatione)*, London, 1738, 8vo. The last named edition,

della contessa Angela Bianca Beccaria, which will afford material for a later chapter of this work.

The work in which we are at present interested, *La Civil Conversazione*, which title may be translated *Polite Society*, consists of two parts, theory and practice; the former contained in the first three books, and the latter, an account of a banquet at Casale, in the fourth and last book. The first part is in the usual dialogue form, the interlocutors being Guglielmo Guazzo, brother of the author, and Annibale Magnocavalli, a distinguished physician of Casale.

The early part of the dialogue turns on the general question whether a solitary life is preferable to a life of society, Guazzo sustaining the former opinion and Magnocavalli the latter. This discussion extends from fol. 1 to fol. 21 vo., when Guazzo declares that he is satisfied as to the general question, but wishes to know what kind of society he should choose to obtain the advantages described by Magnocavalli. The latter replies that even then the conversation will not be finished, for it will be necessary to consider afterwards the manners in general which all men have to observe in society. Even then it will be necessary to discuss also the particular manners belonging to each class or kind of persons. Guazzo then asks that in the three days that he intends to remain yet in Casale, Magnocavalli shall, in the hours left free from his practice, declare all the things pertaining to society. Magnocavalli excuses himself on the ground that it would take too long to go into particulars, most

in the British Museum, has been mislaid for some years, and I have been unable to see another copy. The French translations are: *La civil conversazione traduite de l'Italien par G. Chappuys*, Lyon, Beraud, 1580, 8vo; *La civile conversazione traduite par Fr. Belleforest Commingeois*, Paris, P. Cavellat, 1582, 8vo; Lyon, Rigaud, 1592, 16mo; Paris, 1598, 16mo. See Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, No. 383, p. 468. There are two articles on Guazzo's *Civil Conversazione* by Edward Sullivan in *The Nineteenth Century*, February, 1904, "A Forgotten Volume in Shakespeare's Library," and June, 1913, "An Italian Book of Etiquette in Shakespeare's Day." The writer is interested in showing that Shakespeare was acquainted with Guazzo's work and probably made use of it. Curiously enough the most valuable part of Guazzo's book, the fourth, does not appeal to Mr. Sullivan. He says, p. 1272, "The first edition [of the English translation] of 1581 was quickly used up, for it was followed in 1586 by a second issue containing an additional fourth book, which, though begun by George Pettie, was published as translated by Bartholomew Young. This fourth book, which on the title-page is described as 'the report of a banquet,' comes much nearer to *The Courtier* than any of the three other books, dealing as it does all through with court society. Probably for this reason Shakespeare did not pay much attention to it. I have found but one passage in it from which he may have borrowed," etc.

of which are known even to the rude, and that it will suffice to treat of the principal things, and of the others which may arise accidentally in the course of the discussion. He declares that he does not intend to discuss what may be called philosophical precepts, because there are many volumes of these both in Greek and Latin, and besides, if he wished to discuss Ethics, it would be useful only to persons of intellect like his hearer, whereas his intention is to discuss the particular forms of social intercourse which belong to each and every class of persons. Magnocavalli then says that as Guazzo has asked him what kind of society one must choose to reach the perfection which they had already discussed, excluding all others, he proposes for that purpose "polite society" (*la civil conversazione*), which he proceeds to define.

In the first place if we desire to understand fully what is good society in order to observe its usages, we must recognize what is impolite and blameworthy society in order to avoid it. In order to facilitate the investigation into what is bad society and to be avoided, Magnocavalli divides men (considered in their social relations only) into three classes, good, bad, and middling (*mezzani*), which are then defined more exactly, and the general rule established that the good are to be followed, the bad avoided, and the middling neither followed nor avoided. Guazzo remarks that few will be left to associate with as the world has become so vicious, and cites as an instance the prevalence of oaths. A list is given (fol. 26) of classes of persons to be avoided. The principle, however, seems to be that only those who are openly known to be bad are to be avoided in deference to public opinion. Certain persons in the territory of Piedmont and Montferrat have become dissolute from the constant passing of armies and have assumed manners to be avoided; still they may be associated with for reasons given on fol. 27. Various countries have their national peculiarities, and we must take people with their defects. The vice of slander is among the insupportable things. Various classes of slanderers are mentioned. The conclusion is that although slanderers are hateful, still as they are not "marked in the brow" (that is, are not publicly infamous) they must be associated with and endured as well as possible. Mode of repressing slanderers (fol. 32 vo.).

The next class of objectionable persons is that of flatterers, of

whom there are two classes, one secret, and one open; the latter is unendurable, the former supportable. Discussion whether teachers and fathers should flatter pupils and children, and children parents. A distinction is made between *simulatori* and *adulatori*. Finally, the flatterers are classed with the slanderers. Method of treating them (fol. 39 vo.); also the way to act with friends so as not to be accused of flattery. A third class of persons not to be sought or avoided is that of contradictors and the contentious. Cause of this vice, and method of treating this class.

Liars are next considered, among whom are flatterers, deceivers, braggarts, and the vainglorious. The inquisitive are also blamed, as well as the ambitious and the proud. The conclusion is that although we must associate with all kinds of persons by chance, our association by choice should be with the few and good. We should also not mind what the evil say about us, and do good for the sake of virtue and not from fear of blame.

The second book begins with a statement of the difference between ancient and modern times, which makes the present work an original one, and renders it impossible to follow in the footsteps of the ancient philosophers. After a complimentary passage, Guazzo asks if there is any rule by which a man may observe the middle way in life, not be too puffed up with self-conceit, or too pusillanimous. Magnocavalli answers that society is the best cure for these extremes; and this brings the conversation back to the subject of the work. After some discussion as to whether there is one form of society which all must observe, or whether it differs according to the person, Magnocavalli proposes to consider the different modes of society according to the diversity of persons, and as society may be considered as existing without one's own dwelling, or within it, he proposes to consider the former on the present occasion, reserving the latter for the following day.

In regard to general principles: knowledge and contemplation of nature should be joined with an active life. The benefits to be obtained from social life. It is important to learn to listen and to be silent. Rules for conversation, pronunciation, and gestures. Faults to be avoided in speaking: too great brevity, diffuseness, talking on too many subjects, repetition, too many "dices," "cotalles." Clearness. Affectation. More study

should be bestowed upon the sense than the words. Discourse should be diversified by figures, etc. The question of the Tuscan language versus dialects. Magnocavalli decides that in writing Tuscan should be used, but in speaking, one's own dialect.

Having considered politeness of speech, the author now takes up politeness of manners. The Socratic maxim is cited: Be such as you desire to seem, and the conclusion is drawn that we should think before we speak in order to avoid the fault of *apparenza*. One should not interrupt the speaker, nor be hasty in replying. It is better to know how to be silent at the right time than to speak well. One should speak modestly of things outside his own profession. Sincerity is one of the best ways to avoid *apparenza*.

The firmest bond of society is the good will of others acquired by affability. To this should be added discretion, which shows itself in not seeing the faults of others and overlooking our own. On what errors in others this discretion should be practised. Manner of reproving the defects of others. Discretion in the ceremonies of society.

Thus far only general rules have been given; now Magnocavalli descends to particulars. How one should converse with the young, the old, the noble, the ignoble, with princes, private citizens, the learned, the unlearned, with citizens or foreigners, with ecclesiastics, with laymen, with men and with women. How the young should act towards the old. They should frequent their society, and be modest. The old; how they should bear their age, which virtue and manners make respected, not years alone. The old should not despise the young.

The intercourse of the noble and ignoble. Definition of nobility and classification of the noble. How each should be treated when they associate with the ignoble. Intercourse between princes and private citizens. Princes themselves are considered briefly and the difficulty for a private person to associate with them. A short account is given of the mode of preserving their favor. The author then passes to the intercourse between the learned and the unlearned. Division of the unlearned into two classes, the *stolti* and the *savii*. Praise of letters and comparison with arms. Office of the scholar to inform others. He should be unaffected and incite the unlearned to study by his familiarity and discretion. How the ignorant should behave towards the

learned and *vice versâ*. The true pleasure, however, is when the learned associate with the learned, and hence the benefit of academies like the Accademia degli Illustrati of Casale. Account of this academy, its motto, mode of procedure. How marriages of members were celebrated, how deaths were observed. Intercourse of citizens and strangers. Hospitality enjoined; how strangers should act.

Intercourse between laymen and ecclesiastics. Intercourse with women. In the discussion which follows Guazzo takes sides against women and Magnocavalli defends them. Two kinds of love, heavenly and earthly. Different kinds of beauty, and the kinds of love which arise from them. Mode of behavior of men and women. Example of a lady of Montferrat who is cited as a model. How and to what end men should associate with women. Two kinds of idleness are vicious, and one seemingly (*honesto*). The second kind is chiefly found in the society of women. Advantage of banquets (*conviti*) from this standpoint. What banquets should be and their rules. The second book ends with a promise on the part of Magnocavalli to inform Guazzo of a famous banquet which took place in Casale the year before. This promise is fulfilled in the fourth book, which is devoted wholly to an account of this banquet.

The author divides the matter of the third book as follows: intercourse between husband and wife, father and son, brother and brother, and master and servant. All the other grades of relationship are included in these. There are three causes of unhappy marriages: inequality in age or condition of husband or wife; marriage made against the will of the parties; and the wife's lack of dower. Whether beauty should be sought in a wife. Excessive beauty is dangerous. Arts of the toilette blamed. What qualities make a marriage firm and sure. A choice should be made not by the eye alone, but by the ear. Qualities of the parents are inherited by the children. Nobles should choose a noble wife, well brought up, young rather than mature. Different usages of husbands in various provinces in treatment of wives: some treat them with freedom, others with repression. Ill consequences of second marriages. Proper time for husband to marry is when he is still young. Behavior of husband to wife. Love the foundation of marriage. What this love should be; jealousy of the wife's love. Wife's faults generally arise

from husband's. Husband's distrust; on what founded. Guard of wife. Domestic honor must be upheld by both husband and wife, like a burden borne by two bearers. The part assigned to each; husband is head. How he should perform this duty. He should extend to her confidence and companionship. How he should reprove her only in case of need. How he should behave towards her, with gentility. Why women love their lovers more than their husbands.

Duty of wife; she should love and obey her husband. The reverse is unfortunate. Why a woman should obey her husband. Even if the husband fails in his duty his wife must not fail in hers. The world judges the husband's fault leniently, but the wife's severely. Wife should avoid the company of loose women, and shun the very shadow of evil. Women although virtuous are vain and like to be admired. They excuse their train of suitors on the ground, first, that they cannot drive them away, and, secondly because it will keep their husbands from following other women. Abuse of ornaments, especially dressing the hair. Returning to the duty of wife to husband, she should avoid all that can vex him and graciously second his will and fall in with his manners. It is not becoming in a wife to reveal to her husband a suitor's importunities and her repulse of them. How a woman is to defend herself in such cases. How a wife should treat a bad husband. Whether a husband should ever beat his wife. In no way can the wife retain her husband's love so well as by taking good care of the household. The husband should not meddle in this matter. The wife should also bear her husband's troubles, and all their goods should be in common.

Intercourse between father and son: causes of the bad understanding between sons and fathers. Children should be trained to professions for which they have taste. Daughters should not be forced into monasteries. Causes why sons do not meet their fathers' expectations. Fault of early rearing. Many mothers do not nurse their children themselves, nor select nurses with sufficient care. Another cause is that fathers are selfish and keep their sons with them for pastime and so interfere with their education. Importance of a knowledge of letters. Wealth without virtue is of little worth. Third cause of difficulty is that fathers do not early enough train up their sons in the fear of God. Teachers should be pious men. Teachers are of little

use if the father does not himself set a good example to his son. Other occasions of unhappy relations between father and son. When father is blind to son's faults or excuses them or interprets them too favorably. Bad results when fathers are too indulgent. Equally bad when fathers are too severe. Fathers should not be partial to one son: cause of this. Another cause of unhappy relations is when father and son are of different stations or professions. In these cases the father if a private citizen should yield precedence to his son. Fathers often forget that their sons are grown up and still treat them like children. Children on the other hand should treat their aged fathers with gratitude and respect. Avarice in fathers and sons. Children should be trained up to govern the house. Rules above given are briefly summed up. Duty of sons towards fathers. First law of nature is that children should honor parents even if they are harsh. Anecdote of the *Housse Partie*.

How daughters should be trained. Diversity of methods followed by parents. Daughters should be trained according to the life proposed for them, being strict, however, rather than too free. Custom of Casale as to ladies paying calls. Training fit to prepare girls for the court of princess, etc. Even daughters of artisans should be taught to read and write. Summing up: daughters should be brought up chaste not only in body but in mind. How behavior of sons and daughters should differ. How daughters should behave, with virginal modesty. Sons should not be timid. Above all, children should not be frightened by nurses, etc., but should be encouraged and made bold.

Behavior of widows. As they are exposed more than others to criticism, they should be extremely circumspect, live retired and avoid idleness.

Intercourse of brothers. Causes of discord: fathers' partiality and their own selfishness. Discord of brothers diminishes the good name of the family and vice versâ. How concord is to be maintained. It depends largely on the prudence and authority of the father. The eldest brother should be honored and submitted to by the younger ones. He should, however, treat them kindly. Above all there should be a certain respect which promotes concord more than familiarity. It may be objected that in this case they will not correct each others' faults. They should, however, observe a temperate course in this matter and

preserve a concord composed of love, harmony, respect, and correction.

Intercourse of master and servant. Three usual faults of servants: drink, gambling, slander. Why they do not love their masters; dissimilarity of life, mind, and manners, also servitude involuntarily borne. There is a difference between noble servants and baseborn servants. Motive of service is different. Miseries of a courtier's life. Causes of discord between master and servant. Two things, one depending on master, one on servant: commanding and obeying. The master should know how to command. The best way to do this is to learn how to obey. Masters should not beat servants. Other faults of masters. Servants on the other hand do not know how to obey. They have three faults common to dogs: gluttony, barking, *i.e.*, telling all their master's secrets, and biting, *i.e.*, backbiting their masters. They are also proud and lying, and faithless. Master and servant must forbear with each other. Still the master is not bound to have servants belonging to the class of unendurable persons mentioned in Book II, and should show his servants that he wishes his house free from every blemish, and not suffer his servants to offend the honor of God, or of himself, or of his neighbor. There are, however, many small defects which the master can overlook. Way in which master and servant can live well together. Love, faithfulness, and ability are demanded from the servant, and can be obtained if the master is kind. Limits of this kindness. The master should teach his servant to be capable. It is not easy to command. It should be remembered that a new servant must learn his master's ways. Hence it is better to choose an inexperienced servant than one who must change all he has previously learned. The master should say fully and clearly what he wants, teach the servant what he does not know, and reprove his errors kindly. All the above refers to words: as to deeds, the master should set the servant the example of diligence, etc. When he commands it should not be with imperious and threatening words. When the master has by the above means won his servant's love, faith, and capability, he should preserve him by treating him considerately, by aiding him in his labors, visiting him when sick, and giving him at the right time and place those things which cost the master little and are of great benefit to the servant. Duty of servant

towards master: he must take great pains to serve him, must not be "a new broom," must subordinate all his thoughts and manners to his master's. Must not flatter or feign, but serve and obey with simplicity of heart, rather from duty than from fear. If servant cannot please master he had better find a new place. Other virtues of a servant.

In conclusion, Guazzo asks for rules to guide courtiers. Magnocavalli replies that Castiglione has given these in his immortal work, still he will give a few of his own. As the prince is an earthly god so he should be always duly honored. Two other rules are, silence or pleasant speech.

The fourth book of *La Civil Conversazione* is, as has already been stated, entirely taken up with the promised account of a company at Casale, in which the various forms of social diversion are described at length. This book will form the subject of the following chapter.

Guazzo's work enjoyed the greatest popularity, having been translated into Latin, French, and English, and being reprinted as late as 1738. The *Cortegiano*, the *Galateo*, and *La Civil Conversazione* were the three popular handbooks of manners in Italy, and their vogue in other countries served to introduce Italian customs and manners and powerfully to mould society. After Guazzo no other writer on social manners arose in Italy in the sixteenth century, and with our consideration of his work we shall take our leave of Italian Etiquette.⁶²

⁶² It is not my purpose to examine subsequent works on Etiquette, but I may refer to one which I know only from an extract published by A. D'Ancona as a wedding publication: *La Gentildonna Italiana del secolo XVII a Convito*. (Dalla *Ginipedia, ovvero Avvertimenti civili per Donna nobile di Vincenzo Nolfi: Capitolo XXXIV*.) In Pisa, 1898. The original work appeared at Venice, Guerrigli, 1631, and Bologna, Dozza, 1662. Of the author nothing is known but that he died about 1666. He wrote several works in verse and prose. The chapter published by D'Ancona contains minute directions for table manners.

CHAPTER VIII.

An Italian *Conversazione* of the Sixteenth Century—The Fourth Book of Stefano Guazzo's *La Civil Conversazione*—Introduction—Election of Queen—Game of Solitude—Conversation on Love—Supper—Conversation on Eating—Drinking—Conversation on Drinking—Music—Compliment to Signor Vespasiano—Table cleared—Conversation on Happiness—Game of Society—Signor Hercole's punishment—Question: Whether the Eyes or the Tongue are more powerful to win love—Side of the Eyes—Side of the Tongue—As to praises—As to revealing a lover's feelings—Signor Hercole's Lament to his Lady—Discussion on the subject of Woman's harshness to lovers—Man's Faithlessness—Discourse on Matrimony—The company breaks up.

The first three books of Guazzo's work were devoted, as we have already seen, to the theory of society; in the fourth and last book the author proposed to give the practice, as illustrated by a banquet held at Casale. The company is minutely described and there is every reason to suppose that it actually took place. The importance of the account would warrant a translation of the entire book, but the space at our disposal will require considerable condensation.

The most illustrious Signor Vespasiano Gonzaga, while at Casale, in those hours unoccupied by public affairs and private studies, sometimes visited those houses where seemly and virtuous assemblies met. And because it would be too long to describe all of these, I shall select only the conversation and games which took place one evening last winter at the house of Signora Caterina Sacca dal Ponte, whither Signor Vespasiano betook himself upon an invitation to supper, having with him Signor Hercole Visconte. He found there besides Signora Caterina, Signora Giovannà Bobba, Signora Lelia San Giorgio, Signora Francesca Guazza, the Cavalier Bottazzo, Signor Giovanni Cane, Signor Guglielmo Cavagliate, and Signor Bernardino, the husband of Signora Giovanna.¹ These persons by their

¹ The interlocutors in the fourth part of the *Civil Conversazione* are ten in number, six gentlemen and four ladies. The author is not present, just as Castiglione does not take part in the dialogue of the *Cortegiano*. Guazzo's wife Francesca, the niece of Signora Caterina Sacca dal Ponte, is, however, present. Two only of the speakers are of any prominence in Italian history and literature: Vespasiano Gonzaga, Duke of Sabbioneta, and Giovanni Jacopo Bottazzo. The former was the son of Luigi Gonzaga, called Rodomonte,

gentility, virtue, and manners occupy a most honored position; therefore at Signor Vespasiano's appearance the whole company arose, and after a chair had been offered him, he requested all to sit with him. This they did and observed silence for so long a time that it induced Signor Vespasiano to say that he thought he had come there for society, but he perceived that he was in solitude. At these words all looked at each other and continued silent. He then arose and bowing to the company was about to take his leave, remarking that he would withdraw in order to leave them free to continue their conversation, which he knew he had interrupted. Signora Caterina said quickly: "How can this thought enter your mind, if I have invited this company on purpose that you may find some pleasure in the supper which I am now having prepared?" Then Signor Vespasiano answered: "If I do not wish to depart for the reason already given, I must at least depart for this other one; for the supper should not

renowned for his love of letters as well as for his military prowess. He was present at the Sack of Rome in 1529, and afterwards conducted the Pope, Clement VII, to Orvieto. He was killed by a shot from an arquebus at Vicovaro, fighting for the Church against Napoleone Orsino. Vespasiano was born in 1531, and entered the service of Spain under the Emperor Charles V, and later Philip II. Like his father he distinguished himself in war as well as in peace. He beautified his residence, and founded schools for the study of Latin and Greek. His palace was always open to scholars and he was himself a collector of books. He died at Sabbioneta in 1591, at the age of sixty. There are lives by A. Lisca, *Vita Vesp. Gonzagae*, Verona, 1592, and P. Iren. Affo, *Vita di V. G.*, Parma, 1780. See also notices in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura italiana*, Vol. VII, p. 68 *et seq.*, 1118, and 1322; *Dizionario biografico universale*, Florence, 1840, Vol. II, p. 1166, and *Nouvelle biographie générale*, Paris, 1877. The date of Bottazzo's birth and death is not known. He was born at Monte Castello, near Alessandria, and was a jurist. He was a member of the Accademia degli Illustrati of Casale and bore the name of Il Pensoso, and of the Accademia degli Argonauti at Pavia, the members of which devoted themselves especially to the cultivation of marine poetry. Bottazzo was the author of some letters published in various collections, *Rime* printed in a volume issued by the Accademia degli Illustrati on the occasion of the death of Margherita Paleologa, Duchess of Mantua, Trino, 1567, and *Dialoghi marittimi*, Mantua, 1547. Notices of Bottazzo may be found in Morano, *Catalogo degli illustri scrittori di Casale, e di tutto il ducato di Monferrato*, Asti, 1771; Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia, 1762, Vol. II, Part III, p. 1888; and Tiraboschi, Vol. VII, p. 199. Of the other interlocutors, Hercole Visconte, Giovanni Cane, and Lelia San Giorgio, are mentioned in Guazzo's letters (Venice, 1606). I can find nothing in regard to Guglielmo Cavagliate, Bernardino Bobba, Caterina Sacca dal Ponte, and Giovanna Bobba. There is a delightful article by the French ambassador to the United States, J. J. Jusserand, in the *Revue de Paris*, 15 July, 1899, pp. 372-399, "Un Duc et sa Ville. Vespasien de Gonzague, Duc de Sabbioneta." The author describes the life of Vespasiano and the city which he founded in a wilderness. A few charming pages are devoted to the *Civil Conversazione* of Guazzo, and a brief analysis (pp. 380-387) is given of the fourth book describing the supper at Casale which is the subject of the present chapter.

exceed the number of nine guests,² and finding the number already complete, I must withdraw as a superfluous person. To whom Signor Giovanni Cane replied: "If the one who is superfluous is to be rejected, your excellency will do well to remain, and let the worthless dog³ that I am depart." He pretended to depart, but Signor Vespasiano stopped him and wished all to resume their seats, and turning to Signor Giovanni said: "If there were in this company any fierce and biting dog, I would approve of its being turned out so as not to harm us; but here I see only peace, love, and concord, and you are such an agreeable and trusty dog that you deserve from Signora Caterina a supper and from us all many caresses, because you are a sure guard of this company." "I could indeed bark," he answered, "but don't let these ladies fear that I will bite or seize, since from old age I have no longer any teeth in my mouth or strength in my claws."

After the others had given their opinions on the subject, Signora Francesca said: "I do not know why we should seek to exclude dogs or anything else, since the company does not exceed the number of nine. And if you will excuse me, I will say that you wrong the majesty of God in counting it ten, since you separate what he has joined together and make two of Signor Bernardino and Signora Giovanna, who by virtue of marriage are but one." After the Cavalier Bottazzo had given his opinion, he proposed that a lord should be created for the government of the company.⁴ Here Signor Guglielmo said: "It would be a needless trouble to wish to create a new lord, since we already have one, and for my part I shall be satisfied to obey the most illustrious Signor Vespasiano." "No, no," replied Signor Vespasiano, "imagine that my titles have re-

² In regard to the number of guests at a banquet, see Palmieri, *Vita Civile*, Bk. II, p. 185, cited in Chapter VII, p. 35. The subject is discussed in J. C. Bulenger, *De convivii libri quatuor*, Lyons, 1627, p. 49, who cites Macrobius *Saturnaliorum libri VII*, Bk. I, cap. VII. In the passage in question (*Macrobi Opera*, ed. L. Jan, Quedlinburg, 1852, Vol. II, p. 48) Macrobius quotes Varro, *Saturae Menippeae*, as laying down this law in regard to the number of guests at a banquet: "ut neque minor quam Gratiarum sit, neque quam Musarum numerosior." Jan notes: "Haec Gallius, XIII, II, 2, sic interpretur: id est proficisci a tribus et consistere in novem, ut, cum paucissimi convivae sunt, non pauciores sint quam tres, cum plurimi, non plures quam novem."

³ The pun is on Signor Giovanni's name, Cane, dog. Similar puns are later made on the Cavalier's name, Bottazzo, cask.

⁴ For the custom of creating a king or queen for the government of the company, see Chapter VI, note-14. To the authorities there cited may be added Macrobius, *op. cit.*, I, 5 (*ed. cit.*, II, p. 33).

mained at home, and that here is only Vespasiano, a private gentleman like the others, and let us see to whose lot it will fall to be king or queen of this company." Having said this he wished lots to be drawn, and taking up a volume of Petrarch, which was on the table, he proposed that each should choose a verse of the first sonnet, which on opening the book should appear on the right hand page, and he or she should be king or queen who happened on the verse most appropriate to rule and lordship.⁵ One selected the first, another the second, another the third, and another another verse, and then the volume was opened at the sonnet beginning:

Oimè il bel viso, oimè il soave sguardo.⁶

Signora Giovanna was declared Queen by virtue of the seventh verse chosen by her, which runs:

Alma real, dignissima d'impero.⁷

The Queen returned thanks to the company in a modest manner, and after she had chosen as judges⁸ of the future contests Signor Vespasiano and the Cavalier Bottazzo, she continued: "If I rightly remember, Signor Vespasiano said on entering here that he had found solitude where he thought to find a company. I should therefore be pleased if occasion should be taken from these words to introduce among us a game of solitude, with which should be formed a picture of the solitary life. And because I know that you, Signor Giovanni, are no less clever than amusing, I impose on you the duty of arranging the game, and upon the others the duty of playing it."

Signor Giovanni replied: "Since I cannot or ought not to oppose the commands of so great a Queen, we shall begin the

⁵ The lots drawn by opening a volume of Petrarch are a variation of the *Sortes Virgilianae*, for which see *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* edited by William Smith, 3d ed., London, 1891, Vol. II, p. 687, *ad verb.* "sortes," as well as articles Divination, Bibliomancy, and Sortes Virgilianae in Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, new edition, 1888. There is an interesting article on the subject by the Abbé du Resnel in *Mémoires de littérature, tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Tome XIX, Paris, 1753, pp. 287-310. The writer cites examples of the use of this kind of divination in ancient and mediæval times. Gibbon mentions this article in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter XXXVIII, note 51.

⁶ Petrarch, Sonetto 1 in *Morte di Madonna Laura*. "Alas the fair face, alas the sweet look."

⁷ From the same sonnet: "Royal soul, most worthy of empire."

⁸ For judges in parlor games see Chapter VI, p. 281.

Game of Solitude⁹ by each electing a place suitable for a life of solitude, assigning the reason which has led us to embrace a solitary life, and confirming it by some proverb or other sentence, after which it will be the duty of the judges to declare which of us has chosen solitude from the best motive, and he or she will not be obliged to answer any question. The others then will remain in their solitude, and if they wish to leave it they will be compelled to answer suitably the questions put to them by the judges. Expecting therefore that each of you in the order of this circle will follow the game, I begin as follows: "Because I do not wish in society to contaminate my soul by the vices of others, I depart to the solitude of my estate named Boromeo, where I shall support my action by the saying, Better alone than in bad company."¹⁰

Then followed the Queen: "In order that the greed of reigning and extending my royal state may not urge me to oppress my subjects and earn perpetual blame, I go to lead a private life in the solitude of a desert, there being sure that whoever humbles himself on earth shall be exalted in heaven."

Signor Guglielmo: "In order that I may give my lady no occasion to doubt that I am a faithful and secret lover, I withdraw to the solitude of an uninhabited tower where I shall show that never like me

Was sparrow solitary on any roof."¹¹

Then Signora Francesca: "That I may never have to behold in the face of any lady that excellent beauty of which heaven has been liberal to her and avaricious to me, I retire to the solitude of darkness, where I shall recognize the truth of the saying, If eye does not behold, heart does not sigh."

Signor Hercule: "That I may honor my lady with pen and ink as I do with my tongue, I retreat to the solitude of my chamber, where I shall cause her:

⁹ The Game of Solitude is not found in Bargagli or Ringhieri and I do not remember seeing it elsewhere. It was probably invented for the occasion.

¹⁰ For this proverb see G. Pitre, *Proverbi Siciliani*, Palermo, 1880, Vol. I, p. 239. This proverb is found from Sicily to Piedmont: the Tuscan form is, "Meglio soli, che male accompagnati."

¹¹ Petrarch, Sonetto 171 in *Vita di Laura*:

Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto
Non fu quant' io.

The poet had in mind Psalm CII, 7, "I watch, and am as a sparrow alone upon the house top."

To be praised in more than a thousand pages if I live."¹²

Then Signora Lelia: "In order that these false poets with their sweet praises and pitiful rhymes may not lull my reason to rest, and in order to arouse my senses, shutting my ears to their vain words, I shall withdraw into the solitude of myself and do as does the asp:

Which because it is wicked will not hear the song."¹³

Signor Bernardino: "That I may forget an ungrateful woman, I depart to the solitude of Mt. Olympus, where I shall prove whether that proverb is true: Out of sight, out of mind."¹⁴

Signora Caterina: "That I may destroy the flesh and edify the spirit I go to end my days in the solitude of a holy monastery, where devoted to God I shall see:

That what delights the world is a short dream."¹⁵

After each had thus proposed a solitude, Signor Vespasiano turning to the Cavalier said: "It is for us now to judge which of them has withdrawn into solitude from the best spirit." The

¹² Petrarch, Sonetto 28 in *Vita di Laura*:

che laudato
Sarà, s'io vivo, in più di mille carte.

¹³

Che per star empio il canto udir non vole.

I do not know the author of this line. The belief that the asp stops its ears in order not to hear is as old as the Psalms; in the Vulgate, LVII, 5, the translation is: "sicut aspidis surdae, et obturantibus aures suas." In the English Authorized Version, LVIII, 4, the rendering is: "they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear." This figure in the Psalms gave rise to various legends which may be found in the mediæval Bestiaries; see F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889, pp. 22, 190, and 198. Lauchert cites the canzone *Ai fals ris* attributed to Dante, which contains the following allusion to the asp:

Ben avria questa donna il cor di ghiaccio,
Aitan col aspis, que per ma fe es sors,
Nisi pietatem habuerit servo.

and Ariosto, Capitolo XVII, O lieta piaggia:

io supplico a un sasso:
Anzi a una crudel Aspide, che suole
Atturarsi l'orecchie, acciò placarse
Non possa per dolcezza di parole.

¹⁴ The Italian is, "S'occhio non mira, cuor non sospira." See Pitre, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 22, who cites examples from all parts of Italy, as well as the Latin "Qui non viderit, non cuperit." The Tuscan form is the nearest the text: "Se l'occhio non mira, il cor non sospira." The proverb which I have used to render the original, "S'occhio non mira, cuor non sospira," is also widely spread in Italy; see Pitre, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 114.

¹⁵ Petrarch, Sonetto I in *Vita di Laura*:

Che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.

cavalier replied: "Since a hasty sentence betokens a rash judge, we must for our honor first ruminate it well, in order that it may not be called crude and indigested." "Then," said Signor Vespasiano, "if we have to ruminate, let the supper be brought and while we two are ruminating it, these recluses of ours shall remain in their solitudes in fasting and prayer, which is always good for the salvation of their souls." The Queen then interrupted and said: "Don't take this turn, Sir Judges, because we, too, wish to sup, and hear you pronounce our sentences, and remember that Signor Giovanni has not proposed in this game either fasting or prayer." These words were approved by all, and especially by Signora Caterina, to whom Signor Vespasiano said: "A moment ago you wanted to mortify your flesh and end your days in a convent, and now you want to sup with us!" She replied: "I don't repent of wishing to retire to a convent; but before Lent the Carnival must be observed; so it will suffice if I go to the convent to-morrow; besides, you know that fasting begins in the morning and not in the evening." Signor Giovanni added: "You would like to break my fast in the middle, but it must be ended before supper; therefore delay sentence no longer, after which you must put questions to each of us, in order that with our answers we may escape from our solitude and likewise sup."

Thereupon the judges arose and stepped aside and after comparing their opinions decided that the proposition of Signora Caterina surpassed all others in merit, and she was consequently released from her solitude without further question. Then turning to the Queen the judges said: "If you wish to leave your desert, explain to us first with what intent a certain artist painted Love with a fish in one hand and a flower in the other."¹⁶ She answered: "To show that he rules land and sea."

Then Signora Lelia was told that she could not hope to leave her secret solitude unless she explained the mystery of the lover who said to his lady: "I am without God, without you, and without myself." She replied: "I am without God, because I worship you, not him; I am without you because I do not have you; and I am without myself because you have me."

¹⁶ The "question" why Love was depicted as blind, young, naked, and armed with the bow, was frequently debated; see Chapter VI, note 22, and Chapter XI, note 7. I am not acquainted with any picture, like that mentioned in the text, where Love is depicted with a fish in one hand and a flower in the other.

The judges then went to Signora Francesca and said that she could not think of leaving her darkness unless she explained to them how it was possible to see a thing and at the same time not to see it. She answered: "You shall soon know if you shut one eye and look at me with the other, because you will not see me with the closed eye, and will see me with the open one."

Having released Signora Francesca, Signor Giovanni was asked, in order to return from his estate of Boromeo, to answer what dog, what cock, and what servant were fed better than all others. He replied: "The butcher's dog, the miller's cock, and the landlords' servant."

Signor Bernardino was told that if he wished to descend from Olympus he must show how the body could receive pleasure and pain at the same time. He answered: "Let one who has the itch scratch himself and he will see."

Signor Hercole was told that he would remain a prisoner in his chamber until he told who those lovers were, who the older they grew, the more in love they were. He replied: "Those who love the beauties of the mind, which increase in the beloved with time, and are with greater judgment recognized by the lover."

The only one now left in solitude was Signor Guglielmo, who was told that if he wished to descend from his tower and sup with the others he must declare which are the greater in number, the living or the dead. He replied: "The living, for the dead no longer are."

The game ended, the Queen asked if it were the hour for supper. The Cavalier replied: "The hour for the rich is when they will, for the poor when they can." Then the Queen ordered the steward to go for the supper. Meanwhile the Cavalier reverted to Signor Guglielmo's answer and said: "This reply is according to the letter, but I think that even according to the spirit of his words it may be said that the dead are not in the majority, and that the living are, for Plato was wont to say that we are now dead and that our bodies are our sepulchres, inferring that we begin to live when we are dead. Wherefore according to this understanding we living must be called dead, and the dead living, which being so, it is very true that the living are more in number than the dead." Signor Guglielmo replied: "I understand the matter in the same way, and I think the poet should be so understood where he says:

When I thought to close my eyes I opened them.¹⁷

Which he showed more clearly in that other verse:

I am alive and thou art still dead."¹⁸

"And I," added Signor Hercole, "holding dead those who leave this mortal life, dare to say that at least in this city, the dead are more than the living, since the beauty of these ladies has killed, up to this time, more than a thousand lovers, and more than a thousand they will yet kill before they die."

The conversation thus begun turns on the subject of the cruelty of ladies to their lovers, and lasts until the supper is announced. While the Queen was speaking on this topic the tables were set and furnished with viands. Then the company having washed their hands and invoked the blessing of God, the Queen was offered her seat, after whom all took their places at her command and began the supper, which was constantly interspersed with varied and pleasing conversation.

The talk first naturally fell on eating, as Signora Caterina began by apologizing for the viands. To whom Signora Francesca replied: "Perhaps it would have been better, my aunt, to have prepared the supper in such a way as not to need an excuse, and these guests might ask what prevented you from better providing for their needs and merits." Signora Caterina answered: "I would reply that their boundless goodness has, which promises me that they will accept my excuse." Here Signor Giovanni said: "When we shall have supped, Signora Francesca will perceive that this excuse was unnecessary, because you will see removed from the table so much superfluity that perhaps Signora Caterina will deserve rather to be accused than excused. Here I see no ravening wolves, nor is there need to fear the dog, because he is old and eats little." Then Signor Guglielmo said: "A good man was wont to say to his guests: 'If you are wise men, what I give you to eat is enough; if you are not wise, it is too much.'" The Cavalier said: "A poet

¹⁷ Petrarch, Sonetto II in *Morte di Laura*:

Quando mostrai di chiuder, gli occhi apersi.

It is incorrectly quoted in the text, where it runs:

Quando pensai di chiuder, gli occhi apersi.

¹⁸ Petrarch, *Trionfo della Morte*, Cap. II, 22:

Viva son io, e tu sei morto ancora.

once included among the greatest blessings of life the easy banquet." "What do you understand by an easy banquet?" asked Signora Lelia. He replied: "Easy on the purse." Signor Vespasiano said: "Or easy to dispatch, because if it is not easy it is difficult to come off with honor and health." "That is so," added Signor Bernardino, "because when you can't find the way to get your foot out, you have to turn back." The Queen, laughing, asked Signor Hercole how he understood it and he replied: "I understand it in a contrary sense, and believe that poet was a boon companion who meant by an easy banquet that food which can be easily swallowed without tiring the teeth too much by masticating it, such as good soups, pies, milk, honey, *bianco mangiare*, jellies, and the like." Signor Giovanni said: "It might also be said that he wished to commend sobriety, and that he meant a banquet easy, not in respect to the food, but to the stomach, which receiving little food, easily digests it." This led the conversation to the subject of sobriety, which was approved provided it was not caused by avarice. The Cavalier said apropos of this: "I find that Plato reproved Aristippus because he had bought a large quantity of fish. When he said that he had had them for a small sum, Plato replied: 'I too would buy them at so cheap a price.' Aristippus retorted: 'You see then, O Plato, that I am not gluttonous; but that you are avaricious.'"¹⁹ Signor Guglielmo said: "That Aripistus must have liked dainties more than fine clothing." All laughed at that word Aripistus, which he had uttered involuntarily, and he said: "I do not know how I got my tongue so twisted since I have not yet drunk."

Then the Queen commanded that drink should be brought him to straighten his tongue, which was done, and likewise to the others. After Signora Francesca had drunk, Signor Vespasiano said to her: "You do not wish to follow the custom of the ancient Roman matrons, of whom Dante says:

And for their drink the ancient Roman women
With water were content."²⁰

¹⁹ This anecdote of Plato and Aristippus is related by Athenæus in his *Deipnosophistae*, Bk. VIII, 343, c (ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1827, Vol. II, p. 712).

²⁰ Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXII, 145, Longfellow's translation. The original is:

E le romane antiche, per lor bere,
Contente furon d'acqua.

She replied: "I leave water to the dogs." Signor Giovanni answered: "I can hardly stand on my feet with wine; think of what I would do drinking water. Give it, however, to the Cavalier to fill his cask [*botazzo*]." And he who held in his hand a glass in the shape of a ship full of wine, said: "Since Signora Caterina has been pleased to make me a boatman, I should be silly if I drank water while guiding a ship of wine." After he had drunk he raised his hand and added: "He who said that the ships on land are the safest, meant these." Then drink was given to Signor Giovanni, who before he finished drinking, stopped two or three times to taste it the better. Signora Lelia said to him: "It seems to me, Signor Giovanni, that you eat your wine instead of drinking it." "So he must do," he replied, "who wishes to extract its quintessence. Don't you know the proverb that three things are ill treated: Birds in the hands of children; girls in the hands of old men; and wine in the hands of Germans, who do not drink it but swallow it and break its neck." "Rather," said Signor Vespasiano, "they break their own necks."

After they had all drunk Signor Hercole said: "I have still something left to say on behalf of sobriety." Here Signora Francesca interposed: "I beg you, don't praise sobriety any more, because you will not be believed, for you praise it while eating." He answered: "Don't look at what I do, but at what I say." The Cavalier said: "Perhaps Signora Francesca means that this is not a suitable time, as thought one who when reproved at the table for eating too much, replied: 'Excuse me, my gluttony has no ears.'" Signora Francesca answered: "I did not mean that, but that we all praise sobriety, and almost all of us avoid it." Signor Guglielmo said: "It may be said, in conformity with your opinion, that sobriety, as the poet declares:

Like those acorns,
Which shunning, all the world honors."²¹

Signor Giovanni added that he concurred in Signora Francesca's opinion that it was inopportune to talk of sobriety while at supper, and cited the example of the kings of Persia, who disputed about strength before war, of justice before the sacrifice,

²¹ Petrarch, Canzone 4 in *Vita di Laura*:

Simili a quelle ghiande
Le qua' fuggendo tutto il mondo onora.

and of sobriety before eating. The Queen, however, commanded Signor Hercole not to refrain from speaking what he had in mind, and he began: "What I wanted to say was that if it is true that the mind fasting is quicker and loftier, as has been said, I should like to know how that ancient proverb can be true, which declares that from a full belly proceeds better counsel, and if he can tune for me this harp, he shall be my great Apollo." All listened attentively, thinking that such a question deserved a grateful hearing. The Cavalier then said: "If I do not err, there is no opposition between these two propositions, because it is true that the mind is quicker when fasting, and it is likewise true that counsel is better after food. But you must remark that by good counsel you must not understand that given by a person of astute and subtle intellect, for if it were so, undoubtedly his advice would be better fasting. But by better counsel we must understand that given by a just and sincere person. And therefore just as fasting (if we intend to work some evil) we form our plan with greater malice, so after food the sharpness of our intellect is blunted and our desire to do evil is diminished. You see that ordinarily we are more joyful after eating and give more gracious answers, and act more frankly than we did while fasting. I cannot support this fact by a more famous maxim than that of Cato of Utica, who said that Caesar went sober to ruin the Republic, meaning that a man with a full stomach would never have been so cruel and inhuman."

The company then discussed the question why it was that the Cavalier was of subtle wit although the fattest of those present. After this was settled to the satisfaction of all, the Queen invited Signor Giovanni to drink. He replied: "Rather, Signora, invite me to eat, for I am continually invited to drink by my old age, which is like that of the eagle."²² While she was mixing the wine with water, he added: "I see very clearly that you are watering the wine to set us an example; but on account of my continual occupations I have never had time to do so myself." After he had drunk, the wine was carried to the others and the Cavalier remarked: "A long time ago there came to this city an astrologer to whom I applied to know the events of my life, and

²² In the Psalm CIII, 5, the words: "so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's," gave rise during the Middle Ages to various legends concerning the eagle, for which Lauchert, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 171, and 193, may be consulted.

although he informed me of many important things, I chiefly laid up in my heart the warning he gave me to guard myself against a great danger from water. From that time on I determined never to drink water in my wine, and I have succeeded in keeping my resolution until now." Signora Lelia replied: "You should be careful while shunning water that you do not fall into the fire, which you drink in your wine; unless you tell me that one danger cannot be overcome without another." He answered: "I don't mean that, but that the fire of wine if it burns does not consume, and then if you notice, I am drinking this wine from a ship, and while the wine descends into the cask (*botazzo*) from the prow, a breeze blows from the stern which gently tempers its heat." Signora Caterina and all the others having drunk, Signor Guglielmo was left the last to do so. He began to smell the wine, and when he was asked why he did so, he answered, after he had emptied his glass, that he had found more sweetness in smelling wine than in smelling love letters. "How so?" asked the Queen. He replied: "A certain countryman of ours wrote his lady a love letter, and to make it more pleasant to her he had it perfumed a little, and fearing that perchance she would not perceive it, he added these words: Postscript. Kiss the letter." All laughed, and the Queen remarked that she had observed that many smelled their wine before drinking it. She therefore commanded each one of the company to give a different reason for smelling the wine.

After they had done this, Signor Giovanni changing the subject said: "There was once a boon companion who having eaten at supper some dishes seasoned with much salt and pepper rose from his bed at midnight and putting his head out of a window overlooking the street, called at the top of his voice: 'Fire! Fire!' The neighbors ran up at the noise and asked where the fire was. The man answered: 'In my throat, in my throat.' Now," he added, "I feel a like fire in mine, thanks to this pastry, wherefore I must be given drink at once to extinguish it."

The conversation continued in this strain for some time and was at last interrupted by the entrance of a musician with a lyre in his hand. After he had with his sweet sounds produced a sudden silence and prepared all to give him a ready ear, turning his eyes to Signor Vespasiano and saluting him, he sang a

poem in his honor.²³ The Queen and all the others praised Signora Caterina for having in this elegant manner honored in her house the most illustrious Signor Vespasiano, who said: "Signora Caterina, you can treat me in your house as you will; but I remind you that you have not fully succeeded in your intent, for your guests praise indeed the voice of your singer, but will not believe anything that he has said of me." Signora Caterina replied: "I have not accomplished fully my intent, because these praises are far inferior to your Excellency's great merits and I am sure that my guests will say the same."

After some further protests on the part of Signor Vespasiano, the table was cleared away and due thanks returned to God. Silence was observed for some time, after which Signor Vespasiano began: "Those seem to me unwise who are not diligent in finding some way to avoid death, and to prolong life as long as they can, for which purpose are especially fitted these pleasant and seemly companies, by means of which tiresome thoughts are suspended and our afflicted spirits are immeasurably comforted." "For this reason," added the Queen, "we say that joy beautifies the face." Signora Caterina remarked: "I greatly envy those who always remain the same, and never harbor melancholy thoughts no matter what crosses them." Signora Francesca said: "I believe that mode of life should be attributed to a lack of intelligence, for if they were persons of spirit they would take things more to heart. As a proof of this we see that men of high undertakings and scholars are generally melancholy." "Hence the proverb," said Signor Giovanni, "that to know nothing is a pleasant life,²⁴ and we see thoughtless men never change

²³ The poem in honor of Signor Vespasiano is in *terza rima*, and consists of twenty-eight lines. It begins as follows:

Cantar vostr'alti honor mia voce humile
Non può Signore, onde convien che torni
Al mondo Orfeo col suo divino stile.

The English translator, B. Young, renders these lines thus:

To sing of all your worthie deedes,
your honours great and hie,
My humble voice (thrise noble Lord)
cannot it selfe applie.

Orpheus must retourne againe,
who with his stile divine,
Must praise you, and your vertues rare,
which like the Sunne doe shine.

²⁴ "Che'l non saper è una dolce vita." I have not been able to find any parallels for this proverb.

countenance for sun or rain, like the locksmith who leaps as high with his bag as without it,²⁵ and in short are happier than if they were wiser." Signor Bernardino: "Certainly we have no greater enemy than melancholy, which destroys our marrow and dries up our bones, whence for the benefit of our lives we ought to wish to be a little less wise and a little healthier." Signora Lelia said: "I would gladly learn some secret by which I could keep myself a little more joyful than I am, since melancholy is so hurtful to me." Signor Vespasiano answered: "The remedy is in the hands of all, but very few use it." "What is it?" she asked. He answered: "Contentment with one's lot." "I know many," she replied, "very happy by their virtue, station, and wealth, who are still not content with their lot." Signor Vespasiano said: "You should not call those happy, for they do not know how to be happy, whence the Mantuan poet said:

O fortunatos nimirum, sua si bona norint agricolas?"²⁶

"What is it," she asked, "that keeps us from this knowledge, and from contentment with our lot?" He replied: "Wicked comparison, because you keep comparing yourself with those ladies who are better off than you are, and I myself with those men who are more powerful than I, whence it comes that we constantly consume our hearts because we cannot attain their goal, and are unwilling to turn back a little and compare ourselves with those who are below us. Should we do this, instead of grieving we should certainly rejoice, thanking God who has not placed us in that inferior position, and we should see that if the ape complains because he has no tail, and the ass because he has no horns, the mole has greater reason to complain because he has no eyes."

The conversation continued in this strain for some time, and arrangements were concluded for a banquet to be given by the Cavalier the following day. Then the Queen arose and withdrew with the others to the fire, and after a short silence, she said: "Since it is the common opinion that maintenance of our joy depends upon this company, I do not know why instead of the Game of Solitude which we played before supper, we should

²⁵ "Far come il magnano, che tanto salta con le bolge, come senza le bolge." I have not been able to find any parallels for this proverb.

²⁶ Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 458: O most happy husbandmen, if they knew their blessings!

not now play the Game of Society [*conversazione*].²⁷ Therefore it will now be your duty, Signor Hercole, to carry it out in conformity with your judgment." Here Signor Giovanni interposed: "You were judicious in giving charge of the Game of Solitude to an old man, as you have now been in entrusting the Game of Society to a young man who will be much more suitable than I." Signor Hercole remarked: "It would be time for me to play the Game of Society, since thus far, by the fault of one who does not care about it, I have played no other game than that of Solitude." The Queen answered: "Keep these complaints for a better occasion, and begin the game, of which Signor Giovanni and Signor Guglielmo shall be judges."

Then Signor Hercole said: "Now we can play a game in which each one must imagine something which is caused by two or three things together, as for example, a fish is caught by two things together, which are the bait and the hook, so I could say: 'I present you with a fish, which the bait and hook associating together have caught.' After we have all repeated such statements the game will not yet be ended. But not to confuse you we will now perform this first part, and then what is left." The ladies objected, saying that the game was too difficult to play in such an *impromptu* manner. Signor Hercole said that while the gentlemen were making their statements, the ladies would have time enough to think of theirs, and turning to the Queen he began: "Signora, I present you with the wound which your beauty and virtue associating together have made in the hearts of mortals." Signor Vespasiano turning to Signora Caterina said: "I present you with the confusion which hope and fear associating in my breast have begotten." Signor Bernardino to Signora Lelia: "I present you with a snare which your hand and mine associating together have made about my heart." The Cavalier to Signora Francesca: "I present you with a captive taken in a golden net woven by Love and your hair associating together." Then the Queen to Signor Hercole: "I present you with a plant covered with flowers which the earth and sun associating together have produced." Signora Caterina to Signor Vespasiano: "I present you with a crown which letters and arms associating together have woven." Signora Lelia

²⁷ I do not find the Game of Society in Bargagli or Ringhieri. It was probably invented for the occasion.

to Signor Bernardino: "I present you with a piece of embroidery which the needle and silk associating together have worked." Signora Francesca to the Cavalier: "I present you with a letter full of my secrets which pen and ink associating together have composed."

When this part of the game had been finished, Signor Hercole said: "It is for you, Sir Judges, to declare which gentleman and which lady has expressed most elegantly his or her idea." After they had compared opinions they replied: "Of the ladies the Queen, of the gentlemen Signor Vespasiano." "These," said Signor Hercole, "will remain out of the game." Then he asked each of those who remained in the game to present some one thing composed of many, and he began by saying to Signora Caterina: "I present you with a garland woven of many flowers." Signor Bernardino to Signora Lelia: "I present you with a temple of praises which many illustrious academicians have consecrated." The Cavalier to Signora Francesca: "I present you with my old age composed of many years." Signora Caterina to Signor Hercole: "I present you with my affection inspired by your many merits." Signora Lelia to Signor Bernardino: "I present you with prudence begotten by many labors." Signora Francesca to the Cavalier: "I present you with the honey made by a great multitude of bees."

Then Signor Hercole asked the judges for their decisions on these statements; and they gave the honor to Signora Lelia and Signor Bernardino, who remained out of the game. Then Signor Hercole proposed that they should name two things which associate well together, and he said: "The vine and the elm associate well together." The Cavalier: "Nobility and wealth associate well together." Signora Caterina: "The cripple and the blind associate well together." Signora Francesca: "The braggart and the flatterer associate well together." The honor was bestowed upon Signora Caterina and the Cavalier. Signora Francesca and Signor Hercole were now the only ones left in the game, so he said: "Signora Francesca, you must now tell two things that go ill together," and he first said: "Two lords in one kingdom ill agree." She said: "Two rivals in the service of one ill agree." When the opinion of the judges was asked the praise was bestowed upon Signora Francesca and Signor Hercole was left alone. He said: "You see that I am left alone; therefore the Game of Society has ended."

The Queen turned to the judges and remarked: "It seems to me that Signor Hercole deserves severe punishment for having deceived us as to the end of the game, which we expected to take another turn." Signor Giovanni said: "He deserves to be punished not only for that, but also because he has disobeyed your command, which was to arrange a game of society, whereas, it seems to me he has made one of solitude, having begun with eight players and ended with one." Signora Lelia added: "He also deserves punishment because he has withdrawn himself from our society, as if he thought that we were all unworthy of his." Signora Francesca said: "He ought not to be forgiven for his error on account of the great danger to which he has exposed me, for if I had been obliged by my ill luck to remain in solitude like him, I should have died of fear." All added that it was right to punish him, which Signor Hercole, hearing, said: "I know very well that it is true that when the tree has fallen all run at it with their axes."²⁸ The Queen then ordered him to leave the circle and stand apart to hear the judgment in his case. After he had done so, she said: "As in the other games each of the company is usually compelled to solve some doubtful question,²⁹ so now it will be for us all to put questions to Signor Hercole and it will be his duty to solve them alone in satisfaction for the punishment which he has deserved, and if he replies suitably to the questions put to him, and gives reasons for each of his answers, we shall all be glad to restore him to our favor and readmit him to our company. If he is not bold enough to undertake this enterprise, let him accept in peace banishment from our company for all this winter."

After some hesitation Signor Hercole accepted the condition imposed by the Queen, who began the questions by asking: "What is that gain which brings loss?" He replied: "That which I have just now acquired with you all, because by my luckless game I have incurred your disfavor, by which I am deprived of all joy." Signora Caterina followed, asking: "To whom can one most freely tell a secret?" He answered: "To a liar, for he

²⁸ "Che come l'arbore è caduta a terra tutti le corrono sopra con le scurre." For this proverb see Pitre, *op. cit.*, II, p. 19, where a number of parallels are given, among them one from Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, XXXVII, 106:

Com'è in proverbio: Or nun corre a far legna
All'arbore che'l vento in terra getta.

²⁹ The use of "questions" as a means of social diversion has already been fully treated in Chapters I, II, III, and VI.

will not be believed when he repeats it." Then Signora Lelia asked: "What is the swiftest of all things?" He replied: "The mind, because it embraces everything in a moment." Signora Francesca asked him: "What does envy most resemble?" He replied: "The moth, for as the moth gnaws the wood where it was born before it can gnaw others, so the envious man gnaws and harms himself before he can hurt others." Then Signor Vespasiano asked: "What color should a lover wear to indicate an ardent and secret love?" He answered: "Gray, for that color resembles ashes which keep the fire alive secretly." The Cavalier asked: "What is most like death?" Signor Hercole turning to the Queen said: "Signora, command the Cavalier to ask me another question, for with this one he is trying to make me say something which will bring reproach upon the ladies and cause me to incur their ill will." The Queen replied: "Answer in a proper way, and do not hesitate, for all will be taken in good part." So he replied: "With your permission then I will answer, that nothing resembles death more than woman, for like death she follows him who flees, and flies him who calls her." Signor Guglielmo asked him: "What is most like woman?" He replied: "A pair of scales, which inclines to the side which receives the most." Signor Bernardino asked: "Among all the things in the world, which are the most harmful?" He answered: "Fire, sea, and woman." Signor Giovanni asked him: "Which subjects are the most unhappy?" He replied: "Those who are subject to several masters, for it is harder to fill many sacks than a single one."

After Signor Hercole had answered the questions put him by all, the Queen looking at him said, that he could now see how good sometimes arises from evil, for from having incurred the disfavor of all, he had won the honor of having brilliantly displayed his deep learning by his witty replies, on which she congratulated him, and then, at the desire of all the others, she readmitted him to the company and restored him to his former position. The company bantered Signor Hercole on his punishment, but the Cavalier said: "It is not becoming to renew past troubles, and we should believe that Signor Hercole has not only willingly endured his punishment for the satisfaction of us all, but also has not thought it strange that he should be deprived of our society, since lovers like him seek solitude." To

whom Signor Hercole replied: "Lovers like to retire into solitude not because that is their chief object; but because they there converse mentally with the beloved, and exercise their minds on the means of reaching her presence, which is their object." Signor Bernardino said: "You have now made that your object, but when you reach it you are not satisfied and seek to go farther toward another object." Signor Hercole, however, replied: "God knows whether I love my lady other than virtuously, and whether I desire to reap other fruit from her society than the food of her eyes, and of her ears, which are her gracious glances and sweet words." The Queen here remarked: "Since Signor Hercole has begun this subject, I should like to know from you, Signor Cavaliere, whether the eyes or the tongue are more powerful to win love in the intercourse of lovers."³⁰

The Cavalier demurred on the ground of his years, which unfitted him for reasoning on such a topic; but yielded at last to the arguments of Signor Bernardino and Signor Giovanni, and turning to the Queen said: "Since you command me to do so and Signor Giovanni spurs me on by his authority, I reply that in the intercourse of lovers the eyes have much greater power than the tongue; because the eyes, in spite of us, reveal outwardly what is concealed within, by appearing joyful, sad, kind, harsh, dull, or lascivious; nor do they produce these results alone, but often they ask or promise us something, and as messengers of the heart give certain tokens as well of love as of hatred, and without words make us understand each other, so that we cannot doubt that the eyes are the picture of our minds and in them all love is seated. Now, as these give an infallible token of our secrets, so the tongue is fallacious and very often conceals the affection of the heart so that the lover cannot be sure of what his beloved says unless he has a pledge in his hands; besides, the tongue often says things which offend, and risks changing the beloved's mind, whereas the eyes by their constant reverence win favor and reward." Here Signor Hercole said: "Although you are out of the lists, do not be angry if I, an inexperienced champion, come now to break a lance with you, and tell you that in my opinion words have much greater power than looks, be-

³⁰ I have not been able to find this precise "question." It might easily arise from the "question" whether love springs from sight, which has already been discussed; see Chap. I, p. 21.

cause although the eyes give some indication of our minds, they do not do so to such an extent that the tongue has not been granted us instead of a key, by which the secrets of our hearts are unlocked. And you may well believe that if the eyes were sufficient witnesses of our minds, Socrates would have been contented to look fixedly into the eyes of the youth, to whom, wishing to know his bravery, he said: 'Speak, in order that I may know thee.' Nor should you say that the tongue is often false, since you know that when the tongue wishes to lie the eyes hasten to aid it in order to give it color. Indeed, I ought rather to say that the eyes are falser than the tongue, because the tongue does not dare to lie without the advice and aid of the eyes; whereas the eyes of themselves perform this office, as is shown by the example of countless lovers, who by means of a feigned glance have been led into a labyrinth of errors from which they have never been able to escape."

The debate continued for some time with an evident bias towards the greater power of the eyes. At last the Queen asked Signor Giovanni what he thought of that discussion and he replied: "Signora, I do not know what to say except that if two maidens were brought before Signor Hercole, one blind and the other mute, unless I am mistaken he would sooner let himself be allured by the eyes of the mute than by the tongue of the blind, although she were more eloquent than Demosthenes." The conversation continued in this strain for a time until the Queen interposed and said that they had talked enough of the amorous results produced by the eyes. Since, however, it was not denied that the tongue also had great power, she wished a few words to be said about that, and charged Signor Guglielmo with that duty. Thereupon Signor Guglielmo pronounced a long discourse on the power of the tongue in love, concluding with the words: "Here I pause, and because in their conversation lovers employ the tongue in two ways to win grace and favor, the first of which consists in praising the beloved, the second in recounting one's passion, I shall allow the Queen to entrust this labor to one better fitted than myself, and I shall prepare to hear the opinions of others."

It pleased the Queen then to command each to give his opinions in regard to the virtue of praises, and Signor Bernardino began thus: "I believe that all the praises which are bestowed upon

women are welcome and deemed true provided they come from their lovers, because they believe that these would not have undertaken to serve them if they had not known them to be fair, gracious, gentle, and virtuous, and such as they depict them." The Queen answered: "Those who are praised by their lovers for their virtue do well not only to accept that praise, but to believe it and make others believe it and deem it indubitable. But I do not praise those who allow themselves to be told that they are immortal and divine." Signor Vespasiano replied: "Love has no bridle like a horse and it is no wonder if he runs away with lovers into this liberty of speech, which, however, should be granted them since it arises not from flattery, but from superabundant and excessive love." The Cavalier said: "He indeed allowed himself to be carried away who wrote this address upon a love letter: 'To the sacred majesty of the Queen of my heart always most honored.'" Signor Giovanni replied: "He was much more moderate who writing to a lady and thinking it was extravagant to give her the title of Illustrious, and insufficient to give her the title of Very Magnificent, employed a medium term and addressed her as The almost Illustrious." The Queen remarked: "There are many who in praising others blame themselves. For this reason I should like the Cavalier to tell us now what method must be observed in praising people suitably." He replied: "There are two ways of praising people: one consists in applying the good, the other in removing the evil. You apply the good when you mention the qualities worthy of praise; as if I should say (and I should tell the truth) you are an example of beauty and virtue. Evil is removed if I, to praise you for modesty and seriousness should say, you are neither licentious nor vain, as Homer said when he wished to praise the brave Agamemnon: 'Lo now, the divine Agamemnon shows himself neither slothful nor cowardly, nor does he refuse weapons nor battle.'³¹ These same methods are also observed in blaming, for Martial wishing to blame an ugly woman ascribed to her certain imperfections, saying she had three teeth, three hairs, the breast of a grasshopper, the thigh of an ant, a wrinkled brow, etc. Another poet blaming another ugly woman deprived her of some perfections, saying:

³¹ The words cited from Homer are found in the *Iliad*, Bk. IV, ll. 223-225.

Gli occhi neri non hai, nè bianchi i denti,
Nè picciol naso, nè soavi accenti.³²

Now, returning to praises, beyond the knowledge of these two ways, one must be careful not to confuse his praises, but group them judiciously and orderly, descending from those which belong to the mind to those of the body, and afterwards to those of fortune, as if I should say, for example: You, most honored Signora, can call yourself glorious in the world, since Nature has enriched your person with those treasures of beauty, in which those who among us are called beautiful are poor. In your ample brow she has established the seat of greatness. In your eyes she has kindled so sweet and gentle a fire that it keeps the hearts of others suspended between hope and fear." The Cavalier continued in this strain for some time, concluding with these words: "And because your praises do not deserve to be recounted so hastily, but require more suitable time and place, while I shall never cease to praise you in my heart, my tongue here makes an end of your endless praises."

After the Cavalier had ceased speaking, the Queen said: "You might now add to the number of the praises which you have bestowed upon me the great patience which I have displayed in allowing your tongue to vent its ardent desire to praise me, which I was unwilling to interrupt, not because I presumed that those praises were due me, but to let you obtain the praise to which you aspire of being able to display what does not exist. As you have succeeded in this, I cannot for my part refrain from praising you." Signor Vespasiano said: "Signora, if the Cavalier had wished to display what does not exist, he would have spoken ill of you, of whom only good can be said, and I know that these ladies will say the same." To whom Signora Caterina replied: "As the eldest I confirm in the name of all what the Cavalier has said." Signor Bernardino added: "It would seem just to me that these other ladies should not be deprived of the praises due them." Signor Guglielmo then remarked: "I do not wish to say that I can worthily praise these excellent ladies, but at least I shall draw from my heart some praises, such as they may be, to devote to their names." Thus speaking he put his hand in his breast and drew forth some madrigals which he had written

³² Thou hast not black eyes, nor white teeth, nor a small nose, nor a soft voice.

at home in praise of Signor Vespasiano and the ladies, with the intent to present them to them.³³

Signor Hercole read all the madrigals at the Queen's command and after the author's affection had been praised no less than his skill, Signor Hercole added: "These praises ought with reason to please those whom they concern, since they are expressed with no less truth than elegance." Signor Giovanni replied: "Praises although true and elegant do not always please, as I can prove to you by two examples, one savage and the other domestic, for the hare was not pleased with the praise bestowed upon it by the fox, which said in the wolf's presence that its flesh was extremely delicate and grateful to the taste;³⁴ nor did our Cavalier like the praise bestowed upon him a little while ago of having deserved by his humility the honor of preparing supper for us to-morrow."

The Queen here commanded that they should make an end of the subject of praises, and pass on to the other topic pertaining to the tongue already mentioned, which consisted in relating one's feelings. Wherefore Signor Bernardino began: "The tongue has great power in recounting the passions of love, because although the lady be not at all inclined to the lover, she is not, however, displeased or unmoved when she knows that the lover suffers; besides, from the knowledge of this passion she is assured not less of the deep love which he bears her than of her own beauty, which, unless it were great, would not inspire the lover with such sorrow and patience." Signor Guglielmo opposed him saying: "I suspect you are teaching the lover to heal himself the wrong way, for I think that uttering these laments and relating these feelings in women, he makes them more proud and

³³ The madrigals are five in number, and of no great worth. The following is Young's translation of the one on Signora Caterina:

Though Ladie Caterine, in semblaunce you do show.
To be amongst us here, and in our present sight,
Glad in this companie: But yet you are not so.
Because your Angells Soule, which shines with vertues bright
Is severed from the world, wher it hath no aboade,
And raignes in Heaven with joy united unto God.
And working so on earth,
With us so just decept,
In Heaven (sweete Ladie) for your selfe
You frame a happie seate.

³⁴ I have not been able to find this fable. There is a somewhat similar one where the fox recommends the skin of the wolf as a cure for the sick lion. See La Fontaine, VIII, 3, and Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. Oesterley, 494.

cruel, or angers them and loses ground, which causes him to feel a thousand pangs instead of one. Do you wish to be enlightened on this point? Go to Petrarch, the great master of love, and see what he says:

Giunto m'ha Amor fra belle et crude braccia,
Che m'ancidono a torto, et s'io mi doglio,
Doppia il martire, onde pur com'io soglio
Il meglio è ch'io mi mora amando et taccia.³⁵

I know very well that opening one's lips and revealing one's grief has harmed many, who should have remained silent for their good. You will say that he who wishes compassion and aid must disclose his wound to the physician. I reply that lamenting and dying in the presence of a lady is only vexing and tiring her, and there is no better remedy than to love silently, for this is a proof of modesty, patience, discretion, and humility, with which is broken the diamond of women, who have judgment enough to perceive your ill and to offer you the remedy at the proper time and when they know that you deserve it, without your acting the part of the presumptuous and importunate. And briefly, in love he speaks who is silent, whence the poet:

La doglia mia, la qual tacendo i'grido.³⁶

And you know the common proverb, Who serves well in silence demands sufficiently.³⁷ Signor Guglielmo answered him: "It seems to me that those lovers who by their silence have won favor and reward, have been more fortunate than wise, or have come across women of little spirit; because I know no woman of worth who would not be ashamed to proffer any remedy or favor to her lover without having been earnestly entreated by him, not once but a thousand times." He continued in this strain a long time, concluding as follows: "In short, women always esteem more highly the lovers who entreat them than those who vainly wait for them to throw themselves from the window into their arms. From this you can see that your proverb, Who serves in silence, is refuted by that other proverb, Nothing is lost for asking.³⁸ And if these ladies will confess the truth, I know very

³⁵ Petrarch, Sonetto 119 in *Vita di Laura*: Love has caught me in fair and cruel arms, which unjustly slay me, and if I complain, my suffering redoubles; so as I am wont to do, the best thing is to die loving and silent.

³⁶ Petrarch, Canzone 6, in *Vita di Laura*: My grief which silent I proclaim.

³⁷ "Chi bene serve, e tace assai dimanda." I have not been able to find any parallels for this proverb.

³⁸ "Per dimandar non si perde nulla." I have not been able to find any parallels for this proverb. It is, of course, the Scriptural, "Ask, and it shall be given you."

well which of us two will be judged wrong in this contest." Here the ladies looked at each other laughing, and the Queen said: "I believe you are both wrong, since with virtuous ladies lovers reap no fruit either with words or silence." Signora Caterina added: "I deem more worthy of ridicule than of compassion those rude lovers who by their forced sighs and feigned laments wish to make us believe that they are dying." Signora Lelia said: "I would very much like to see our Signor Hercule making a lamentation from love before his lady, for I cannot help believing that he would act very well the part of a lover." Signora Francesca turning to the Queen said: "Lady, if you will command him to make some love lament, it will perhaps be the greatest pleasure you have had this evening."

This proposal was approved by all, whereat the Queen commanded Signor Hercule to imagine that Signora Lelia were his lady and that he should utter in her presence a love complaint. He therefore took from his head his cap and kissing Signora Lelia's hand, thus addressed her: "To you, most beautiful angel of Paradise, to you, wonder of the world, to you, my life, rather to you, my death, I do not come indeed upon my legs, for this wretched body of mine can no longer stand upon its feet, but I am conducted upon the triumphal car of Love to announce to you with this trembling and weak voice, with this little breath which I have left, my approaching death, which would not have overtaken me in the spring of my years if I had not given credence to the proverb, It is better to be a martyr than a confessor. For I now know that I have been the murderer of myself for not having dared to confess to you the mortal wound which your beautiful eyes made in my heart on the occasion of the tournament held in this city in the year 1577, the 15th of May. There I learned how the judgment of men is strengthened by means of comparisons, for a great number of ladies being there to whom heaven has been most liberal of grace and beauty, I discovered in your face such excellence of beauty and grace above the other ladies that I said, Behold a sun among the stars, and I immediately judged that to you properly belonged the saying:

Sparisce et fugge
Ogni altro lume dove 'l vostro splende.³⁹

³⁹ Petrarch, Canzone 7 in *Vita di Laura*: Where your light shines, every other vanishes and flees.

And although I felt myself already wounded by a keen arrow shot at me by a gracious glance of yours, nevertheless I believed I could yet escape from your hands; but when afterwards these ears had the favor of hearing the sweet and strange words which you scattered like roses among the other ladies, alas! I remained forcibly captured and bound in such a manner that I could not conceal from myself that I had been made your prisoner. Now I repeat that if I had had courage to demand a remedy for the evil, perchance I should have found such pity in your heart that the same hand which inflicted the wound would also have healed it. Perhaps you will say here that if I did not have the courage to enter your presence I should at least have begged aid by means of letters; but you must know that I have attempted several times to unburden the heavy load of my tortures on paper; but the tears which fell copiously upon it always washed away the characters in such a way that as Love pleases I am here on the point of passing to the next life. But because my sorrowing soul has long lodged in your royal and generous heart, I beg you as a reward for the long sufferings which loving you I have kept silent, and dying I have endured until now, that you will at least not refuse to place your lips to mine and with your sweet breath force my soul back to its first abode, entering which, who knows? it might perhaps by the virtue of some spark of your spirit joined to it give pulse and breath to these languid limbs and preserve them a little longer for your service. And if by the will of heaven it should have to part without further delay from the unhappy body, I shall die satisfied with having known by the witness of your lips the desire you had for my health and life, whence joyfully devoting to you my loving affections, I shall depart on my way with the hope that at my departure you will say with pitiful voice and some tears:

*Alma, ch'albergo havesti nel mio petto,
Habbi hor là su nel ciel degno ricetto.*⁴⁰

All laughed at this lament as you may think, and afterwards Signora Lelia replied to him with pleasing countenance: "If I knew that you were as near death as your sorrowful words indicate, I would not fail to restore your soul to you with a kiss; but because I perceive that this illness of yours is not mortal,

⁴⁰ Soul, which dwelt in my breast, now have in heaven above a worthy shelter. I do not know the poem from which these lines are taken.

I wish to retain your soul a little while with me for my consolation. And be of good cheer, for when it is the proper time I shall not delay giving you the desired aid in order not to be deemed murderous. Meanwhile be comforted by this good hope." Then the Queen turning to Signor Hercole said: "From what I see, you have joined together in your lament a history and a fable, for in regard to the praises and merits of Signora Lelia you told the truth, but in regard to those sufferings and martyrdoms which you have related little or nothing should be believed, and we should make the proper deductions." "On the contrary," he replied, "I am persuaded, by your leave, that I have been truthful in relating my sufferings and false in relating the merits of Signora Lelia, and I hope that my words will not make me lose her favor." To whom Signor Giovanni replied: "You need not fear to lose what you have not yet acquired." The Queen added to tease him further: "A lover's sufferings, as I believe, are caused by the merits of the beloved; if therefore the merits which you have ascribed to Signora Lelia are false, your sufferings, too, are false." He replied: "Signora, I believe you have heard how when the invincible Emperor Charles the Fifth asked the Most Christian King Francis what cities he had in his kingdom subject to his crown, the latter began with Lyons and named in succession Orléans, Rouen, Troyes, Dijon, Tours, Grenoble, Bordeaux, and all the others. He did not mention Paris and when the Emperor said he had forgotten that chief city he answered, that he had not named Paris because it was not a city but a world. This example then has made me aware of the falsehood I have uttered regarding Signora Lelia, whom I should not have included in the number of women as I did, since she is really a goddess. And if she is such, how can it seem to you a wonder if I feel these sufferings, and how can you help saying that they are greater than I have been able to express?" The Queen replied: "The more you talk about these sufferings the less you will be believed, and your only gain will be that we shall deem you one of those lovers who know how to feign and pretend to be dead and buried from love." "Since such lovers," said Signora Francesca, "think women so silly as to believe these follies, it is right that they should be paid in the same coin and be treated like fools." Signor Hercole replied: "This is a fine recompense which you would give to a poor lover, for whom one death should

suffice without giving him two. And truly to feel the suffering of love and not to find credence when it is confessed is a twofold suffering." Then Signor Giovanni said: "I think as you do that he receives a deep wound who is not believed when he tells the truth, as happened to a poor man whose pig was stolen." "How was that?" asked the Queen. Signor Giovanni replied: "A poor man gave a gossip of his to understand that he wished to kill his pig, but it seemed to him a hard thing to have to send almost the largest share of it to his relative and neighbors as was the custom. I'll show you what to do, replied the gossip; kill it secretly and then pretend that it has been stolen, and spread this news throughout the neighborhood and look as if you were very angry so that every one will believe you and be sorry for you. This advice pleased the poor man and he determined to carry it out. The next night the gossip really stole the pig. When day broke and the wretched man found his pig gone, he was, as you can imagine, full of wonder and sorrow. As he was leaving his house he met his gossip and said: Do you know that my pig was really stolen last night? You understand the matter, replied the gossip; just tell all so, for that is the way to save yourself; and when the other declared, by the body of Antichrist it had been stolen, the gossip replied: Continue thus, and you will do well. No matter what the poor man said the gossip persisted in praising him, and he remained as much grieved at not being able to make his gossip believe him as he was at the loss of the pig."⁴¹ Then Signor Vespasiano said: "That's exactly like women: instead of a pig they steal hearts, and then mock the one who has incurred the loss. But Signora Francesca is wrong in not wishing credence to be given to lovers, who do not know how to feign, even if they wished to do so; on the contrary the more deeply they love the less credible in appearance are the things they say, and yet they are perfectly true, because according to the proverb, the tongue hastens where the tooth aches."⁴² But the distrust of women is such that they do not believe, and

⁴¹ The story of the stolen pig constitutes part of a *novella* in the *Decameron*, VII, 6, where Bruno and Buffalmacco steal a pig from Calandrino under similar circumstances. The story is also found in Kirchhof's *Wendunmuth*, I, 181. Oesterley in his edition of Kirchhof, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins*, Tübingen, 1869, cites Hans Sachs, I, 3, 334b, and S. Gerlach, *Eutrapeliarum libri III*, Leipzig, 1656, I, 811.

⁴² "La lingua corre dove il dente duole." See Pittrè, *op. cit.*, I, 18, where a large number of variants are given.

if they believe they are so wise that they pretend not to believe." Signor Guglielmo answered: "All that you have said might serve as a comment upon those lines of the poet:

Lasso, ch' i' ardo, ed altri non mel crede;
 Si crede ogni uom, se non sola colei
 Chè sovr' ogni altra e ch' i' sola vorrei:
 Ella non par che 'l creda, e si sel vede."⁴³

"If now," added Signor Vespasiano, "we seek the reason why women do not believe lovers we shall see that it arises from lack of love, because it is well known, according to the common saying, that where love is there is faith.⁴⁴ For if they had loved they would feel suffering within, by which they would be constrained to consider and believe the suffering of others."

Here Signora Francesca retorted: "I tell you, Signore, that too great faith has brought many of us to an evil end, and it would have been good for Olimpia if she had not believed that traitor Bireno."⁴⁵ Signor Vespasiano replied: "Olimpia in loving Bireno had reason to believe that he would be true to her, and did what every other woman reasonably should do, but he in betraying her did what is not right and what no other lover is wont to do. Therefore one should not rest his argument upon an extraordinary example and one beyond common usage. And then remember that Bireno was one of those beardless youths whom foolish women are led to love to their shame and harm." Here Signor Guglielmo remarked: "This certainly is the mistake of many women, who capriciously infatuated by the sight of these minors give themselves recklessly into their hands, without considering that they are devoid of judgment, faith, and firmness, and that all their delight is in seeking here and there for persons to whom out of vanity they may relate the levity and dishonor of some unhappy woman, and from fear of omitting any detail they usually add something." Signor Guglielmo said: "I have noticed at church and elsewhere that some of these youths when they are in the sight of their ladies grow more unbridled than usual, and are so bold with their

⁴³ Petrarch, Sonetto 151 in *Vita di Laura*: Alas I burn and no one believes it, yes, every one believes it but her alone, who is above all others, and whom I alone desire, she seems not to believe it, and yet she sees it.

⁴⁴ "Dove è amore, quivi è fede." I have been unable to find any parallels for this proverb.

⁴⁵ The story of Olimpia and her faithless lover Bireno is one of the episodes of the *Orlando Furioso*. It is found in the IX., X. and XI. cantos.

tongues and gestures, and make such a noise that they are hateful and unendurable to men of sound understanding. Nevertheless many women are pleased by their insolence and attribute it to elegance, and, in fine, are more favorably inclined to them than to those who are more discreet, and reserved in their actions."

"In that case," added Signor Bernardino, "the young men are not to blame, since knowing the vanity of those women, nay, rather girls, they feed them on such follies." Signor Hercole replied: "All women are not so, and I have seen by more than one token that some wise and judicious ones hate those smooth-faced Birenos, knowing that in an unsteady mind perfect love cannot take root, and that nothing can be expected from them but scandal and treachery; and I am sure that the love of beardless youths lasts as long as the odor of narcissuses; and that of older youths is like the odor of roses which remains in the dry leaves." The Queen then said: "Since it is as you say, these ladies will always be the wiser who guard themselves against both roses and narcissuses, since in this way they will be safe from every deception and treachery." Signor Vespasiano replied: "Let us repeat that where love is there is faith, and where there is this mutual love there all deceits and treacheries will cease."

This led the Cavalier to tell a story about a gentleman who made love to his wife's servant and was made ridiculous for his fault. The conversation continued for some time on this subject until the Queen remarked: "It seems to me that we have done too much honor to those who serve servants by talking so long about their affairs, and I do not know how we have hit upon this topic, for we were discussing principally the effects of the eyes and of the tongue." The Cavalier said: "I prove, Signora, how true that is which has already been said, that the tongue and the eyes agree in expressing the inward feeling, for besides confessing with the tongue that I can no longer keep awake, my eyes also confirm it, in which you can see sleep depicted." To whom Signor Giovanni replied: "I believed you would awaken at the sound of these discussions on love, but I see that it has produced the same effect on you that the rocking of a cradle does on children." The Cavalier answered: "Verily I experience no greater satisfaction than to sleep on a good bed where together with the body I lay down the burden of all my thoughts." Signor Bernardino replied: "All have not this privilege, as was

proved by the emperor Augustus. It is said that a Roman gentleman having left at his death a large amount of debts, so that all his property had to be sold at auction, the Emperor commanded to be bought for himself the bed on which that gentleman had slept, saying that he hoped he could sleep quietly upon it, since the owner had been able to rest there with so many debts."⁴⁶ Signore Hercole answered: "Debts allowed that gentleman to sleep; but the thoughts of love would not have permitted it, by which I feel myself so oppressed that the feathers of my bed are sharp thorns, and if others discharge the burden of their thoughts upon their beds, I assume there an additional load and can say with the poet:

Tutto'l dî piango; et poi la notte, quando
Prendon riposo i miseri mortali,
Trovom' in pianto et raddoppiarsi i mali."⁴⁷

Signor Guglielmo answered: "It is no wonder if lovers sleep little, because aside from being kept ever awake by their thoughts, of which it is said that night is the mother, they do not eat much food and it is natural that he who suffers from loss of food should also suffer from loss of sleep, whence on account of their thoughts they prove how true is the saying of the poet:

E duro campo di battaglia il letto."⁴⁸

And as regards the food, they prove the saying of Boccaccio, who does not sup at evening does not rest all night." Signora Lelia responded: "Be consoled, Signor Hercole, for to-night thoughts of love will annoy you little, for, unless I am mistaken, you have this evening nourished well your body." "It will make no difference," answered Signor Hercole, "for if I wake I am deprived of the rest common to all; if I sleep I am deprived of the thought of my lady, and as the poet says:

e'l cor sottragge
A quel dolce pensier, che'n vita il tene."⁴⁹

"Why, then," asked Signora Francisca, "do you complain of what delights you, and why do you not always wish for the night to be able the more easily to comfort yourself with your sweet

⁴⁶ This story is in Macrobius, ed. Eyssenhardt, Leipzig, 1893, p. 147.

⁴⁷ Petrarch, Sonetto 161 in *Vita di Laura*: All the day I weep, and when at night wretched mortals repose, I find myself in tears and my ills are redoubled.

⁴⁸ Petrarch, Sonetto in *Vita di Laura* 171: The bed is a hard field of battle.

⁴⁹ Petrarch, Sonetto 171 in *Vita di Laura*: Sleep withdraws the heart from the loving thought which keeps it alive.

thoughts?" "Ah, Signora," he replied, "consider, I beg you, that while the heart is nourished by these sweet thoughts, the body is wasted and dies from the weakness caused by long wakefulness."

The Queen here interposed: "I will teach Signor Hercole how to find rest in bed no less for the mind than for the body." "How so?" he asked. "By choosing a good and virtuous wife." Signor Hercole replied: "If sleeping with one's wife brought the rest you say, some husbands would not leave their wives' sides at night to go and brood in the nests of others." The Queen answered: "The husbands who do that are more asleep when they are awake than when they sleep." Signora Lelia said: "Be careful to take such a wife that you will have no cause to leave her in order to seek others." Signor Hercole answered her: "She might be fair and yet give me cause to leave her." She replied: "You will never be able to leave her if you choose her fair in the way I mean, that is fair of mind, for if she is such she will never fail to console you in your troubles, and will take such care of you that free from all thoughts and sleeping as it were upon her eyes you will pass the night in sweet and constant repose." Signor Hercole said to her: "The difficulty is to find one of such beauty; besides I am frightened by that saying that marriage and old age are alike, for we wish to try them and when we have we are sad." The Queen answered: "It is no wonder that a man is sad when he reaches old age, for he begins to die, but it is right for a man who attains to marriage to rejoice because he begins to live and to give life to others." He replied: "I would come to that conclusion if I were sure that the beginning and the end of matrimony were joined and without any interval, because people are wont to say that a wife brings her husband only two happy days, one when she is married, the other when she dies." The Queen replied: "The death of a wife whom you had scarcely known would cause you little pleasure and little grief; oh, what sorrow to be deprived of that blessing which you had long and affectionately possessed!" Signor Hercole inquired: "Which mistake causes us the more annoyance, that which we can correct, or that for which there is no remedy?" The Queen replied: "That which is irreparable." He answered: "It is better then that I should have the advantage of always being able to take a wife, than to be unable to repudiate

her after having taken her." She replied: "He who takes a wife prudently and not capriciously will never wish to repudiate her even if he can." Here Signor Giovanni interposed, saying: "Since Signor Hercole fears to make a mistake; let us give him a little wife, so that having a smaller wife than others, he may commit a smaller mistake."⁵⁰ She replied: "Whether she be small or large, provided she does not lack that beauty of the mind already mentioned, she will have the power to cause him peaceful sleep, and he heartily loving her will constrain her to observe towards him that holy faith on which depends the principal consolation of a husband." "Rather," said Signor Giovanni, "we must give Signor Hercole a wife of whose fidelity he will not be very sure, so that having this slight suspicion he will not leave her side at night to seek others." Signora Caterina replied: "If he lived in that anxiety he would never sleep." Signor Guglielmo remarked: "If he did not sleep he would at least feel what the poet says:

Come sempre fra due si vegghia e dorme."⁵¹

"For that reason," said Signora Francesca, "he must resolve fidelity in order that both may sleep peacefully." "You speak truly," added the Cavalier, "and Signor Hercole would be greatly mistaken if he thought that all women were daughters of fear, and that there were not some who do not lack the craft of intoxicating their husbands at night, nor the boldness to leave them afterwards and satisfy some other caprice." Signor Hercole answered: "I believe that the wife has the right to give her husband bread for cake, as Boccaccio says."⁵² The Queen answered: "You are mistaken, because no matter how many wrongs her

⁵⁰ Signor Giovanni's joke about little wives is as old as the fourteenth century and is used by the Spanish poet Juan Ruiz, commonly called the Archpriest of Hita. It occurs in the *Libro de Cantares*, 1591, in *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo XV*, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, tomo 57, p. 277:

Siempre ques muger chica mas que grande nin mayor,
Non es desaguizado del grand mal ser foidor,
Del mal tomar lo menos diselo el sabidor,
Porende de las mugeres la mejor es la menor.

Always seek a little woman rather than one tall or large. It is right to shun a great evil: the wise says to choose the least of evils; hence the best of women is the smallest.

⁵¹ Petrarch, *Trionfo d'Amore*, Cap. III, 158: As always among two, one wakes and one sleeps.

⁵² The expression "rendere pan per focaccia" is equivalent to our "tit for tat"; it occurs in the *Decameron*, V, 10.

husband does her, she should take no other revenge than making up for his faults with her virtue, which will bring her all the greater fame." "I think," said Signor Giovanni at this point, "that the wife should give the husband what he seeks." When the Queen answered that for no reason was it lawful for a wife to deceive her husband, he replied: "I affirm the same thing, Signora, that you do, and hear how. The most illustrious Signor Frederick, Duke of Mantua, was once riding for pleasure upon a horse which afforded a wonderful sight to the bystanders by its leaps and curvettings and other motions, and especially to an artisan, who said in a loud tone to a companion of his: 'If I were on that horse I would give him what he seeks.' The Duke, hearing these words, called the man and said to him: 'What would you do if you were on this horse?' And he boldly replied: 'I say, Signore, that I would give him what he seeks, because he would seek to throw me to the ground, and I would let him do it.' Thus I mean now that the wife should do to her husband, and approving your virtuous opinion I think that if he tries to deceive her she should patiently allow herself to be deceived, and not show any other resentment at it." Signor Bernardino said: "From this we may know that if those wives do ill who keep their husbands awake with jealousy, those do much worse who put them to sleep with dishonor." To whom the Cavalier replied: "Signor Hercole is such a man that he will not allow his wife to open or shut his eyes more than is proper." He answered: "It seems to me that even if a husband live assured of the virtue of his wife, he does not have all that is needed to make him sleep that peaceful sleep which he desires, because if she is not also prudent and clever the unhappy husband must be constantly wakeful and take the care of the house which should belong to her." Here Signor Giovanni remarked: "It is certainly a great sorrow to come across a silly wife, who, besides the harm which the husband receives at home, divulges abroad what should be hidden, and causes laughter, like that one who, coming from a certain monastery of friars to whom she had given alms to commend her to God in their prayers, went back and said to them: 'I beg you do not pray God for my husband lest he should sometime know that I had given alms.'" Signor Bernardino remarked: "The silliness of women is so contagious that a man associating with them becomes silly." Signora Lelia answered

him: "You keep on relating the follies of wives as if all husbands were wise and brave. But you should remember that last evening was told the story of that foolish fellow who did not even know how to put on a pair of breeches, and made his wife hold them with both hands and then standing upon the bed he jumped into them."⁵³ Upon my word if we wish to seek we shall find; as he said who was shoeing the goose, there is something to do everywhere."⁵⁴ Signor Vespasiano then said: "All these arguments lead to no other conclusion but that in order to free Signor Hercole from the sufferings of his love, which keep him constantly awake, we must all endeavour to find him a virtuous and worthy wife who will have the power to make him sleep." Signor Giovanni said: "Sleep will be especially beneficial to him because he is an Italian." "How so?" asked the Queen. He replied: "It is said that all drown their sorrows differently: the German by drinking, the Frenchman by singing, the Spaniard by weeping, and the Italian by sleeping."⁵⁵ "In truth," added Signor Vespasiano, "it is my experience that sleep brings great alleviation to wearisome thoughts, and rightly it is called the relative of death,⁵⁶ since it produces such similar results."

From these words the Queen thought she understood that he wished to withdraw; so she said: "Let no one of you be surprised

⁵³ The story in the text is an episode in the class of stories where a man marries, or is about to marry, a foolish wife, and departs in search of more foolish people, usually three in number. A good specimen of the class is "The Three Sillies" in Joseph Jacobs's *English Fairy Tales*, London, 1890, p. 9. This class of stories is treated at length in W. A. Clouston's *The Book of Noodles*, London, 1888, Chapter VII, pp. 191 *et seq.*, "The Three Great Noodles."

⁵⁴ "Per mia fè, se vogliamo cercar bene troveremo, sì come diceva colui, che ferava l'oca, che vi è da fare per tutto." I have not been able to find any parallels for this provincial saying.

⁵⁵ Et egli si suol dire, che tutte le nazioni smaltiscono diversamente il dolore, il Tedesco il bee, il Francese il canta, lo Spagnuolo il piange, e l'Italiano il dorme.

⁵⁶ The earliest reference to the relationship between Sleep and Death occurs in Homer, *Iliad*, Bk. XVI, 681-2, in Chapman's translation: "Sleep and Death, those feather'd twins." Pitre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 207, gives the Sicilian proverb: "Lu sonnu è parenti di la morti," and cites the Ovidian "Quid est somnus gelidae nisi mortis imago?" Petrarch, Sonetto 171 in *Vita di Laura*:

Il sonno è veramente, qual uom dice,
Parente della morte,

and Tasso, *Ger. lib.*, IX, 18:

Dal sonno alla morte é un picciol varco.

Further references to the relationship between Sleep and Death in ancient and modern literature may be found in Frederick Parkes Weber's *Aspects of Death and Correlated Aspects of Life in Art, Epigram, and Poetry*, London, 1918, third edition, revised and much enlarged, pp. 213 *et seq.*

if I say that the time which we have spent in this pleasant company has seemed to me too short and too long; the cause of the former has been the sweet nourishment which without satiety I have drawn from your pleasant and virtuous conversation; the cause of the latter is the desire I have had to lay down this honorable burden, beneath which I have felt myself oppressed by great bashfulness, wherefore I lay it down with infinite pleasure. And since in great and difficult undertakings good will must suffice, I beg you that in place of those results which I have been unable to show you, you should be satisfied with those evident tokens of good will which you have read upon my brow. Tomorrow I shall come to you in the Cavalier's house much more joyful to obey you than I have been this evening to command you. And meanwhile I take my leave of you and commend you to God." At these words all rose to their feet to depart, and Signor Giovanni said: "Signora, you have displayed greater grace in dismissing us than did a certain husband, a countryman of ours, who on account of the bride's arrival gave a feast one evening in his house; but because it lasted longer than he wished he determined to find some way to dismiss the company; so he had a kettle of water put over the fire in the room where the guests were and as soon as the water was hot he cried out in a loud voice: Let him who has no business here depart, for I want to wash my feet,' and with these words he broke up the party."

Here ended the banquet, and after they had rendered each other due honor, and bidden each other good night, each withdrew to his own abode.

CHAPTER IX.

Relations between France and Italy in the Sixteenth Century—French campaigns in Italy—Friendly relations between the two countries—Protest against Italian influence by Henri Estienne—Life of this famous printer and author—His *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianisé*—Marguerite de Navarre and the *Heptaméron*—Platonic love in the *Heptaméron*—Héroet's *La parfaite Amye*—The *Printemps* of Jacques Yver—Etienne Pasquier and his works—*Monophile*—*Colloques d'Amour*—*Lettres amoureuses*.

We have already seen that the relations between France and Italy extend as far back as the days of the Troubadours. It is impossible to consider here these early relations. For many years a French city was the seat of the Popes (1309–1377), and one of the greatest of the Italian poets passed most of his life at Avignon and Vaucluse.

The French also established themselves in Italy and the brother of Saint Louis made himself king of Naples and Sicily by his defeat of Manfred at the battle of Benevento, February 26, 1266. As we shall presently see, the most momentous consequences were to flow from this usurpation of Charles of Anjou.

Marriages, too, connected France and Italy long before Catharine and Maria de' Medici exerted such a powerful influence on French politics and society. One of these marriages, that of Louis, Duke of Orléans, brother of Charles VI, to Valentine of Milan, the daughter of Giovan Galeazzo Visconti and Isabella of France, was scarcely less momentous than the usurpation of Charles of Anjou.

Although the events just mentioned must have brought the two countries into close relations, it was not until the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century that the Italian influence in France became the preponderating influence and remained 'so until the marriage of Louis XIII to Anne of Austria.

The superior cultivation of Italy, which we have studied in previous chapters, would soon have exerted a powerful influence on the neighboring country even if political events had not suddenly brought the two countries into the closest relations. The royal line founded by Charles of Anjou came to an end in

1435 by the death of Joanna II. She had adopted as her heirs successively Louis III and his brother René, the sons of Louis II, whose father Louis I, Duke of Anjou, son of King John II of France, had already been adopted as heir by Joanna I in 1380. On the death of Joanna II, Naples was taken by Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Sicily. At his death in 1458, he left Naples to his bastard son Ferdinand I, whose cruel reign caused the Neapolitans to invite René's son John, Duke of Calabria, to claim the crown. He was unsuccessful and the French claim descended to Charles, Count of Maine, brother of René. His son Charles IV, the last (titular) king of Naples of the House of Anjou, died in 1481, bequeathing his claim to Louis XI, who made no attempt to enforce it. It was reserved for his son, Charles VIII, to depart from his father's cautious policy and to plunge France in a war with Italy which wrought the most complete change in the social condition of the former country.

With the details of the campaign we do not need to deal; suffice it to say that the French army reached Turin on the 5th of September, 1494, and marched almost without opposition to Naples. The king Ferdinand I abdicated as soon as the French approached, and his son Ferdinand II, deserted by his troops and threatened by the insurgent populace, fled in turn from the capital, which the French entered February 22d, 1495.

After two months spent in revelry the French king was forced to leave his newly acquired dominion by the threatening attitude of the powers of North Italy who were late in realizing the consequences of admitting a foreign invader to the heart of Italy. The king succeeded in crossing the Apennines, but was met on the road to Pavia by the allied forces under the command of the Marquis of Mantua. The battle of Fornovo, July 6th, 1495, resulted in a victory for the French, who were enabled to reach Lyons in safety on the 9th of November, after a campaign of fourteen months.

Although the French had gained no political advantages the results of the Italian campaign were momentous. A large body of Frenchmen had seen Italy for the first time and become acquainted with its civilization. From this time on the two countries were connected by the most intimate relations, both peaceful and hostile.

The warlike relations may be dismissed with a brief discussion. Charles VIII died in 1498, and was succeeded by Louis XII, the grandson of the Duke of Orléans who had married Valentine of Milan. Louis XII now laid claim to both Milan and Naples, and invaded Lombardy in 1499. Ludovico Sforza fled and the French on the 14th of September entered Milan, which became for a time a province of France. The desire to reconquer Naples led to an alliance with Ferdinand of Spain which later plunged the two countries into war and involved the whole of Italy. The kingdom of Naples was won, but disputes over its partition led to war between the former allies. After twelve years of conflict the memorable battle of Ravenna, April 12th, 1512, although a glorious victory for the French, put an end to the desperate struggle for Italy, and the French withdrew having lost all their possessions in that country.

The struggle for Italian dominion was renewed by Francis I, who invaded Lombardy in 1515 and won Milan in consequence of the brilliant victory of Marignano. The election of Charles of Austria as emperor resulted in the long rivalry between him and Francis I. Italy again became the theatre of the desperate conflict between Emperor and King. Milan was lost in 1522, and the King was captured at the fatal battle of Pavia, February 24th, 1525. The King renewed the struggle upon his release from captivity in 1526, but misfortune followed all his efforts, and he was finally forced by the treaty of Cambrai, 1529, to relinquish all his claims in Italy.¹

Thus from 1494 to 1529 the two countries had been in constant contact, and although they had met as enemies Italy exerted over her invaders an enormous influence in all the peaceful arts.

The two countries were soon brought into friendly relations by the marriage of Francis's son Henry, afterwards Henry II, to Catharine de' Medici in 1533. Until her death in 1589 the Queen's influence was enormous, and although she thoroughly identified herself with her adopted country and warmly espoused all the interests of France, her court could not but be a centre of Italian influence.² This influence reached its height under

¹ For Francis's relations to Italy see P. Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese del XV.e XVI. secolo considerata specialmente nelle sue attinenze con la letteratura italiana*, Rome, 1895, p. 33, and works cited in note 4.

² For Catharine's early history and education see the introduction to the edition of her letters in the *Documents inédits*, and also E. Frémy, *L'Académie des derniers Valois*, Paris, n. d., p. 182.

the reign of her son Henry III, when the reaction directed by Henry Estienne began to manifest itself.³

The marriage of Henry IV in 1600 to Maria de' Medici renewed this influence, which lasted through the brief regency of the Queen. Louis XIII soon, however, threw off his mother's yoke and his marriage to a Spanish princess, Anne of Austria, marks the end of Italian influence at the court and the beginning of the influence of Spain, which continued during his reign and that of his son Louis XIV, also married to a Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, in 1660.

From the time of the expedition of Charles VIII, 1494, to the marriage of Louis XIII, 1615, a period of one hundred and twenty-one years, the influence of Italy was paramount in France.⁴ Italian courtiers of the two Italian queens, Italian

³ For Henry's interest in Italian matters see the work just cited, and Pierre de Nolhac and Angelo Solerti's *Il Viaggio in Italia di Enrico III re di Francia e le feste a Venezia, Ferrara, Mantova e Torino*, Turin, 1890, and review in the *Giornale storico*, vol. 17, pp. 136 et seq. Estienne's influence will be considered later. There is an interesting comparison between the society of Henry's time and the society of the Hôtel de Rambouillet in Frémy, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-7.

⁴ There is no good general work on the influence of Italy on France. E. J. B. Rathery's prize essay, *Influence de l'Italie sur les lettres françaises depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'au règne de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1853, is incomplete and superficial, while the essay by E. Arnauld in *Essais de théorie et d'histoire littéraire*, Paris, 1858, pp. 331-495, "De l'influence exercée par la littérature italienne sur la littérature française," also a prize essay, is still more general in its nature. Valuable materials may be found in E. Bourciez, *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II*, Paris, 1886. Of little value is F. Decrue de Stoutz, *La cour de France et la société au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1888. A mine of information is in the works of Estienne to be examined presently. The subject is also treated, especially as to art, in works on the Renaissance in France, as E. Muntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles VIII*, Paris, 1885. There are many valuable monographs in this field, among which may be mentioned: "Le lettere italiane alla corte di Francesco I re di Francia," and "Le rime di Odetto de la Noue e l'italianismo a tempo d'Enrico III," both in Flamini's *Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera*, Livorno, 1895, and J. Texte's *Études de littérature européenne*, Paris, 1898, pp. 25-50, "L'influence italienne en France." The Italian influence on the French novel of the XV. and XVI. centuries has been treated by P. Toldo in the work cited in note I, in connection with which should be read G. Paris's review in the *Journal des Savants*, May and June, 1895. The history of the Italian comedians in France may be found in A. Baschet's interesting and valuable work, *Les comédiens italiens à la cour de France sous Charles IX, Henri III, Henri IV, et Louis XIII*, Paris, 1882. The same subject has been discussed in a more popular way by L. Moland, *Molière et la comédie italienne*, Paris, 1867, and additional materials for this topic will be found in A. Bartoli, *Scenari inediti della commedia dell' arte*, Florence, 1880. Of the other special fields which have been treated I may mention here: M. Pietri, *Le Pétrarquisme au XVIe siècle*, *Pétrarque et Ronsard ou de l'influence de Pétrarque sur le Péléade français*, Paris, 1895; see also on this subject, L. de Veyrières, *Monographie du sonnet*; *Sonnétistes anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1869, 2 vols. The subject of Platonic philosophy has also been treated in a valuable article by A. Lefranc,

poets, artists, artisans, merchants, actors, introduced into France Italian manners, art, and commodities.⁵ The French soldiers, including the large number of officials and travellers, brought back with them from Italy a fondness for Italian things which showed itself in their speech and changed manner of living.⁶

Another important source of influence was the translation of Italian works into French. It has already been seen from the notes to Chapters II–VII that most of the important works there referred to were translated into French, and many others will be mentioned in the course of the present chapter.⁷

The Italian influence, as has been said, reached its height under Henry III, and was the object of a vigorous protest on the part of the famous scholar Henri Estienne, whose *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé* is the most important document for the history of the influence of Italy in France.⁸

"Le Platonisme et la littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance, 1500–1550," in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. III, pp. 1–44. The influence of Italy upon the women of the Renaissance, chiefly in France, is the subject of a work by R. De Maulde La Clavière, *Les Femmes de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1898. The book is prolix and fails to employ a large class of authorities, which would have added materially to its value and interest. It gives, however, a good general idea of the conditions prevailing in Italian and French society at the time of the Renaissance.

⁵ For Italians in France see Leo Benvenuti, *Dizionario degli Italiani all'estero*, Florence, 1890. For Italian actors see Baschet, Moland, and Bartoli cited in the last note; for scholars see Flamini cited in the last note. Mention should also be made of the visits to France of Italian poets, Tasso, Alemanni, Marino, etc.

⁶ For French travellers in Italy see Jules Dumesnil, *Voyageurs français en Italie*, Paris, 1864. One of the most interesting of French travellers was Michel de Montaigne, 1580–1581, whose journal has been published recently by A. D'Ancona, *L'Italia alla fine del secolo XVI, Giornale di viaggio di Michaele de Montaigne in Italia nel 1580 a 1581*, Città di Castello, 1895. This edition contains a valuable bibliography of travels in Italy from the earliest times to 1815.

⁷ For translations of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Boiardo, Sannazaro, and Ariosto, see Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Litteratur seit Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1889, *Anmerkungen*, p. 29, where Gouget, *Bibliothèque française*, vols. VII and VIII, are cited. See also J. Blanc, *Bibliographie italico-française*, Paris and Milan, 1886, 2 vols. Additional references are scattered through Birch-Hirschfeld's *Anmerkungen*, as on pp. 38–39.

⁸ Materials for Estienne's life may be found in L. Feugère, *Conformité du langage françois avec le grec par Henri Estienne. Nouvelle édition accompagnée de notes et précédée d'un essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de cet auteur*. Paris, 1853. This essay is reprinted in *Caractères et portraits littéraires du XVIe siècle par M. Léon Feugère*, Paris, 1859, 2 vols., Vol. II, pp. 1–204. The three works of Estienne relating to the French language are now accessible in modern reprints. The *Conformité du langage françois avec le grec* has just been cited; the others are: *Deux dialogues de nouveau langage françois italianizé et autrement desguizé, principalement entre les courtisans de ce temps, par Henri*

Henri Estienne was born at Paris in 1531, and was the grandson of Henri Estienne, the founder of the illustrious family of printers and editors, who contributed so powerfully to the spread of the Renaissance in France. The father of the second Henri, Robert, famous for his Greek and Hebrew texts, gave his son a careful education, which, thanks to the child's precocity, enabled him at the age of fourteen to aid his father in the publication of Greek authors. Soon after Henry began his travels to Italy, England, and Holland, partly for the purpose of visiting libraries and obtaining materials for his father's press, and partly to aid in disposing of its products.

The publication of the Scriptures in the original tongues and in the Latin translation, together with the revision of the text, involved Robert in difficulties with the Sorbonne. His personal views inclined to the side of the Reformation, and at the close of 1550 or the beginning of 1551 he secretly withdrew from Paris and established himself with Henri at Geneva. There the new press prospered, but Robert and his son Henri, who shared his religious views, did not find the toleration which they had expected. The son was enabled by his father to establish a press of his own devoted especially to the classic authors. Robert died in 1559, and Henri then combined the two presses. His incessant activity and increased responsibility impaired his health and threw him into a profound melancholy from which he suffered the remainder of his life, and which he sought to cure by constant travel and change of occupation. It was as a means of diversion that he composed in 1565 his first work in French, the treatise on the conformity of the French language with the Greek.

Although Henri had been compelled for reasons of religion to abandon his native land, he never ceased to be a patriotic Frenchman and to enjoy the favor and protection of Henry III, in his frequent visits to Paris. The object of the *Conformité* was to

Estienne. Avec introduction et notes par P. Ristelhuber, Paris, 1885, 2 vols., and, Henri Estienne, La Précellence du langage françois réimprimée avec des notes, une grammaire et un glossaire par E. Hogue et précédée d'une préface de L. Petit de Julleville, Paris, 1896. The edition of the last named work by L. Feugère, 1850, is out of print and I have not been able to see it.

Since the above note was written an admirable work on Estienne has been published by Louis Clément, *Henri Estienne et son œuvre française*, Paris, 1899. Especially valuable are Chapters II, "L'Esprit de Cour et l'Italianisme," IV, "La précellence du Langage français"; and Part II, Chapter IV, "L'influence italienne et le nouveau langage."

show that French resembled Greek more closely than it did Latin, and, as in Estienne's opinion Greek was the most perfect of languages, French, which resembled it most closely, was superior to the other modern languages.

It is impossible to narrate in detail Henri's subsequent life. He married three times and had fourteen children, one of whom, Florence, became the wife of Isaac Casaubon. His business languished, his *Thesaurus linguae graecae*, his chief title to immortality, exhausted his strength and increased his financial embarrassments. From this time on he resided for the most part in France, where, as has been said, he enjoyed the favor of the King. It was, however, at Geneva that he composed and printed in 1578 under an assumed name his most important work for our purpose, the *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé*.

The object of the *Conformité* was, as we have seen, to prove the superiority of the French over the other modern languages: the object of the *Deux dialogues* was to protest against the Italianization of the French tongue by the courtiers and other people of fashion, who talked a curious jargon of French with Italian endings and pronounced according to Italian methods. We shall return to this curious work presently for a more detailed examination.

A year after the publication of the *Deux dialogues*, 1579, Henri Estienne issued his third and last work relating to the French language, the *Précurrence du langage françois*, the full title of which is: *Projet du livre intitulé de la précurrence du langage françois*. The publication of the *Deux dialogues* had aroused a hostile feeling in Geneva and the author had withdrawn to France, where the king had given him a kind reception. Estienne had intended to prepare a work supplementary to the *Deux dialogues*, and indeed, announced his intention in the closing pages of that work. Philausone, who represents the Italianized Frenchman, declares to Philalethe, to whom the dispute has been referred for decision, that the best way to convert him and cause him to relinquish his habit, would be to prove that the French is as good and as fine as the Italian. Philalethe replies that it is not necessary to urge him, for he never did anything more willingly. Only he must choose the time and place: "For I hope to do more than is asked, namely, to show the

excellency of our language to be so great that not only it ought not to be ranked after the Italian, but ought to be preferred to it, 'n'en desplease à toute l'Italie.'"

This intention the king urged him to fulfil, and although Estienne had left at Geneva his notes and other material he undertook the task and completed it in three months, depending entirely on his memory. Under these circumstances he regarded his work as a mere plan or model of a more extensive work and so entitled it *Projet du livre*, etc. In this work, as the title indicates, the author endeavours to prove the superiority of the French over the Italian, which he does by examining the following points: "Lequel des deux est le plus grave? Lequel est le plus gentil et de meilleure grace? Lequel est le plus riche?"

It is impossible to follow in detail the troubled life of Henri Estienne until his death at Lyons in 1598. His fame as a scholar is assured by his *Thesaurus* and a long series of editions of Greek and Latin texts, but the French language, too, owes him undying gratitude for the effort he made at a critical period in its history to resist a tendency which would otherwise have ended in the destruction of the genius and purity of that tongue.

The *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé* is, as has already been said, the most important document for the history of the influence of Italy on France in the sixteenth century. The work deals chiefly with the language, although there are references to Italian fashions as will presently be seen. The book opens with the meeting of Celtophile and Philausone, the former of whom expresses his pleasure at the encounter. Philausone replies in the following remarkable language: "Bon jour à vostre seigneurie, monsieur Celtophile. Puis qu'elle s'allegre tant de m'avoir rencontré, je jouyray d'une allegresse reciproque de m'estre imbatu en ce lieu. Mais il plaira à vostre seigneurie piller patience, si je luy dy qu'elle a usé en mon endret d'une façon de langage qui n'a pas bon garbe." Celtophile asks why Philausone, who blames his language, has Italianized his own. Philausone answers: "Pource que maintenant l'usage des courtisans est telle, de mescler des vocables Italiens parmi les Frances." The discussion which thus arises continues until the close of the work, when the matter is submitted to Philalethe for his judgment. He sides with Celtophile and promises to prove some day the excellence of French; mean-

while he invites them to dinner the following day, when the discussion can be continued and Philausone fully satisfied.

In the course of the conversation we learn that the court was the centre of the process of Italianization. Celtophile says (I, p. 126), that since his return to France he has noticed: "plusieurs escorchemens semblables aux vôtres au langage de quelques uns; mais vous [Philausone] estes le premier dont j'ay appris que la forge d'un tel langage fust a la cour. En quoy la chance est bien tournée, veu que la cour a eu cest honneur autrefois (et principalement au temps de ce tant admirable roy François premier) de donner loy à la France universelle touchant le bon langage."

This process was the result of the influx of Italians to the court. Philaëthe (II, p. 238) declares: "que pour quarante ou cinquante Italiens qu'on y voyait autrefois maintenant on y voit une petite Italie." Not only was French interlarded with Italian words, as we have seen above, but the pronunciation of the language was affected;⁹ exaggerated adverbs like *infiniment*, *extrêmement*, and *divinement*, were introduced;¹⁰ even Italian gestures were employed (II, p. 111), and the Italian mode of address, *vostre seigneurie* (II, p. 159).

The Italian influence was not confined to the language, it extended to fashions of wearing the hair (I, p. 211); fashions in dress, ruffs (I, p. 215), the use of masks (I, p. 219); fans (I, p. 228);¹¹ muffs (I, p. 226); cosmetics (I, p. 239); high-heeled shoes (I, p. 242); busks (I, p. 252); bustles (I, p. 253); etc.

Even this brief and inadequate notice of Estienne's work will show its extreme value to the student of manners as well as to the philologist. It reveals the alarming advance of the Italian influence, an advance which was sensibly checked by Estienne's vigorous protest. Other causes, too, conspired to

⁹ It was difficult for the Italian courtiers to pronounce the French *oi*, and they rendered it as though it were an *é*; their example was followed by the Italianizing Frenchmen and gradually the *oi* in certain classes of words, the infinitives, imperfects, and conditionals, of verbs etc., were pronounced as *ai*, and from the end of the XVIII. century on were so written. See Ristelhuber's edition, Vol. II, pp. 258 *et seq.*

¹⁰ See Ristelhuber's edition, Vol. I, 138; II, 129. This use of exaggerated adverbs was revived in the seventeenth century and was characteristic of the *Précieux*. See Livet, *Lexique de la langue de Molière*, Vol. II, *sub verb. furieux*, for a long and valuable note on the subject.

¹¹ See Ristelhuber's edition, Vol. I, p. 28, note. For Italian fashions in dress see Quicherat, *Histoire du costume en France*, Paris, 1877, pp. 403, 417-434.

diminish this influence, causes partly political and partly literary which this is not the place to study in detail.

The work of Estienne which we have just considered shows the extent of the Italian influence in the early years of the reign of Henry III. Some twenty years earlier this influence was revealed in the *Heptaméron* of Marguerite de Navarre, the sister of Francis I, and one of the most interesting figures in the history of the sixteenth century.¹²

Marguerite, daughter of Louise of Savoy and Charles, Count of Angoulême, was born in the Castle of Angoulême the 12th of April, 1492, a little more than two years before the birth of her brother, afterwards Francis I, with whom her life was inseparably connected. Marguerite was carefully educated, learning Latin, Italian, Spanish, and later some Hebrew.¹³ She was always interested in theological and philosophical matters as appears from her writings and the share she took in the spread of the Reformation in France. She was married in 1509 to the Duke Charles of Alençon, a person of inferior intelligence and ability. He died in 1525 and two years later Marguerite married Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, who was eleven years younger than his wife. This union proved little happier than the first and Marguerite was doomed to experience sorrow from all those whom she loved.

Her sympathies were on the side of the Reformation, in which she played a conspicuous part as the protectress of persecuted scholars, and her abodes at Pau and Nérac were asylums for the oppressed. She never recovered from her brother's death, which took place in 1547, and died two years later on the 21st of December, 1549, at the castle of Odos in Bigarre.

¹² There is no definitive life of Marguerite de Navarre, but materials may be found in the following works: *Marguerite of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre* by A. Mary F. Robinson, Boston, 1887, a very charming sketch in the *Famous Women Series*; the introduction to F. Frank's edition of the *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses*, Paris, 1873, Vol. I, pp. i-x, is perhaps the best general account of Marguerite. A more detailed account of her last years may be found in De la Ferrière-Percy, *Marguerite d'Angoulême (Soeur de François Ier, son livre de dépenses, 1540-49), Etude sur ses dernières années*, Paris, 1872; and in the introduction to A. Lefranc's edition of *Les dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*, Paris, 1896. A long list of works relating to Marguerite will be found in Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese*, p. 30, n. 1. See also *Notice sur Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre*, by P. L. Jacob, in *Les vieux conteurs français*, Paris, 1841, pp. xxv-xxxvii.

¹³ See Frank, *op. cit.*, p. iv, and M. de Maulde La Clavière, *Louise de Savoie et François I*, Paris, 1895, cited by G. Paris in his review of Toldo's work in the *Journal des Savants*, p. 16 of the *Extrait*.

Marguerite was, as we have said, carefully educated and took a deep interest in literature, producing herself a considerable amount of poetry and a prose work of great interest and worth, the *Heptaméron*. She was brought under the influence of Italian at the court of her brother, where Luigi Alamanni, an exile from Florence, found a refuge and later, in 1532, an office in the household of Catherine de' Medici. Marguerite was also in correspondence with Vittoria Colonna,¹⁴ and Bernardo Tasso dedicated to her a book of his sonnets.¹⁵ This was also the period of the translation of Italian works into French, and to the influence of one of these translations we owe Marguerite's most important work. The *Decameron* of Boccaccio had been translated into French as early as 1485 by Laurens du Premierfait and was reprinted several times.¹⁶ The translator knew no Italian and used a Latin version made for him by a Franciscan monk. As might be expected this translation was not very exact and the editor of the *Bibliothèques françoises de La Croix du Maine et Du Verdier*, Vol. II, p. 33, says: "Rien n'est plus ridicule que cette misérable version, où Bocace n'est reconnoissable, jusques là qu'à la place de quelques nouvelles de l'original le prétendu traducteur en a substitué d'étrangères fort plates."

In spite of the apparent popularity of Premierfait's translation, the need was felt for a new version, and one was undertaken at the request of Marguerite by Antoine Le Maçon, a native of Dauphiné and "conseiller du roi, receveur général de ses finances, trésorier de l'extraordinaire de ses guerres et secrétaire de très-illustre Princesse Marguerite de France, sœur unique du roi." He resigned his offices to follow Marguerite to Béarn, and to please her translated anew the *Decameron*. He says in the prologue (cited by Dillaye in *L'Heptaméron des Nouvelles*, Paris, 1879, I, p. 262): "S'il vous souvient (ma dame) du temps que vous feistes sejour de quatre ou cinq moys à Paris, durant lequel vous

¹⁴ See Birch-Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 112; *Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna*, Turin, 1889, pp. 185, 190, 191 *et seq.*; and von Reumont's life of Vittoria.

¹⁵ For Marguerite's Italian relations see Toldo's work already cited, pp. 64 *et seq.*

¹⁶ La Croix du Maine, II, 32, says he flourished in the time of Charles VIII, in the year 1483, and was esteemed a great orator for his day. He also translated the works of Seneca and Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*. The first edition of his translation of the *Decameron* was printed at Paris in 1485 by Verard in folio with Gothic type. It was reprinted according to Brunet in 1500-1593?, 1521, 1534, 1537, 1540, and 1541. The British Museum has editions of 1521, 1534, and 1541. All the above were printed at Paris.

me commandastes (me voyant venu nouvellement de Florence, où j'avois sejourné un an entier) vous faire lecture d'aucunes nouvelles du *Decameron* de Bocace, après laquelle il vous plaist me commander de traduire tout le livre en nostre langue françoise, m'assurant qu'il seroit trouvé beau et plaisant."

The first edition was printed in Paris by Estienne Roffet, 1545, in fol., and it was frequently reprinted during the rest of the century.¹⁷ It was this translation which inspired Marguerite to write her *Heptaméron*. She says in the Prologue to her work (ed. Dillaye, I, p. 14): "Entre autres, ie croy qu'il n'y a nul de vous qui n'ait leu les cent Nouvelles de Bocace nouvellement traduictes d'italien en françois, que le Roy François premier de son nom, monseigneur le Daulphin, madame la Daulphine, madame Marguerite font tant de cas, que si Bocace, du lieu où il estoit les eut pu oyr, il debuoit resusciter à la louagne de telles personnes. Et à l'heure i'oye les deux dames dessus nommées, avecq plusieurs autres de la court, qui se delibèrent d'en faire autant, sinon en vne chose differente de Bocace: c'est de n'escripre nulle nouvelle qui ne soit véritable histoire. Et promirent les dictes dames & monseigneur le Daulphin avecq d'en faire chascun dix, & d'assembler iusques à dix personnes qu'ilz pensoient plus dignes de raconter quelque chose, sauf ceulx qui auoient estudié & estoient gens de lettres; car monseigneur le Daulphin ne vouloyt que leur art y fut meslé; & aussi de paour que la beaulté de la rethorique fait tort en quelque partye à la verité de l'histoire. Mais les grandz affaires suruenuz au Roy depuis, aussy la paix d'entre luy & le Roy d'Angleterre, l'acouchement de madame la Daulphine, & plusieurs aultres choses dignes d'empescher toute la court, a fait mettre en obly du tout ceste entreprinse, que par nostre long loisir pourra en dix iours estre mise à fin, attendant que nostre pont soit parfait."

As Dillaye says, *ed. cit.*, p. 261, this passage would enlighten us in regard to the date of the composition of the *Heptaméron* if we were convinced that the work was written continuously and on a fixed plan. He believes that many of the stories were conceived prior to the date 1545, inferred from the above passage. However that may be, it is evident that it was only after this

¹⁷ Brunet, *Manuel*: 1548, 1551, 1559, Paris, 8vo, 1569, 12mo; Lyon, 1552, 1558, 1560, 1580, 16mo. The British Museum has 1551, 1554, 1559, 1568, 8vo, Paris, and Lyon, 1552, 1558, 1597, 16mo.

translation that Marguerite thought of connecting, in a frame analogous to that of Boccaccio, the short tales which she had previously written at various times. The general prologue, and the prologues and epilogues of each day date from this period, that is, after 1545. The Queen wrote the separate stories from time to time in various places. Brantôme says in his *Dames illustres, Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1890, Vol. X, p. 296: "Elle composa toutes ces nouvelles, la plus part dans sa litière, en allant par pays; car elle avoit de plus graves occupations estant retirée. Je l'ay ouy ainsin conter à ma grand'mere, qui alloit tousjours aveq elle dans sa litière, comme sa dame d'honneur, et luy tenoit l'escritoire dont elle escrivoit." The frame in which the stories are fitted is as follows.

On the first of September, when the baths of the Pyrenees begin to acquire their virtue, there were at Cauterets¹⁸ a number of persons from France, Spain, and other places, some to drink the waters, some to bathe, and others to take the mud-baths, which are such wonderful things that the sick abandoned by their physicians return home cured. At these baths all invalids remained more than three weeks until they perceived by their improvement that they could depart. But, about the time of their departure, there fell such wonderful and great rains, that it seemed as if God had forgotten the promise made to Noah not to destroy the world again by water; for all the huts and lodgings of Cauterets were so flooded with water that it was impossible to remain there.

Those who had come from Spain returned by the mountains the best way they could, but the French ladies and gentlemen (thinking to return as easily to Tarbes as they had come) found the little streams so swollen that they could scarcely ford them. But when it came to passing the Bearnese Gave, which had been only two feet deep when they crossed before, they found it so large and swift that they turned aside to seek the bridges, which, being of wood only, had been carried away by the violence of the water. Some who thought they could defy the violence of the stream by collecting together were swept away so quickly that those who wished to follow them lost their power and will to do

¹⁸ Marguerite visited this celebrated resort the last year of her life; see F. Frank, *Dernier voyage de la reine de Navarre Marguerite d'Angoulême . . . aux bains de Cauterets* (1549), Toulouse and Paris, 1897.

so. Wherefore they separated, as well to seek a new way, as on account of the difference of their opinions. Some crossed the summit of the mountains, and passing by Aragon, came into the county of Roussillon, and from there to Narbonne; others went straight to Barcelona, whence some went by sea to Marseilles, and others to Aigues-Mortes. But a widow named Oisille,¹⁹ of long experience, determined to lay aside all fear of the bad roads until she reached Notre-Dame de Serrance, sure that if there was any way of escaping danger, the monks would find one. She succeeded in arriving there, passing such strange places, and so difficult to climb and descend, that in spite of her age she was obliged to walk most of the way. The pity was that most of her people and horses died on the road and she reached Serrance with only one man and one woman. There she was charitably received by the monks.

There were also among the French two gentlemen who had gone to the baths more to accompany some ladies whose suitors they were, than from any lack of health. These gentlemen, seeing the company depart and the husbands of their ladies take them away, thought to follow them at a distance, without revealing themselves to any one. One evening the gentlemen, being in a hut near the house where the two husbands were, heard a great cry, and rushing out with their servants found that the two husbands had been attacked by robbers. They drew their swords and defended them, and after dispersing the robbers found that one of the husbands had been killed. They buried him and comforted the widow as well as they could and continued their journey. The husband who survived was named Hircan, his wife, Parlamente, the widow, Longarine, and the two young gentlemen, Dagoucin and Saffredant. That night they reached the abbey of Saint-Savin, where they found two young ladies, Nomerfide and Emarsuitte, who had had a narrow escape from a bear, which had devoured all their servants. The next day while they were at Mass a man rushed in clothed only in his shirt and followed by two men with drawn swords. The latter seeing so large a company retreated, but were followed and killed by Hircan and his companions. The gentleman in his shirt turned out to be a friend named Geburon who had been attacked in his bed by three robbers.

¹⁹ For conjectures as to the characters in the Prologue see Dillaye's edition of the *Heptaméron*, I, pp. 263-70.

It was still impossible to cross the Gave and the abbot offered them a lodging until the waters had subsided. In the evening, just as they were going to bed, an old monk arrived who told them that a gentleman named Simontault had been nearly drowned in the river, but had been rescued and had gone to Notre-Dame de Serrance, where the monk assured him he would find a widow named Oisille, who had been the companion of his adventures.

When the company heard the names of Oisille and Simontault they greatly rejoiced and started the next day for Serrance, which they reached after great difficulty. The joy of the company at their reunion was so great that the night was too short for the expression of their gratitude to God and thanksgiving for His mercy. The next day they heard Mass as usual and after dinner sent to learn if the waters had not subsided. Finding on the contrary that they had risen, and that it would be impossible to cross the river for a long time, they determined to build a bridge between two rocks quite near each other. They discovered that this would require ten or twelve days and the company began to be wearied and begged dame Oisille to devise some pastime. She replied that the only remedy she had yet discovered for her ennui was the reading of the Holy Scriptures; wherefore if the company would devote an hour every morning to this and then, during Mass, pray devoutly, they would find in that desert the beauty which exists in all the cities. Hircan answered that other exercises were needful, and that she, as the oldest, should read the Scriptures in the morning, but that from after dinner to vespers some pastime should be chosen which would not be injurious to the soul and agreeable to the body. Oisille responded that she was afraid of making a bad choice, and would leave the matter to be decided by the majority, Hircan to give his opinion first. He referred the choice to his wife Parlamente, who said that if she was as learned as the ancients who discovered the arts, she would invent some game or pastime to fulfill the duty laid upon her, but as she was scarcely able to remember things which had already been well done, she would deem herself happy to follow closely those who had already satisfied their demand.

She then refers to the *Cent Nouvelles* of Jean Boccace, "newly translated from Italian into French, which the Most

Christian Francis, first of that name, the Dauphin, his wife, and Madame Marguerite have thought so highly of, that if Boccace, from the place where he was, could have heard them, he must have come to life again at the praise of such persons." She added that she had heard that the above named ladies had determined to do the same thing as Boccaccio, except that their stories were all to be true. They had been prevented from carrying their plan into effect by various public and private affairs, and now, Parlamente said, it might be done by the present company during their long leisure while the bridge was building. She recommended them to spend the hours between noon and four o'clock in a pleasant meadow by the side of the river Gave, where the foliage was so thick that the sun could not pierce the shade nor heat the coolness; there, seated at their ease, each one should relate some story which he had seen or heard from some one worthy of belief. At the end of ten days they would have completed a hundred tales.

The company accepted the proposal joyfully and could scarcely wait for the morrow. When it arrived they repaired to Madame Oisille's room, where they found her already engaged in her prayers, and after they had listened to her reading of the Scriptures for an hour they heard Mass, and after dinner at ten o'clock each withdrew to his room to do what he pleased. They did not fail to meet at noon in the meadow, which was so beautiful and pleasant that they needed a Boccaccio to describe it truthfully. When the company were seated on the grass, so soft and delicate that they needed no cushions or carpets, Simontault began: "Who will be the one to have rule over the others?" Hircan replied: "Since you are the first to speak, it is right for you to command, for we are all equal in the game." The company urged him to begin and he related the first story. When the story was finished, the narrator made a covert allusion to his own sufferings. Then Madame Oisille was asked to relate the next story, which she did. The endings and beginnings of the "journées" are monotonous, and the work is incomplete, ending abruptly with the LXXII. story.

With the stories themselves and their sources we are not here concerned. Of greater interest are the discussions at the end of the stories. The dominant subject of course is love, and love in its Platonic form. Each story gives rise to a discussion by

the company, and these discussions are precious materials for the history of conversation in the sixteenth century. They also show the extent to which the theory of Platonic love had become popularized in France, thanks to Marguerite de Navarre.²⁰ As early in the *Heptaméron* as the VIII. novel the Platonic theory is clearly propounded. In this story a husband thinking to deceive his wife brings dishonor upon himself. The company discuss the novel, and Dagoucin declares that a man is very unreasonable when he has wherewithal to content himself and seeks something else. Simontault replies: "But what would you do to those who have not found their half? Do you call seeking it everywhere inconstancy?" Dagoucin answered: "Because one cannot know where is that half whose union is so perfect that one does not differ from the other, it is necessary to stop where love constrains one, and, no matter what arises, not to change one's heart or will; for if the one you love is so like you and of the same will, it will be yourself that you love and not her." "Dagoucin," replied Hircan, "you wish to fall into a false opinion; as if we should love women without being loved." Dagoucin answered: "Hircan, I mean that if our love is based on the beauty, grace, and favor of a woman, and our object is pleasure, honor, or profit, love cannot last long; for, if the thing on which we base it fails, our love flies from us. But I am firm in my opinion, that he who loves, having no other end or desire than to love well, will die before this love leaves his heart." "By my faith," answered Simontault, "I do not believe you have ever been in love; for if you had felt its flame like others, you would not depict to us here the *Republic* of Plato, which exists in writing and not in reality."

This theory is declared even more explicitly in the conversation following the XIX. novel. "I have an opinion," said Parlamente, "that one will never love God perfectly unless he has loved perfectly some creature in this world." "What do you call loving perfectly?" said Saffredent; "do you consider perfect lovers those who are in a transport and worship their ladies from afar, without daring to reveal their desire?" Parlamente's

²⁰ See Bourciez, *op. cit.*, pp. 391 *et seq.*, and Birch-Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-298, "Die Gespräche des *Heptaméron*."

See A. Lefranc, "Le platonisme et la littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance (1500-1550)" in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, III, pp. 1-44; Bourciez, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-136, "La vieille poésie française et la diffusion des théories platoniciennes"; and Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese*, pp. 45 *et seq.*

answer is worth quoting at length in the original. "T'appelle parfaicts amans, luy respondit Parlamente, ceulx qui cherchent en ce qu'ils amient quelque perfection, soit beaulté, bonté ou bonne grace; tousiours tendans à la vertu, & qui ont le cueur si hault & si honneste qu'ils ne veulent pour mourir mettre leur fin aux choses basses que l'honneur & la conscience reprouuent; car l'ame qui n'est créée que pour retourner à son souuerain bien, ne faict tant qu'elle est dedans ce corps que desirer d'y paruenir. Mais à cause que les sens par lesquels elle en peut auoir nouuelles, sont obscurs & charnels par le peché du premier pere, ne luy peuuent monstrier que les choses visibles plus approchantes de la perfection, après quoi l'ame court, cuidans trouuer en vne beaulté exterieure, en vne grace visible & aux vertuz morales, la souuerainaine beaulté, grace & vertu. Mais quand elle les a cherchez & experimentez & elle n'y trouue point celuy qu'elle ayme, elle passe oultre, ainsi que l'enfant, selon sa petitesse ayme les pou-pines & aultres petites choses, les plus belles que son oeil beut veoir; & estime richesses d'assembler des petites pierres: mais quand il congnoist par plus grande experience que es choses terri-toires n'y a perfection ne felicité, desire chercher le facteur & la source d'icelle. Toutesfois si Dieu ne luy ouure l'oeil de soy, seroit en danger de deuenir d'un ignorant vng infidele philosophe. Car foy seulement peut monstrier & faire receuoir le bien que l'homme charnel & animal ne peut entendre."²¹

The loves of men and of women are contrasted at the end of the XXI. novel: Parlamente says: "Woman's love, founded upon God and honor, is so just and reasonable, that the one who renounces such friendship ought to be deemed base and wicked towards God and man. But the love of most men is so based upon pleasure that women, not knowing their evil will, sometimes go too far; and when God reveals to them the wicked heart of the one they deemed good, they can withdraw from it to their honor and good repute, for the shortest follies are the best."

Some of these discussions constitute brief treatises on marriage, *e.g.*, in the XL. novel, where Parlamente says: "Je prie à Dieu, mes dames, que ceste example vous soyt si profitable que nulle de vous ayt enuye de soy marier, pour son plaisir, sans le consentement de ceulx à qui on doit porter obeissance;

²¹ See Dillaye's edition of the *Heptaméron*, Vol. II, p. 282, note 7, where a passage from Castiglione's *Cortegiano* is quoted.

car mariage est vng estat de si longue durée qu'il ne doit estre commencé legierement, ne sans l'opinion de noz mielleurs amys & parens." Or the various questions connected with love are debated, e.g., in the XLII. novel, where Dagoucin says: "Toutes-fois, on dit que l'amour la plus secrete est la plus louable." "Ouy secrete," says Simontault, "aux oeilz de ceulx qui en pourroient mal iuger, mais claire & congneue au moins aux deux personnes à qui elles touchent." The same topic is discussed again in the LIII. and LXX. novels.

The influence of the *Decameron* is evident in the frame of the *Heptaméron*, and it is also clear that Marguerite was well acquainted with such works as the *Cortegiano*, *Asolani*, and the other Italian treatises on love.²²

An interesting example of the influence of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* on the spread of Platonism in France is found in the poetical works of Antoine Héroet, only recently rescued from oblivion by Ferdinand Gohin, who has edited them for the *Société des textes français modernes*, 1909. The poet was born about 1492 of a family distinguished by the favor of the court and filling various offices under Francis I. His sister, Marguerite de Navarre, also was interested in the Héroet family, and Antoine enjoyed a pension from her as early as 1524. Little is known of his education or of the circumstances which attracted him to the study of Platonic philosophy. It is not certain that he knew Greek, but he was of course acquainted with Ficino's translation and comment mentioned in Chapter III of the present work.

His first poem on a Platonic subject, the myth of the Androgyne, was presented to the king in 1536, but not printed until 1542. This was followed by the most famous of Héroet's poems, *La Parfaicte Amye*, published in 1542. It is a refutation of La Borderie's *L'Amie de Court*, which in its turn was a criticism of Castiglione's ideal lady of the palace discussed in book third of the *Cortegiano*. The success of Héroet's work, which ran through more than twenty editions, is a tribute to the vogue of the *Cortegiano* in France, where it was known in a translation by Jacques Colin as early as 1537.

²² See the works of Toldo, Lefranc, and G. Paris cited above. For the popularity of Equicola, Leone Hebreo, and Ficino see Marguerite de Valois, *La Ruelle mal assortie*, Paris, Aubry, 1855, p. 10, and Bourciez, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Héroet must have entered the ecclesiastical career shortly after the appearance of his famous poem. In 1552 he was made bishop of Digne, where he died sixteen years later.

The *Parfaicte Amye*, entitled in the first book (I. 22) "Parfection d'Amour," is partly a refutation of La Borderie's *L'Amie de Court*, and partly an exposition of the doctrine of love contained in Plato's *Banquet*. La Borderie's point of departure was the ideal lady of the palace depicted by Castiglione, whose failings he defends and excuses. A friend of Héroet, Charles Fontaine, answered La Borderie's work by a poem of some length, 1282 lines, entitled *Contr'Amie de Court*, but Héroet's *Parfaicte Amye* was a more detailed refutation. Both La Borderie and Héroet, as was natural, are based on Castiglione's work, although Héroet expands his defence of true love by drawing on the dialogue of Plato. The heated discussion raised by La Borderie's poem is evidence of the wide-spread influence of the Italian Platonists, and especially of the *Cortegiano*.²³

Four years after the death of Marguerite de Navarre and five years before the appearance of the first (incomplete) edition of the *Heptaméron*, Claude de Taillemont, a poet of the school of Lyon, and a friend of Maurice Scève, published a curious allegorical work²⁴ entitled: *Discours des Champs Faëz, à l'honneur et exaltation de l'Amour et des Dames*, Lyon, Mich. du Bois, 1553.

The story runs as follows: On the strength of a dream, in which Minerva appears in her "hautaine majesté," clothed in her breastplate, uttering a theory of "l'amour guidé par la raison," three gentlemen, Philaste, Thélème, and Thimoe, mount their horses one morning and set out on their adventures. Suddenly they reach one of those palaces which we find in the

²³ I owe my knowledge of Héroet to the excellent edition of his *Œuvres poétiques* by Ferdinand Gohin. The *Notice biographique* contains, pp. xx et seq., a valuable account of the influence of the *Cortegiano* in France. Héroet's poem was only one, the most famous it is true, of a number of works discussing the nature of love; see Gohin, *Notice bibl.*, pp. xxv et seq.

²⁴ For the author see *Bibliothèques françaises de La Croix de Maine*, Vol. I, p. 153, and same work of Du Verdier, Vol. I, p. 370. A notice of Taillemont as a poet may be found in Gouget, *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. XI, p. 453. Du Verdier, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 370-375, gives an extract from the *Champs Faëz*, containing a comparison of the two sexes, their creation and different qualities, etc. The British Museum has only the edition of Paris, Richard Roux, 1557, 16mo; Brunet mentions editions of Lyon, Michel du Bois, 1553, 1554, Rigaud, 1576; Paris, 1577, 1585, and 1595, G. Gorrozet. I have not seen the original and take my account of it from Bourciez, *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II*, Paris, 1886, pp. 411 et seq.

Romances of Chivalry, improved, however, by the architects of the Renaissance, adorned with festoons, arcades, and love knots, and decorated, according to mythological taste, with noble statues. They enter, and there, accompanied by two young maidens, appears "la maitresse du logis, la belle et sage Eumathe." Eumathe, it is needless to say, offers in every respect a perfect resemblance to the Minerva who appeared in the dream. After the customary greetings, one of the gentlemen addresses to her the following compliment: "Vous pouvez juger à noz visages, ma demoiselle, que l'inopinée rencontre de vos beautéz à l'entrée de ceste porte, nous a tellement esmeu le coeur et le sens, que la langue en a presque perdu son office, remetant toute la charge à l'oeil, lequel n'est point pour ce content, d'autant que son desir surpasse le pouvoir, et qu'il ne peult esgaler en nombre les estoiles des cieux, pour jouir plus amplement d'un objet tant agréable." The remainder of Taillemont's work, says Bourciez, presents a curious mixture of learning and pedantry, of talk in which the fashionable tone is revealed, of details betraying the spirit of this period which still wavers between the vague recollections of the Middle Ages, and the zeal for the Renaissance. First we must endure too long a description of the spot where the scene takes place, a garden, a large orchard "à compartiments," with shady bowers and arbors, flowering broom and laurels, "un vray paradis terrestre." There is a labyrinth between two borders of gooseberry and raspberry bushes; "là se monstroît une superbe et triomphante fontaine, dont la source montoit par un gros et creux pilier de jaspe, haut enlevé et enrichy de plusieurs festons et fueillages d'or et azur, puis sortoit par la gueule de trois dragons d'or." The gentlemen are bewildered. How shall they name this delightful abode, where they are going to converse at their ease? Are they the "Elysian Fields"? No, says Thélème, they are "les Champs Faëz" (the Enchanted Fields; the word *faëz* is from the Latin *fatum*, and is represented in the modern French by *fée*, fairy). There poetry is recited, and its moral meaning discussed, and the "chapeau de laurier, guerdon du vainqueur," is awarded to the wise Eumathe. Become queen of the company, she arranges the rôles, distributes to each his duties of gallantry, and Thimoe, kneeling before her, declares his obedience, exclaiming: "Madame, nous pouvons dire et confesser manifestement que

la grandeur de votre liberalité surpasse de beaucoup, je ne dis pas celle de nos merites, estant nulle, ains celle de nos desirs, quelque excessive qu'elle soit." Bourciez says that it is the incidents especially which are of value in this little work and render it readable to-day. There is something delicate and *spirituelle* in the sulkiness of the two maidens, vexed at seeing the queen absolve herself from the ordinance which they have obeyed, and which consists in being embraced by the "mieux-disant." The most frivolous episodes are those in which the correct tone is found. At a certain moment a young bird clothed in rich plumage enters the hall and perches on a cornice, uttering its melodious song. At first there is silence, then loud bursts of laughter, and the maidens run here and there, armed with switches and sticks, calling to the bird, "comme s'il leur eust deu respondre. L'un l'appeloit son ami; l'autre disoit: Hé mon petit mignon, ren toy à moy, et t'ayant logé en une belle cage neuve, te paistray de ma propre main." All this, as Bourciez says, is better than the learned and scholastic dissertations which follow. Philaste pronounces too long a discourse upon the superiority of women: Eumathe relates the story of a countess who "témoigna la vertu au prix de sa propre vie," but she has not in relating this novel the vivacity of Marguerite of Navarre. She is not much better inspired when she seeks to expound the metaphysics of love, and tries to explain the mythological attributes of Cupid and his fickle nature. "Amour, mes amis, est une affection de bien, ou bon vouloir envers la chose aymée, conceu au coeur par le jugement de l'oeil ou l'imagination fait sus un objet plaisant, attractif. . . . Se nourrit et alimente de l'apparence agréable par le moyen de l'oeil, l'oreille ou l'imagination: et est enfin cogneu et produit par actions. Or que soient plusieurs amours, je le nie: et maintien qu'il n'en est qu'un," etc.

The work, however, which shows most distinctly the influence of Italian society on French is the *Printemps* of Jacques Yver.²⁵

²⁵ Almost nothing is known of Jaques Yver. Du Verdier, Vol. II, p. 317, simply says: "Seigneur de Plaisance et de la Bigotterie." A brief notice is given by P. L. Jacob in his edition of the *Printemps* in *Les vieux conteurs français*, Paris, 1841. The first edition was Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1572. It was reprinted frequently during the sixteenth century. Besides the edition of Jacob I have used one belonging to Cornell University Library: *Le Printemps d'Yver, Contenant cinq histoires discourses par cinq iournées, en une noble compagnie, au chasteau du Printemps. Par Iaques Yver, seigneur de Plaisance, et de la Bigotterie, gentil-homme Poiteuin.* A Lyon, Par les heritiers de Benoist Rigaud. 1600. 12mo, pp. 460, and four not numbered which contain

The author, Seigneur de Plaisance and de la Bigottière, a gentleman of Poitou, was born about 1540. He was probably a Protestant and had undoubtedly taken part in the religious wars in the army of the Prince de Condé and the Admiral Coligny. His only work was written in the two years of peace which preceded the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and the writer died, probably a victim of that event, before his book was published.²⁶

In the greeting, "Au favorable et bienveillant lecteur," Jacques Yver thus describes the origin of his work: "Considering sometimes with myself, kind reader, what great and famous praises the *Tragic Histories* of Bandello have won in our France,"²⁷ so far as to acquire such favor that it is a shame to-day for well-bred maidens and the most learned courtiers, to be ignorant of them; so that even those who cannot adorn their tongues with them, at least adorn their hands with them to keep themselves in countenance. I cannot refrain (and my voluntary confession

"Congé à son livre"; "Du Trespas de l'Autheur, Par I. Th."; "Du mesme, Sonnet." No privilege of any kind. The only translation of Yver's work, so far as I know, is the rare English one, which as we shall see later is of some interest for the history of the Elizabethan drama. I know of but two copies, one, imperfect, in the British Museum, which I have examined, the other, perfect, in the Bodleian, for a description of which I am indebted to Miss Toulmin Smith. The title is: *A Courtlie controuersie of Cupids Cautels: conteynning five Tragical Histories, very pithie, pleasant, pitiful, and profitable. Discoursed upon wyth Argumentes of Love, by three Gentlemen and two Gentlewomen intermeddled with diuers delicate sonets and Rithmes, exceeding delightfull to refresh the yrkesomnesse of tedious tyme. Translated out of French as neare as our English phrase will permit, by H. W. Gentleman.* At London. Imprinted by Francis Coldock, and Henry Bynneman. Anno 1578. Black letter, 347 pp., 4to. See Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 34, No. 22.

²⁶ Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii, says: "Jacques Yver avait un frère nommé Joseph et une sœur nommée Marie, qui faisaient aussi de jolis vers, et qui furent sans doute les éditeurs de son livre, car il mourut avant que l'impression fût achevée, peut-être victime de la Saint-Barthélemi, qu'il semblait prévoir dans son ode ou Complainte sur les misères de la guerre civile."

²⁷ A pleasant account of Bandello and his early French translator, Belleforest, may be found in the Introduction by R. L. Douglas to his edition of Fenton's Bandello: *Certain Tragical Discourses of Bandello translated into English by Geffraie Fenton, anno 1567*, London, D. Nutt, 1898, being Vol. XIX of *The Tudor Translations*, edited by W. E. Henley. The earliest French translation of Bandello was: *Histoires tragiques, extraites des oeuvres italiennes de Bandel et mises en notre langue françoise par Pierre Bouestuauc surnommé Launay, Paris, Ben. Prévost ou Gilles Robineau, 1559* (six nouvelle only); continuation . . . *traduite (ou imité) par Fr. de Belleforest, Paris, Prévost, 1559*, in 8vo (twelve nouvelle). Belleforest subsequently translated the remaining *nouvelle*, and his work enjoyed the greatest favor, being frequently reprinted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For English translations see Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 41, No. 26. A readable account of Bandello, which, however, does not add materially to the previous knowledge of him, may be found in *Matteo Bandello: Twelve Stories selected and done into English with a memoir of the author by Percy Pinkerton*, London, 1895, introduction, pp. v-xviii.

deserves a partial pardon) from envying the Italian, who, like the peach tree, receives greater honor in a foreign land than in its own, by favor of two interpreters, who can be named the two rich treasurers of the French language. And, on the other hand, I regret the way these have cheapened their labor, cultivating lands, from which others receive the fruit and income, being witness of the ungrateful return they have for it. For having found myself by chance in a familiar talk on this subject, in which I maintained their merit against one, who, scorning the wit of the French, said that they lived only on what they borrowed, hatching eggs laid by others, and contenting themselves with begging the wares of others, in order to piece them together and make a show of them to their nation; as if, famished, we gathered up the crumbs which fall from the tables of those magnificent ones, to make a dainty morsel of them for ourselves, I felt my mind so offended by this that for a long time I have taken it rather unkindly of Nature that she has not conferred that privilege upon the ears which she has upon the eyes, to receive agreeable words and close the door upon disagreeable ones; and in order to avenge the insult which they offered my heart, the sincere zeal which I have for the honor of my country (which I see sometimes violated) has inspired me with the desire and courage to try to show that we are not more barren in fine inventions than foreigners, and that we have amply wherewithal to divert and relieve the ennui caused by idleness, by discourse born in France and dressed in the French fashion."

The work which follows is divided into five "journées," the first of which is prefaced by an apology for the author's boldness in undertaking his task. He was encouraged, he declares, by the fact that his object was "not to imitate an eloquent orator, but a faithful secretary who reports the pleasing words and memorable stories, related to deceive the ennui of some idle afternoons, in a noble company of gentlemen and ladies, who during a festival of Whitsunday, had visited each other, in order to assuage by their friendly intimacy the griefs occasioned by this wretched civil war, and to allay their bitter memory."²⁸

On the conclusion of peace, "among all the French, the in-

²⁸ Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 521, note 1, says that the reference is to the third civil war, which began in 1568 and continued until the peace of St. Germain, concluded in the month of August, 1570.

habitants of the province of Poitou²⁹ returned with extreme joy to their desolated homes." As soon as they had settled themselves as well as necessity permitted, "they took particular pleasure in seeing each other, and relating and communicating their losses and consoling themselves by the practice of the duty of friendship in their common wretchedness. Now, this charity was principally practiced by the nobility of the country, who have this good custom of uniting by intimate acquaintance and relationship, which happily supports them in their greatness and ancient glory. Among whom, three young gentlemen, relatives and neighbors, undertook, one day when they happened to meet, to visit, on a festival of Whitsunday, a lady who lived in a château near by, to help her pass the time, knowing the pleasure which her honorable house would receive from this company; as, indeed, they deserved to be welcome everywhere for their civility and gentle breeding." For fear of displeasing them, the author says, he will not mention their real names, but do as is done on the stage, where the actors under borrowed "masques" represent the real characters whom they have undertaken to introduce. "Therefore, let us name our three gentlemen, whom we have undertaken to make perform on this stage of love, the lords of Bel-Accueil, of Fleur-d'Amour, and of Ferme-Foi, and the château where they are going to disport, Printemps, recently built, as is deemed certain, by the famous fairy Mélusine."³⁰ Then follows a long description of the château and its park. The lady of this château was a widow with a daughter and a niece, the former named Marie and the latter Marguerite. These welcomed the three gentlemen, who arrived unexpectedly, and after an affectionate welcome, the happy band determined to banish all care, except that of choosing in what sport they could pass the time most joyfully, and of inventing new diversions.

They arose with the dawn and after their devotions, played within doors a thousand little games, until the first rays of the sun had dried the dew. Then they visited the gardens, and gathering flowers they indulged in a floral battle. Meanwhile a sumptuous dinner was prepared, where the body was nourished

²⁹ Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 522, note 1, says that Poitou was the principal scene of the religious wars of this period.

³⁰ Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 522, note 1, says that this was undoubtedly the famous château of Lusignan or Luzignem, which sustained several sieges during the Huguenot war and was dismantled after the last one, in which Louis de Bourbon, Duke de Montpensier, took it by storm in 1574.

with delicious food and the mind with joyful words. After grace the table was cleared, and the music of various instruments continued until the company was seized with the desire to escape into the open air. They amused themselves there by gathering flowers, and eating fruits, and took their supper on stone tables surrounded by grassy seats. After supper they rowed on the ponds and fished until the darkness forced them to retreat to the château, which they did not without discussing several pleasant questions on the way or without playing seemly games, such as "aux merveilles," "aux états," "aux ventes," "aux vertus," "aux rencontres," and others until they arrived at the château.³¹ After dancing and singing, they had a collation of sweetmeats and sugar candy, and then bidding each other good night, they went to sleep until the morrow, which, when it came, brought with it other new diversions. They led this delightful life for the space of a week, during which, one afternoon, seeking to avoid the heat, they came to a cave, where there was a fountain, over the source of which was the figure of an old hermit in marble. In his hand was a scroll on which was written a poem referring to the charms of country life and the evils which men bring down upon themselves by their wickedness.

One of the ladies then discoursed on the corruption of man, and taking a lute sang a long *Complainte* on the miseries of civil war. When she had finished, in order not to leave the company in a melancholy frame of mind, she sang to a livelier measure a hymn in welcome of peace. This was followed by a long conversation on the perversity of man in causing war, and the superiority of women in loving peace. The *Sieur de Ferme-Foi* turned the discourse on love by remarking that women are more cruel than men, and more dangerous than war, in which there are guards and sentinels to give warning, but women take their lovers by surprise and treat them worse than their greatest enemies, and are unwilling to take any other ransom from them but their lives. This led to the comparison between the love of men and that

³¹ I am unable to describe these games or to find their Italian counterparts with one or two exceptions. The game "aux vertus" is found in Sorel's *Maison des Jeux*, Vol. I, p. 545, II, p. 237, and in the same author's *Récréations galantes*, p. 112. It is the same as Ringhieri, xxxii. "Aux merveilles" is Bargagli, 107, and 153. Roy, *Charles Sorel*, p. 242, note 4, says: "Dans les Recueils français du XVI^e siècle, tels que le *Discours des Champs faez* de Taillemont et le *Printemps* de Jacques Yver, les acteurs se contentent de raconter des histoires d'amour et de jouer aux Ventes, aux Métiers, au Corbillon, aux Merveilles et autres jeux français très simples."

of women. Mademoiselle Marie asked why poets and painters wishing to represent the love of men depict a feathered child, and to show the love of women, paint a tortoise under the feet of Venus, unless it is to show that the love of men is fickle and inconstant like a bird, but that of woman is firm and steady like a tardy tortoise. She then mentions historical examples of men's fickleness, Jason, Theseus, Demophon, Aeneas, and Hercules. Even in marriage men are inconstant: hence marriage should not be made in haste.

The Seigneur de Fleur-d'Amour replies and defends his sex. It is a natural instinct in man to wish to perpetuate himself, and as the body is perishable the only means of doing this is to live in one's posterity. After the Deluge people increased and multiplied rapidly; so now after the civil war people hastened to repair and restore the losses occasioned by so many marriages destroyed. Moreover, the fact that the number of men has been greatly reduced by the war must result in good, for the bad men having been killed, it will not be the men who spoil marriages, but the women, the preponderance of whom over men is undesirable. In proof that the love of women not only is more fickle and heedless than that of man, but is also the sole cause of all the misfortunes of lovers, the speaker offers to tell a brief but pitiable and memorable story.

The novel which follows is the story of Soliman and Persida, well known in English by the drama of *The Spanish Tragedy* by Thomas Kyd, and the anonymous play of *Soliman and Perseda*.³² When the story was finished a long discussion arose as to what it proved, and the blame for the catastrophe was attributed to various persons. While they were still engaged in debate the *maître d'hôtel* summoned them to supper.

The next day they dined in the garden, where had been prepared a display of statues of satyrs and nymphs with stone scrolls containing poetry. The usual discussion arose in regard to women, and Bel-Accueil told a story about two angels who fell in love with an Egyptian lady and taught her the prayer they used to ascend to heaven. This the lady used at once and arose from the earth followed by the angels in great confusion. The

³² See E. Sieper, "Die Geschichte von Soliman und Perseda in der neueren Litteratur" in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, N. F., Bd. 9, pp. 33-60; Bd. 10, pp. 151-174. In the first article Sieper treats the French and German versions and in the second the English ones.

heavenly guards refused the lady admission and a council decided that it was not safe to send her back to earth to reveal what she had seen; at the same time if she were admitted she would not cease to disturb the inhabitants of heaven by her curiosity. Finally she was assigned to the moon, which was so astonished by its fickle guest that it has had no rest since then and undergoes more changes and motions in a month than the other celestial bodies in a year. This story also was followed by a lively discussion in regard to women. After the debate they rose from the table and strolled through the garden, where the second novel was related by Marie. This story, too, was discussed as usual with a profusion of examples, mostly of classical origin.

The following morning the company was awakened by a rustic *aubade*, and dressing in haste they descended to see the peasants dancing many *branles de Poitou*, the words of which are given. After the dinner came the usual promenade and another diversion of figures with scrolls, representing the pitiable story of Hero and Leander. Again the question was debated whether the misfortunes of love are due to the lover or his mistress, and Bel-Accueil narrated the third novel, partly historical, the scene of which is laid in Italy. The narrator and Mademoiselle Marie debated with great erudition the question of the blame attaching to the characters in the story.

The fourth day opened with a complaint on the part of the author that although many sages have investigated nature; no one has given a satisfactory explanation of what love is. Returning to his narrative he said that the dispute over the third story was so obstinate and prolonged that it was hard to end the strife and bring the combatants to dinner. After the meal was finished and thanks given, the company went out as usual into the garden and were led into a rustic grotto decorated with figures of animals and a representation of Bacchus and a band of satyrs. When they had admired the figures and the song of Bacchanals written on "the vine leaves with the slime of snails," the company chose a shady spot near a brook and seated themselves in chairs which seemed to be made by nature out of the trunks of trees and broken rocks. The conversation then turned as before on the comparative faults of men and women in matters of love. After a long introductory speech, in which she declared that Fortune is wrongly blamed in these affairs and that the

fault is really that of Envy, Mademoiselle Marguerite related the fourth story, an historical one, the scene of which is laid in England during the reign of William the Conqueror.³³ Marguerite concluded her story with the words: "tellement que, par cette piteuse histoire, vous avez pu voir clairement, gracieuse compagnie, mon dire être très-véritable, que les misères qui surviennent en amour, ne proviennent point d'une téméraire fortune, mais sont machinées par les secrètes malice de l'envie, qui le suit comme l'ombre fait le corps."

The company were awakened on the morning of the fifth day by the rumbling of thunder, and after the ladies had been greeted all visited the halls and galleries of the château, where they found various games, such as "palemaille," "barre," "escrime," "bille," "balle," "paume," wooden horses for vaulting, and all other exercises which served as a sauce to arouse the appetite. As the weather was unfavorable, the dinner was served within doors, in the "Chambre de Vénus." The mistress of the château took a cup and said laughingly that she drank to him who had slept the best. All thanked her, but she said she had not intended to drink to all, but to one. Each claimed to be the person, until the Sieur de Fleur-d'Amour related a curious dream which he had had, and called for explanations from the company. These threatened to become tiresome and the Sieur de Fleur-d'Amour recalled the company from their vagaries by saying that they were greater dreamers than he, for he had dreamed only while asleep, but they while awake, and what was worse, at table. Then the company arose and examined the paintings on the walls of the room, which was divided into two equal parts, one containing the stories and figures of all those who had loved happily,

³³ This story is the source of the pseudo-Shakespearian play *A Pleasant Comedie of Faire Em, the Müller's Daughter of Manchester*, which is printed in Richard Simpson's *The School of Shakespeare*, London, 1878, Vol. 2, pp. 337 *et seq.* The editor makes no reference to the source of the play, which may also be found in: W. R. Chetwood, *A select collection of old plays*, 1750; J. L. Tieck, *Shakspeare's Vorschule*; and Delius, *Pseudo-Shakspeare'sche Dramen*, II, Elberfeld, 1874. The story in Yver is the source of only a part of the play, which has two plots; the second, "Faire Em," seems to be of English origin. In the course of the story three sonnets and an echo song are introduced, and mention is made of the "bal continu," of which Jacob says in a note: "C'est le nom d'un de ces jeux ou danses en action, qui sont décrits dans la *Maison des Jeux de Sorel*, et qui divertissaient la société polie avant la formation des bureaux d'esprit." Reference is also made (pp. 614-15) to "divers petits jeux comme écorcher l'anguille, brider l'âne, prendre la grenouille et autres." Jacob says: "Ces jeux ou pantomimes comiques et galantes se sont conservés dans les pénitences qu'on ordonne au jeu du gage touché."

and the others, of those who had been unhappy in love, each of whom in a little scroll bore the recital of his adventures. The corner where the two classes of love were separated was occupied by a throne on which was Venus in her glory, bearing a golden apple, and surrounded by her Graces and Cupids, the whole supported by a colossus having the figure of a man half white and half black, so exactly divided that his nose was of both colors. He held in his white hand stretched, in the direction of the happy lovers, a tablet, and in the black one, turned towards the unfortunate lovers, another tablet, containing two sonnets, all in feminine rhymes.

The *Sieur de Ferme-Foi* was the first to discover this and exclaimed: "Come and see the one who will settle the question and dispute which we have debated so much the last few days; here is a judge who cannot be suspected, for, not only is he situated in a corner, inclining to neither side, but is as much black as white, favoring neither side. Why should we trouble ourselves any more, one maintaining that the misfortunes of love arise from the malice of Fortune, another, that they come from Envy, the enemy of all good, since the firm and constant advocate of Love here before us concludes that we should not seek further that which is in ourselves, who are both the cause of love and the cause of its results? I, who do not wish to flatter or spare one side in order to oppress the other, say, subject to your correction, that the miseries of love come partly from the man and partly from the woman, who, instead of nourishing and supporting love by a sweet union, which is its proper nourishment, so retrench its life by discord, jealousy, scorn, and other 'prisons de mariage,' that they force it to die, as we see by daily examples, of which I could relate many." "I beg you to do so," said the lady; "besides, you are the only one left to give your opinion, which I think you have kept for the end of the meal." Then, extending her hand, she presented the bouquet to the *Seigneur de Ferme-Foi*, who, after thanking her and observing the accustomed courtesies, seeing that everyone had taken his place, after a brief silence related the fifth story.

His conclusion is that the quarrels, misfortunes, and inconveniences which arise in love proceed as well from the man as from the woman, both of whom heedlessly open the door to their domestic enemy, cutting with a knife of jealousy and bad govern-

ment the indissoluble and Gordian knot of conjugal love. "What do you say about it, madame," he asked the mistress of the château; "do you not give me your vote?" She replied that she would wait until the next day to play her part, when, following the path which he had traced, they would discuss more profoundly love and its nature. She adds that the knot of love which they will discuss is not the love of the vulgar herd, but a perfect intelligence, the principle of everything, in short, Platonic love, of which she proceeds to give the usual definitions.

The work ends abruptly at the conclusion of her remarks. As is evident the sixth day is lacking, in which the mistress of the château was to express her views on the question in debate, and to tell her story. Why the work was not finished is not known. Perhaps the author tired of his subject and did not intend to complete it. At all events, he appears to have considered it ended and appended an address in verse in which he takes leave of his work.

The *Printemps* appeared for the first time in 1572, that is, fourteen years after the first (incomplete) edition of the *Héptaméron*, and it would be strange if it did not show the influence of that remarkable work; and yet whatever resemblances there may be between the two can be explained by a common source. This for the *Héptaméron* was, as we have seen, the *Decameron* together with later Italian works on Platonic love. As sources of the *Printemps* I can point to no particular works. The meeting of the company at the Château of Lusignan, the story-telling, the discussions on the nature of love, and the diversions of games, etc., are common, as we have already seen, to a great number of Italian works. It seems clear from the author's address to the reader, which has been cited above, that he intended to produce an original French work, and that the form it took was influenced by the actual state of the society of the day, which had become so thoroughly Italianized. Of course the popularity of the *Héptaméron* and the *Novelle* of Bandello may have furnished the impulse to the *Printemps*.

The stories related in the course of the work are original with the author, although three of the five have a historical, or quasi-historical, background. The work was frequently reprinted in the sixteenth century and was translated into English in 1578, showing how soon it had become known in that country. The

English translation bears the title: *A courtlie controuersie of Cupids Cautels: conteyning five Tragical Histories, very pithie, pleasant, pitiful, and profitable. Discussed upon wyth Argumentes of Loue, by three Gentlemen and two Gentlewomen intermedled with diuers delicate sonets and Riithmes, exceeding delightful to refresh the yrkesomnesse of tedious tyme. Translated out of French as neare as our English phrase will permit*, by H. W. Gentleman. At London. Imprinted by Francis Goldock, and Henry Bynneman. Anno 1578. This work is of special interest to students of the English drama, as it contains the source of the little play in the V. act of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, the anonymous *Soliman and Persida*, and one of the two plots of *Faire Em*.

The works which we have thus far considered show the influence of Italy in a somewhat narrow field. The vogue of the *Decameron* produced the *Heptaméron*, which in its turn was followed by the work just described. In the two imitations we have, in addition to Boccaccio's influence, the great stream of Platonic philosophy which so profoundly moulded the second half of the sixteenth century. This influence is conspicuous in the writer whose works we have now to examine.

Etienne Pasquier was born at Paris in 1529.³⁴ Little is known of his family or his early life. He was carefully educated at the University of Paris, and studied law under Cujas at Toulouse and Alciatus and Socinus at Pavia and Bologna. The three years spent in Italy explain his early works, which are so out of keeping with his profession, and the studies to which he afterwards devoted his leisure moments. Pasquier began his career as a lawyer at the bar of Paris in 1549. His success as an advo-

³⁴ Materials for the life of Pasquier will best be found in L. Feugère, *Œuvres choisies d'Etienne Pasquier, accompagnées de notes et d'une étude sur sa vie et sur ses ouvrages*, Paris, 1849, 2 vols. The excellent life fills pp. i-ccv of the first volume and is followed by a valuable bibliography of Pasquier's works and of works concerning him, as well as judgments pronounced upon him by contemporary and later writers. The above life of Pasquier is reprinted in L. Feugère, *Caractères et portraits littéraires du XVIe. siècle*, Paris, 1859, 2 vols., Vol. I, pp. 137-372. In this work an article on Nicolas Pasquier, one of the sons of Etienne, is added. The only edition of Pasquier's collected works was published at Amsterdam in 1723, 2 vols., fol. Feugère, *op. cit.*, p. xccxv, note, states that it was printed, not at Amsterdam, as the title states, but at Trévoux. There are a few articles lacking in this edition, notably the *Ordonnances d'Amour*, which may be found in the *Variétés historiques et littéraires* in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*, Vol. II, p. 169. Further references to Pasquier may be found in La Croix du Maine, *Bib. Fr.*, I, p. 185; Du Verdier, *Bib. Fr.*, I, p. 518, and Gouget, *Bib. Fr.*, xi, p. 254.

cate was great, and in 1585 he was appointed to the important position of *avocat général* in the *cour des comptes*, which he held until 1604, when he resigned in favor of his son, and enjoyed a well deserved repose until his death in 1615, at the age of eighty-six. This is not the place to examine his great work, the *Recherches de la France*, precious alike for the social, political, religious, and literary history of France, or his letters, also a mine of information for the history of the sixteenth century. We have here to do only with the works of his youth, the *Monophile*, first printed in 1554, the *Colloques d'amour* and the *Lettres amoureuses* in 1567, and the *Ordonnances générales d'amour* in 1564.

The scene of the *Monophile* is laid in the year 1553, "Peu de temps après le voyage d'Allemagne, et la glorieuse entreprise du Roy, tant pour l'illustration de ce siècle que de la postérité, les ennemis ayans levé le siège de Mets, avec leur grande honte et confusion," when some gentlemen, neighbors of the writer, seeing that all danger of war was over for that year, determined to return home, and await a new opportunity for military service. They were welcomed by their wives on their return, and after they had devoted a few days to the arrangement of their domestic affairs, they resolved to take all the pleasure they could by social intercourse; and because they knew that the time of their rest was brief (for they were sure that the war would be continued), they established among themselves a rule to visit each other in turn, with their wives. As there were some unmarried gentlemen, the one who entertained the others was constrained to invite, "les plus honnestes et mieux disantes Damoysselles qui se trouvassent celle part; afin que chacun d'eux peust prendre avec elles contentement en tout honneur." For some time they amused themselves with every pleasure and recreation, each choosing those most suited to his age and disposition. Among the gentlemen present were three, not only experienced in arms, but also in letters and science. These three, brave and esteemed above all others, in order not to appear devoid of a thing most suited to their age, seemed to think highly of love, still, as the opinions of men differ, each according to his own affection. One, loving so extremely that all his ideas were directed solely to his mistress, the writer designates for a certain reason by the disguised name of *Monophile*. The second, who was not enamoured

to such an extent, showed himself gracious and courteous to the ladies, being more inclined to the side of the courtier than to that of the lover; Glaphire is the name bestowed upon him. The third and youngest, with the gay heart of a Frenchman, was devoted to all, without regarding any particular one. His name is Philopole. All three, differing in their judgment, showed their inward thoughts by their outward actions. Glaphire, sedate, flattered the ladies by seemly conversations, having as many good qualities in himself as any gentleman of the company. Philopole, on the contrary, amusing, frank, and cheerful, sported with the ladies with so artless an address that it was difficult to judge which of the two was the more pleasing to them, Glaphire in his civility, or Philopole in his gaiety. But above all, Monophile was pensive and thoughtful, so that his eye could give ample witness of the passion which controlled him.

One day at dinner the conversation fell upon the question, why an aged and experienced general is often defeated by a young man, as if Fortune were weary of favoring the other. This subject occupied the whole time of the dinner and at its conclusion, Philopole, who cared little for philosophical discussions, addressed the lady, Charilée, by whom he was sitting, and proposed that they should withdraw to some meadow and discuss at their ease topics more suitable than those treated by the old gentlemen present. Glaphire who sat on the other side of the lady offered to bear them company. Taking her arm they conducted her to a grove, where they encountered the poor Monophile plunged in thought. The spot is described as follows: "Car là estoit une gallerie assez longue, si bien compassée par l'entourment et couverture des arbrisseaux, que l'aspre chaleur du soleil, ny la vehemence des vents luy eust sceu donner aucune moleste ou atteinte: et le petit tapis d'herbe verte entremeslée d'une infinité de fleurettes donnoit tel contentement à l'oeil, que les oysillons mesmes par leurs degoisemens et ramages, faisoient prou cognoistre en quelle reverence et estime leur estoit ce temple umbrageux."³⁵

Charilée addresses Monophile and urges him to communicate his sorrows to them, for they would be glad to help him bear them. He replies that he should be glad to do so if his

³⁵ See Pasquier's *Œuvres*, Amsterdam, 1723, Vol. II, p. 700.

trouble could be diminished by imparting it to them. He begs them therefore to attribute his fondness for solitude to accident, or rather to a foolish disposition. Philopole is inclined to think that Monophile is concealing something. The latter replies that if that is so his malady will be held in check by hiding it, and increased by revealing it, like "une playe esventée, ou d'un malade, auquel l'air est interdit." Philopole answers that the maladies of the mind, unlike those of the body, need to be aired for their cure. So the great passions of love, although they demand three things, solitude, secrecy, and anxiety, are not forbidden to have a second self to whom one can reveal the passions of his heart. Monophile, seeing Philopole entering the field in which he most delighted, which was speaking of love, since from that arose all his misfortunes, begins to cheer up and as if awakening from a deep sleep, wishes to enter the lists. At this moment the writer, who had chanced that way, hears the discussion and for fear of interrupting the debate hides himself in a thicket whence he hears the remainder of the dialogue and afterwards reproduces it.

Monophile begins by expressing his doubt whether any were competent to treat the subject who had not themselves experienced the pangs of love. This is denied by Philopole, who says that it is not necessary to be ill a long time to acquire the reputation of a good physician, nor to have several private lawsuits in order to be an excellent lawyer. The example of Zenocrate, who was insensible to the charms of a beautiful woman, leads to a discussion whether love should be restricted to one person or should be general. Monophile cites the love of a husband for his wife as the model of all kinds of love. Philopole naturally takes the other side and jestingly proves that everything is subject to change.³⁶ Monophile declares that the woman should love her husband alone and be loyal to him. This leads to a long and tiresome consideration of the ancient views of marriage, the institution of dowry, the mutual affection which should exist between husband and wife, etc.

Glaphire, who had thus far been silent, now declares his disagreement with both speakers, and proceeds to give his opinion of marriage. It should be based upon mature deliberation, take

³⁶ Philopole's plea in favor of inconstancy reminds one of a similar argument by Hylas in the *Astrée*, II, p. 215.

place at a suitable age and with the advice of parents. The wife should be a simple maiden, knowing neither good nor evil in order to fashion herself wholly to her husband's humor and learn only what is pleasing to him.

Monophile replies that marriage should be based upon love and that the evils which arise in married life spring from a lack of love, and love makes good the absence of other qualifications.

Charilée, seeing the discussion growing warm, interposes and brings it back to the starting point. Glaphire declares that it is no disloyalty to a lady one loves if in her absence he should temporarily yield to another passion. Monophile vigorously denies this: "Je dy donques et maintiens que celuy qui fait profession de vraye amitié, doit tellement lier et refrener ses concupiscences charnelles envers toutes autres femmes, que tant s'en fault qu'il accomplisse aucun desir, que dites estre naturel, que la volonté de ce faire ne luy tombera en l'esprit."³⁷ He then proceeds to illustrate this by examples. Philopole declares that such examples of continence belong rather to the Golden Age than to their time. He then refutes Glaphire's heresy and denies that absence can excuse disloyalty, declaring that, on the contrary, absence increases love. The example of Penelope is cited among others.

Philopole gives another turn to the discussion by condemning Glaphire's view that love is a matter of the heart and not of the senses. Monophile defends Glaphire and declares that to love solely for the gratification of the senses is neither true nor lasting love. On the contrary, those who build their love on this ground alone ordinarily find that, having attained the accomplishment of their desires, what was the sole source and origin of them is their complete and single diminution. He then enters on a long and elaborate definition of love, introducing the Platonic idea of the Androgyne.³⁸

Philopole replies that Monophile has wandered from the point, which was to commend the loyalty of man to woman. Every one will agree that woman should be loyal to man, but who thinks that man is bound by the same law? As for the rest of Monophile's discourse it consists in maintaining that love lies in one thing alone, which he cannot explain, for, he adds:

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 720.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 726.

"toutes telles idées non expliquables, ne me semblent tomber en l'Amour."³⁹

At this moment Seigneur Pasquier leaves his hiding place and joins the company, fearing that Monophile's last words would not receive the attention they deserved. By permission of the company he begins a long discourse on love, discussing its efficient and final causes: "La cause efficiente, et dont nous aymons une Dame, est veritablement cest instinct que dites naistre en nous, quasi par permission du ciel: mais la fin pourquoy nous aymons, est pour attaindre à l'entière jouissance."⁴⁰ In the course of his argument he discusses the question whether love or friendship is the more violent, and concludes that the love of a man for his wife is stronger than the friendship existing between men. Boccaccio's story of Titus and Gisippus is cited by way of example. Marriage is touched upon, with the conclusion that both mind and body are involved, and the true end of marriage is the "multiplication de ce monde," and the following definition of love is proposed: "L'Amour . . . est une passion, provenant d'un certain instinct qui s'imprime dedans nous, tendant à la conjonction corporelle de l'un à l'autre."⁴¹

Philopole replies to the statement previously made by Monophile that if men could be faithless to one they loved, women could do the same. Women, he declares, have never had the liberty of men, and Nature "a imputé en la femme à impropre, ce qu'en l'homme a presque retourné en louange."⁴²

This is too much for Charilée to stand and she undertakes the defence of her sex, citing Semiramis, Tomiris, Penthesilea, the Amazons, Marguerite de Valois, Cornelia, and Hortensia, and accusing men of tyrannizing over women. The discussion then becomes general and the part played by women in the history of the world is examined, with a concluding reference to Joan of Arc.

Charilée returns to the previous question whether chastity is demanded of women more than of men. At the conclusion of her remarks Pasquier declares that it is rather a matter of opinion than of nature, and cites the customs of various countries to show what varying views have prevailed upon the subject.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 730.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 732.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 734-5.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 737.

The discussion on the nature of love is then continued. It has dominion over all and cannot be scorned. Philopole still expresses his doubts as to woman's loyalty to one man, and declares his intention to continue in the future his past course in regard to the other sex: "parce que de ma nature je suis impatient, n'ayant ce que je demande, ou s'il me faut faire l'amour, je la feray aux endroits, où je n'auray occasion de me plaindre."⁴³ Monophile replies that these words show that he does not know what love is, and that it is not in our power to make a choice. Philopole interrupts Monophile and says the example of Ariosto's Angelica, which he has just cited, proves that the natural inclination of woman is not to choose the best (as man does), but to direct herself always to the worst. Monophile denies the statement, and the discussion turns later upon the part played in love by beauty. Monophile undertakes to explain the relation of love to beauty. In conclusion he declares that "je me trouve bien perplexe pouvoir juger et discerner, si le beau est le motif d'Amour, ou l'Amour cause de ce qui nous semble beau."⁴⁴

Philopole declares "que la beauté n'est point de telle efficace au fait de l'amour, comme est la variété."⁴⁵ This Monophile denies, and asserts that there must be some beauty which consists in pure truth, and not in the opinion of men. The truth is known to God alone and men lost the perception of it at the Fall of Adam. After some further discussion on the nature of man, the company agree to meet the next day at that spot in the morning, "pour apprendre si la fraicheur de la rosée nous pourra donner autant de contentement, comme ceste apres-dinée. Ce conseil fut trouvé bien bon par toute ceste petite bande; car desja commençoit la nuit de les menacer bien fort, et s'approchoit le temps auquel (apres avoir repeu l'esprit de bons et gracieux discours) falloit donner ordre à la nourriture du corps. Ainsi se départirent de ce lieu."⁴⁶

The company, including Pasquier, meet the following day as they had agreed and the conversation falls on the troubles caused by love. Monophile as usual defends love, and asks who in all this round world is content. Charilée compares lovers to mariners, and Pasquier declares that one cannot love without passion and believes that most lovers attain their wishes.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 746.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 750.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 751.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 754.

Philopole then attacks women for their love of finery, and concludes his long harangue by declaring that it is better to make love to widows than to young girls or married women.⁴⁷ Charilée defends her sex and says the fashions are only matters of opinion and one who did not follow them would be deemed a hypocrite.

Pasquier reiterates his previous statement that a lover can obtain what he desires from the object of his love provided she really loves him. Mutual love must exist or the above is not true. Venal love cannot be called love.

Philopole rejoins that women in other things are merciful, but as regards love are harsher and more savage than the brutes, and he deems him happy who renounces love without feeling its pangs. If, however, one wishes to love, Glaphire advises that it be rather a man "de robbe courte, que celuy de robbe longue," *i.e.*, a gentleman rather than a clerk.⁴⁸ Philopole denies this and cites the example of the poet Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Bembo in Italy; Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Pontus de Tyard in France. Glaphire rejoins that these were never in love, but confesses that they have accomplished a most difficult task, *viz.*, of speaking well of love without having experienced it. He then proceeds to enumerate some of the remedies against love. One is, while still in the possession of sound understanding, to persuade oneself that he cannot succeed. To defend ourselves against our passions, among which love is preeminent, there is a twofold medicine: "l'une, quand nous laissons guider par la raison pure et simple, despoüillons toutes affections, sans leur donner lieu en nous; l'autre, quand les passions ayans gaigné pays sur nous, bataillons contre nos propres volonteiz, faisans une guerre intestine en nous-mesmes, sous la conduite de raison, accompagnée toutesfois de quelque opposite passion."⁴⁹ Philopole proposes another remedy: "c'est comme un Chevalier errant et maintenant perpetuellement l'honneur de toutes Dames, passer sa fantaisie en tous autres endroits, que celuy dont l'on est frappé."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The "question," which one should rather love, maid, wife, or widow, was a common one in Provençal and Italian literature. It constitutes the IX. Question in the *Filocolo*; see Chapter II of the present work, p. 82, and note 16, where references to other versions may be found.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 771. This question was also a favorite one in mediæval literature; see Chapter I of the present work, p. 39, notes 102-5.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 772.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 774.

The same speaker excuses himself from loving one object only on the ground that it would be showing ingratitude and discourtesy to the others. Pasquier retorts that if he loved one perfectly, he would be a hundred times more gracious and courteous towards the rest, whereas wishing to satisfy all, he would displease all. The source of courtesy is in love, and the most perfect and loyal lovers are the ones who best practice courtesy to all others, "fust-ce seulement pour l'honneur qu'ils portent aux femmes, en faveur de leur seule Dame."⁵¹

Philopole retorts by asking: "Quelle marque de courtoisie reconnaissez-vous en ces amoureux transis, sinon une solitude perpetuelle, une alienation d'esprit, un contemnement de toutes autres choses, horsmis de celle vers laquelle s'adressent leurs pensées."⁵² It is true that love is a school of courtesy and he advises those who wish to be courteous to feign love. Monophile protests against this detestable doctrine, but Charilée would permit it in regard to one class of women, coquettes, "qui malicieusement s'imputent à gloire et honneur, emmarteler les pauvres gens, assurément dignes non de répréhension, ains de griefve et extraordinaire punition."⁵³

Glaphire is requested to continue his discourse on the remedies of love. He replies that it is more expedient not to love, but to afford a prompt remedy to one who is already infected with this evil, it is of God and of no other that it is necessary to seek counsel. "Toutefois si encor' me semmonez donner médecine à cestuy; comme n'aguere je disois, sorte bientost de ce pas ce pauvre amant, premier que se rendre plus misérable; car ayant obvié aux commencements, ne luy faudra médecine deforte digestion, pour le remettre en sa nature; mais s'il est tellement engravé que pour toutes ses forces il ne puisse venir à bon port, et comme tantost nous disions, veuille, et n'en puisse sortir, pour vous dire ce qu'il m'en semble, une bonne et longue diete, une absence bien liongtaine satisfera à ce deffault."⁵⁴ He then continues with a long harangue on the honor of women, whom he compares to glass: "qui en sa fragilité est net, pur, et munde, et auquel un chacun se plaist, quand il est en son essence; mais lors qu'on le voit cassé, tombe au mespris et contemnement d'un

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 775.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 776.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 778.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 780.

chacun."⁵⁵ He further cites the Platonic fable of the division of man into man and woman, virginity being given to maidens to guard, and chastity to wives. The last remedy for love which Glaphire mentions is "le desdain, desdain, dy-je, tout puissant pour faire chasser cest amour."⁵⁶

Philopole proceeds to ridicule the remedies of Glaphire, and advises drinking the water of Lethe, or visiting the circle of the moon, "où peut-estre il retrouvera grande partie de son sens esgaré, depuis le temps qu'il mit le pied dans les marches de Cupidon."⁵⁷ If this method seems too harsh he can use a little hellebore.

Monophile sharply reproves Philopole and says it is wrong to despise the sex "duquel depend nostre heur, nostre bien et felicité; sans lequel ne pouvons estre, sans lequel ne pouvons vivre, et sans lequel nous ne serions,"⁵⁸ and urges Glaphire to continue his discourse. Charilée, seeing that the sun was high and the time for dinner approaching, proposes that they should cease their discussion. At this moment a band of young gentlemen come in search of them and express their regrets at not having heard the debate. Charilée proposes to continue it that same afternoon, but Glaphire suggests another topic, "l'estat d'un bon Capitaine." This pleases the company and the next day having changed their host they proceed to carry out Glaphire's suggestion, "au moins mal qu'il leur fut possible, à laquelle, apres avoir donné fin, aussi fermerent leurs jeux et esbats, l'adresse du camp, soubs espoir de mettre leurs devis à bien bonne execution."⁵⁹

Equally characteristic are the four *Colloques d'Amour* of the same writer.⁶⁰ The first colloquy between a lady and her lover

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 781.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 783.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 784.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 785.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 786. Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, I, p. 21, has: *Monophylo, drawne into Englishe by Geffray Fenton. A Philosophical Discourse and Division of Love.* London. By William Seres, 1572, 4to. Dedicated to Lady Hoby. There is a copy in the Bodleian Library. Is this a translation of Pasquier's work? Miss Scott in her edition of 1916 does not mention this translation.

⁶⁰ See *Les Œuvres d'Estienne Pasquier*, Amsterdam, 1723, Vol. II, pp. 789-804. These colloquies are as follows: *Premier Colloque*, pp. 789-792, "Amour-ette," La Dame et l'Amant; *Second Colloque*, pp. 791-798, "L'Oeil et le Devis," La Croix, Valentine, Poignet; *Colloque troisième*, pp. 797-800, "La Beauté," Le Gentilhomme, la Damoiselle; *Colloque quatriesme*, pp. 799-804, "Jouissance," L'Amant et sa Dame. These *Colloques* have been examined by Bourcier, *Les mœurs polies*, etc., pp. 415 *et seq.*

is undoubtedly a correct reproduction of the gallant conversation of the sixteenth century, in which the Italian influence is clearly recognizable by the Platonic tinge.

The second colloquy turns upon a "question," whether it is more pleasant to behold one's mistress without speaking to her, or to speak to her without seeing her.⁶¹ Poignet, one of the interlocutors, states the case as follows: "Je viens de ce pas d'un endroit, où entre autres propos d'amour, quelque homme de bon esprit a voulu mettre sur les rangs, lequel est le plus agréable, le devis avecq' sa dame sans la veue, ou la veüe sans le devis."⁶² The lady denies the possibility of the case, because if one sees his lady he can speak with her and cannot communicate with her without seeing her. Poignet cites in support of the reasonableness of the question Boccaccio's story of Philip (iii, 6). The lady then asks the two gentlemen which side each supports. La Croix replies: "Quant à moy, ma Damoyse, je suis pour le party de la veüe, sans le parler"; and Poignet: "Et moy, pour le parler, sans la veüe." Each then defends his side in a long speech, and finally the question is submitted to the lady for judgment. She declares: "J'ay quelquefois appris qu'un Philosophe renommé, interrogé quelle femme il falloit prendre en mariage, renvoya celuy qui demandoit tel conseil, vers ces petits mignons, qui estoient de l'aage du sabot pour en prendre sur ce, leur advis. Suivant cette mesme façon, je suis tres-aise vous renvoyer vers les mesmes petits enfans, ausquels quand par jeu on leur demande que c'est qu'ils ayment le mieux de deux choses, desquelles on leur baille le choix, ils respondent que l'une et l'autre. Et pource sur la question qui s'est inopinément présentée entre nous, puis que vous en venez à moy au conseil, je vous respons, tout ainsi qu'eux, que j'ayme bien, et l'un et l'autre: c'est l'oeil qui a la parole pour truchement, et la parole qui est éclairée par l'oeil. Et si vous me conjurez plus outre, je vous diray que l'un n'est gueres sans l'autre; toutefois plus morte est la parole sans la veüe, que la veüe sans la parole."⁶³

The third colloquy is a debate between a lady and gentleman as to which is the better judge of beauty, man or woman. The

⁶¹ This question has already been treated, see Chapter I of the present work, p. 17. Note 52.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 793.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 798.

lady declares in favor of the latter, and says that men are blind in their judgment, and have no general rule of beauty. The gentleman retorts that women are blinded by selfishness, envy, and jealousy.

The fourth and last colloquy is a long dialogue between a lover and his mistress in which the former sues for the reward of three years' devotion. The lady urges various reasons in opposition to his demand: the immorality of his request, the opinion of people, etc. The lover urges the double nature of love, and its incompleteness without the union of the lover and his mistress. The lady finally yields reluctantly with the words: "Quel fruit j'en rapporteray je ne scay: bien scay-je qu'encores que contre mon vouloir me commandissiez quelque chose, m'avez tellement rendue vostre, que plustost pretendrois à ma totale ruine, que de vous desobeïr."⁶⁴

Among the gallant literature of Italy in the sixteenth century the class of love letters plays an important part, and the most favorite Italian collection, that of Parabosco, was translated by Hubert Philippes de Villiers and printed at Lyons in 1570.⁶⁵ Pasquier's *Lettres amoureuses* were first printed without the author's knowledge together with Parabosco's. Pasquier himself says in his Letters, vi, 4: "Naguère feuilletant quelques livres, en la boutique de l'Angelier, je trouvai qu'on avait fait reimprimer mes épîtres amoureuses avec celles de Parabosco, Italien (Littere [sic] amorose, libri quattro), et, qui plus est, que l'on avait mis mon nom, contre ma volonté."

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 804.

⁶⁵ Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari*, Rome, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 102-103, says: "Although some letters seem to be written by Parabosco under his own name, the majority have no indication of the author or of the person to whom they are addressed; so that the book has the appearance of being, and really is, a collection of examples for the use of lovers in the vicissitudes which arise from love. Before Parabosco there were not lacking models of love letters, and popular manuals were in circulation, among which an anonymous one entitled, *Rifugio di Amanti*, Venice, 1530, 1585, and another, *Flos Amoris*, by Andrea Zenofonte da Gubbio, Venice, 1535, 1544. But neither these formularies, nor the many volumes of letters on this subject which were published shortly after, were able to satisfy, as much as Parabosco's collection, the persons, male and female, who were in a condition to like and use such models. . . . Doni attempted afterwards, in his own way, to enter into competition with Parabosco by his *Pistolotti amorosi*, Venice, 1552, but by his contemptuous disposition and the triviality which he displayed in them, they made no headway, and after a few editions were forgotten. On the contrary, the *Littere amorose* continued to be reprinted constantly until the beginning of the seventeenth century, although, as has been said, there had appeared many other books of the same kind, as the collection with the same name, *Littere amorose*, composed by Sansovino."

These letters, twenty-four in number, are introduced by one beginning: "Qui eust jamais estimé que telle eust esté la sottie d'une homme, de non seulement estre fol, et avoir cognoissance de sa folie, mais aussi d'appeter que le monde en eust cognoissance?" His object in making his folly known is to instruct others and make them wise: "Et bien que pour mon regard je n'en attende aucun fruict, qu'un mespris et contemnement de mon fait: si pourrez-vous vous rendre sages par ma folie, quand recognoistrez par les lettres (discours, certes, de mes amours) d'une effrenée affection, la fin s'estre convertie en une desdaigneuse haine. C'est une histoire, m'en croyez, une histoire de ma folie, et ne dressay oncques ces lettres qu'ainsi ou qu'amour, ou que desdain les dictoit: desquelles aucunes furent (peut-estre) envoyées, les autres non; et les unes et les autres, seulement faites pour plaisir, furent basties sous la charge de ces deux trahistres capitaines, qui à l'enuy ont commandé sur mes esprits."⁶⁶

The tone of the letters which follow is that of an exaggerated *préciosité*. In the III., for instance, he says: "Sortant de vostre belle ville, vous fustes la dernière des Demoiselles, dont je pris congé; arrivé que je suis à Paris, vous serez la première que je salueray par la presente: mais d'une salutation qui ne sonne qu'une querelle, afin que me fassiez la raison d'un accident qui m'advint lors en vostre logis. Parceque sans y penser, je perdy le plus précieux joyau qui fust en moy, c'est mon coeur. De dire que me l'ayez desrobé je n'oserois, sachant de quelle façon vous traitez ceux qui vous offensent. De le vous redemander, encores moins; car s'il m'a abandonné de guet-à-pens, c'est un mauvais garniment qui ne mérite de r'entrer en grace avecq'-moy."⁶⁷ In the same letter, a little later, he says: "D'une chose sans plus vous veux-je prier de vous souvenir qu'il part d'un bon lieu, et consequemment le vouloir traiter comme enfant de bonne maison, encores qu'il se fasse maintenant esclave." In the V. Letter he says: "En bonne foy, je croy que tous ceux qui cognoistront la servitude que j'ay en vous, s'asseureront que la moindre estincelle de la faveur qui est en moy par vostre moyen allumée, sera trop plus que suffisante pour abattre le grand frimas, qui se mettoit en devoir de s'ensaisiner de mon coeur, et sera

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 805-806.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 807.

cest effect mis au calandrier de vos plus petits miracles, desquels exercez tous les jours une infinité en moy."⁶⁸

In the same letter he says: "Et me suis tousjours persuadé, que puis que par vostre souverain miracle ne m'aviez osté la facilité de parler, et d'implorer vostre mercy, ne me voudriez encor' desgarnir d'une esperance de retrouver un jour par vostre moyen ma vie qui à present (comme la Salamandre) prend nourriture par les flammes. Et où par une trop grande disgrâce ne pourray attaindre à telle felicité, feray comme le Phénix qui seul (en ma loyauté) auray causé ma mort d'un feu par moy trop folement allumé: ou comme l'indiscret Icare, qui pour audacieusement vouloir prendre mon vol trop hault, seray submergé ès abismes et gouffres de tout malheur," etc.⁶⁹

In the ninth letter he describes the effect produced on him by a bouquet from his mistress, and declares: "Et prendra cestuy bouquet, contre le cours de nature, telles racines dedans moy, que j'espere par mon labeur le faire quelque jour plus croistre, que ne font ces grands chaisnes des forests qui apparoissent immortels." Peculiarly *précieux* is the comparison in Letter XII: "Ma Damoyse, vous n'estes point ignorante qu'il y a tantost trois ans que fortune voulut guider en tel accez mes pensées, qu'oubliant mes anciennes façons, je me soubmis du tout à vostre mercy: sous esperance vraiment d'arriver quelque jour au port ou tout nautonnier dresse ses voiles et voeux pendant une longue tourmente. Car neantmoins, je ne sçay comment avez tousjours tellement tenu le gouvernail de ma volonté, que me singlant vers un espoir, m'avez ancré en une crainte," etc.⁷⁰

The tone of the letters gradually changes from love to jealousy and despair, and finally, the lover throws off the yoke of the mistress whom he believes unworthy of his affection. He says in conclusion: "Et toutefois si ne peut tant la raison maistriser sus ma passion, qu'encores, je ne me deuille non pas à cause de toy: mais recognissant le temps que j'ay employé à la poursuite d'une femme, qui n'estoit d'aucun mérite, sans neantmoins que par l'espace de trois ans, je l'aye oncques sçeu decouvrir: je ressembleray doncques celuy lequel ayant été quelque

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 809.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 810.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 814.

temps détenu d'une grosse fièvre, estant revenu en santé, n'est neantmoins fortifié que par une traitté de temps: ainsi sortant du long travail, duquel j'ay été longuement possédé par ton venimeux miel, reprendray petit à petit mes forces; jusques à ce qu'estant de tout point rassis et consolidé, je n'auray soucy ni de toy, ni de toutes celles qui te ressemblent."⁷¹

Pasquier is also the author of a facetious composition, not included in his complete works, entitled, *Ordonnances generales d'amour*. He acknowledges himself as their author in his letters, Bk. II, 5. The work, which is reprinted in Fournier's *Variétés historiques et littéraires* (*Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*) II, pp. 169-196, consists of fifty decrees concerning love, couched in the legal parlance of the day. These decrees are supposed to be written for the benefit of a republic entitled the Convent of Charity,⁷² and are conceived in a spirit of great freedom, not to say, of licence. They were composed at a time of the year (Epiphany), when festal rejoicings were in season, and are to be regarded as a momentary relaxation of a serious magistrate. They are of no importance for our present inquiry as they show no trace of Italian influence.⁷³

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 824.

⁷² Is this an echo of Rabelais's Abbey of Thélème?

⁷³ I should, perhaps, have mentioned above in note 4, the two admirable works by Arthur Tilley on the Renaissance in France. The earlier work, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, 2 vols., 1904, contains additional materials concerning Margaret of Navarre and *The Heptaméron*, as well as Henri Estienne and Pasquier. The later work, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, 1918, gives an excellent account of the Expedition of Charles VIII, and of the French Occupation of Milan.

Three valuable articles by Professor W. A. R. Kerr dealing with Platonic love in France in the sixteenth century may be found in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XIX (1904), pp. 33-63, "Le Cercle d'Amour;" *ibid.*, vol. XX (1905), pp. 567-583, "Antoine Héroet's Parfaite Amye," and in *Modern Philology*, vol. V (1907-8), pp. 407-415, "The Pléiade and Platonism."

CHAPTER X.

Introduction of Italian Parlor Games into France—Charles Sorel's *Maison des Jeux*—Its continuation, *Les Récréations galantes*—Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Mathilde d'Aguilar*—Parlor Games in *Clélie* and the *Recueils*—Translation of the *Libri di Ventura* into French—Jean de Meung's *Jeu du Dodechedron de Fortune*—"Questions" as a form of social diversion in France—Their use in *Le Grand Cyrus* and *Clélie*—In the *Recueils*—Jaulnay's *Questions d'Amour*—Love Letters—Voiture's Letters—Letters of the Abbé Cotin—René Le Pays and his *précieux* works—Letters in the *Recueils*—Boursault's Letters to Babet—Fontenelle's *Lettres galantes*—The *Guirlande de Julie*—Guazzo's *La Ghirlanda della Contessa Angela Bianca Beccaria*.

With the great writers of the age of Louis XIV France returned to the imitation of classical antiquity and threw off to a certain extent the influence of Italy and Spain. In the early part of the century, however, there were circumstances which favored a profound Italian influence: these were the regency of Maria de' Medici, 1610-1614, the war of the succession of Mantua, 1627-1631, the ministry of Mazarin, 1643-1661, and the Hôtel de Rambouillet, 1613-1648.

The Italian influence showed itself first in literature in D'Urfé's *Astrée*, which introduced into the century the tone of gallantry afterwards continued in the romances of La Calprenède, Gomberville, and Mademoiselle de Scudéry, and which is characteristic of French society in the seventeenth century. This subject will be treated later under the topics of Conversation, "Questions," and *Lettres galantes*.

The great vogue in Italy of treatises on Love (see Chapter III of the present work) did not pass into France to any great extent. We have seen, however, in Chapter IX that the theory of Platonic love was discussed and produced considerable literature. I do not know of anything exactly corresponding to the Italian treatises in France in the seventeenth century. We shall see that "questions" were extensively used as a social diversion, but the serious discussion of Love in treatises, often in the form of dialogues, does not occur frequently. Indeed, there is only one of literary importance, namely the dialogue "S'il faut qu'un jeune homme soit amoureux." The author

Jean François Sarasin (the name is sometimes spelled Sarrasin and Sarazine), born, probably in 1611, at Caen, studied under the Jesuits and later became attached to the household of the Prince de Conti, and was one of the frequenters of the Hôtel de Rambouillet at the period of its greatest fame. He was the author of a considerable amount of society verse, some historical works (*Histoire du siège de Dunkerque* and *La Conspiration de Valstein*) a translation of Cornelius Nepos' life of Titus Pomponius Atticus, and the dialogue mentioned above. We are not now concerned with his burlesque writings, once famous, which include *La Pompe funèbre de Voiture*, and *Dulot vaincu, ou la défaite des bouts-rimez*. He died December 5, 1654.

The dialogue in which we are interested fills pp. 139-235 of the edition of Sarasin's works printed by Augustin Courbé at Paris in 1658, 24mo. The interlocutors are Chaplain, Trilport, Ménage, and Sarasin, all well-known, except the second, in seventeenth century literature in France. The dialogue, according to Dr. A. Mennung, *Jean-François Sarasin's Leben und Werke, seine Zeit und Gesellschaft*, Halle a. S., 1902, 2 vols., II, p. 44, was composed in the spring and summer of 1649, and begins with the usual explanation of why Love is depicted naked, blindfold, winged, and armed with arrows and torch (see Chapter VI, note 22 of the present work). Then follows a long list of gods, heroes, philosophers, knights, and historical personages who have succumbed to the might of love. To these are added later by Ménage the names of illustrious women famous for their love affairs.

The defence of Love is then undertaken by Chapelain, who explains the attributes of Love in a favorable sense. He then divides Love into two classes, the heavenly and the earthly, and defends the lovers cited earlier by Ménage. He next proceeds to show the ethical influence of love, the source of knowledge, poetry, music, and the fine arts. He also dwells on its refining influence on society and concludes "that nothing is so necessary to render a young man accomplished as to fall in love with a virtuous woman."¹

¹ See Chapter VI, note 28. Mennung, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 66-174, after a discussion of the *Dialogue*, examines at length the theories of Love and "Frauenkultus" among the Romance nations. This is the only general treatise on the subject with which I am acquainted and it covers some of the topics treated

We have already seen that one of the favorite modes of diversion in Italian society was parlor games. These were known in France as early as 1555, when a translation of the first fifty games of Ringhieri was published at Lyons, dedicated to Marguerite de Bourbon, Duchesse de Nevers. The second fifty were not translated and the work seems to have had no influence at the time it appeared, and it was not until over a hundred years later (1669) that Charles Sorel made use of Ringhieri's collection in his *Récréations galantes*. The literary introduction of Italian games into France in the seventeenth century took place through Charles Sorel's works, *La Maison des Jeux*, Paris, 1642, and its continuation, *Les Récréations galantes*, Paris, 1671, and Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Les Jeux servant de préface à Mathilde*, Paris, 1704 (the first edition is 1667).

The scene of the *Maison des Jeux* takes place in the autumn at a country house near Paris, where assemble a company consisting of a rich widow, her daughter just married, the son-in-law, and the friends of the bride and groom. The book is an elaborate description of their pastimes, which consist of games of all kinds, involving stories and literary discussions. The author mentions by name Castiglione, Guazzo, and Ringhieri, and certainly refers to Bargagli. The originality of his work consists, he declares, in having written a book describing a company in which society games have been perfectly practiced. He adds: "It is true that Guazzo has given a description of a company, in which after supper they devote themselves to such games, but the rest of the work is only a dialogue in several *journées* on Etiquette, whereas we have devoted ourselves entirely to games, of which I have cited a great number, in order to give you a choice, and I assure you that I should have trouble to remember any more." Some of the games he mentions are, he states, practiced in France as well as in Italy, and he proceeds to name a few.

The *Maison des Jeux* was twice printed, and its interesting form must have made games more or less popular in French society. Twelve years after the second edition of the *Maison des Jeux* Sorel published a work entitled *Les Récréations galantes*.

in the present work. The author, however, is more interested in the so-called "Woman-question," than in the social observances based on the discussion of love. This part of Mennung's work will be found valuable for the topics discussed in Chapter IV of the present work.

Suite et seconde partie de la Maison des Jeux, Paris, 1669 (another edition is of 1671), in which he has abandoned the frame of a social gathering and describes the games alone. Although the new work pretends to be a continuation of the *Maison des Jeux*, it really contains but six games not in the former work, and omits but an insignificant number.

In 1667 Mademoiselle de Scudéry published her romance of *Mathilde d'Aguilar*, which is preceded by an introduction entitled *Les Jeux*, in which the circumstances leading to the romance are described. A company of five ladies and four gentlemen set out from Paris one fine day in autumn to visit a villa on the Seine. In accordance with the custom of the Italian academies the company assumed names indicating their disposition, such as the Indifferent, the Melancholy, and the like, which names, however, they later changed for some taken from the *Grand Cyrus* and the *Clélie*. The conversation turns on amusements, among which are mentioned "les petits jeux," such as "le jeu des proverbes, des soupirs, de l'oracle, du roman, du propos interrompé, des fontaines, des tableaux, et plusieurs autres où il ne faut pas tant d'esprit." Herminius declares that such games are trifles which are beneath reasonable people. Themiste undertakes their defence, calls attention to their antiquity, and refers to the use made of them by Castiglione in his *Courtier*. Opinions differ as to the amusement afforded by these games, but finally Themiste is allowed to invent a new game in which the others are to take part. His game consists in writing on bits of paper various tasks. These pieces of paper are placed in a vase and drawn by the company in turn and each is required to perform the task designated on his paper. In order to give greater variety a larger number of tasks are written than there are persons in the company. Some of the tasks are: To tell why a handsome fool is more foolish than any other; The difference between a flatterer and a complaisant person; To show that a confidant is needed in love and the contrary; To tell a story; To describe a handsome country house; To write some verses of an elegy; To compose a rebus; A song; An enigma; A madrigal, etc. The description of the country house results in an elaborate account of Saint Cloud and a eulogy of the Duke and Duchess of Orléans. The task of telling a story leads to the romance of *Mathilde*.

The game which Mademoiselle de Scudéry describes in the work just mentioned, she had previously employed in her novel of *Clélie*, Vol. VIII, p. 772 (Paris, 1660). In the same novel, VIII, p. 754, the game of "hazard" is described. The ladies of the company write their names on slips of paper and the gentlemen likewise: the names are then drawn and those which come together are supposed to be the union of hearts destined for each other.

There are two games in the *Recueil de pièces en prose les plus agréables de ce temps* published at Paris in 1660, by Charles de Sercy, Vol. III, pp. 66, 163. They are "Le Jeu des Bestes"² and "Le Jeu des Vertus et des Vices," and occur in a novel, *Le voyage d'Alcippe ou les divertissemens agréables*. In the first named game the company take the names of animals, which they tell secretly to the master of the game, who describes the animal and offers it for sale. In the second game the company assume names of the virtues and vices and when the leader mentions one of these the person who has assumed it must repeat it aloud, twice if the leader has mentioned it but once and *vice versa*.

We find occasional references to games in French society of this period, but they are fewer than we should suppose. We must remember, however, that the very nature of these games made them more suitable for informal gatherings and if they were played in more serious circles they would not be mentioned.³

It has already been seen that the use of fortune-telling books (*Libri di ventura*) in Italy goes back as far as the end of the fourteenth century, although they did not attain the height of their popularity until the sixteenth.⁴ These works were introduced into France in the latter century, and Lorenzo Spirito's work was translated into French in 1636.⁵ Much earlier is a similar French

² See Roy's *La vie et les œuvres de Charles Sorel*, p. 255. There is an allusion to this game in the *Lettres* of Boursault cited later, p. 205: "Si tu as tant d'impatience de me voir, tu n'as qu'à venir tantost chez Mademoiselle de Morangis, ou je suis priée d'aller jouer à la Beste. Comme tu la vois régulièrement une ou deux fois la semaine, il ne semblera pas que ce soit moy qui t'ay dit de t'y trouver. Si tu veux te mettre de nostre jeu, j'en seray ravie; car j'aime mieux faire la Beste avec toy, qu'avec qui que ce soit au monde. Bon-jour."

³ The fullest account of games in French society of the seventeenth century is found in the work of Roy cited above, pp. 241 *et seq.*

⁴ See Chapter VI of the present work.

⁵ I have seen at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the following edition: *Le Passetemps de la Fortune des Dez, Où chacun pourra veoir sa bonne ou mauvaise fortune. Ingenieusement compillé par Maistre Laurens l'Esprit, pour re-*

work attributed to Jean de Meung (who flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century) of which Bourciez, *op. cit.*, p. 47, says: "dont on ne trouve point de traces avant le XVe siècle, et dont la redaction en tout cas fut rajeunie appropriée à la mode courante pendant le XVIe." The first edition is Paris, 1556, and I have also used the editions of Lyons, Francois Didier, 1574 and 1576; the former is the one cited here. The title is: *Le plaisant ieu du dodechedron de Fortune, non moins recreatif, que subtil et ingenieux: renouvelé et changé de sa première édition.* A Lyon, Par Francois Didier, devant Saint Antoine. 1574. The game is played with a twelve-sided die, whence the name of the game, or with two ordinary dice. There are twelve classes of questions arranged under twelve "maisons." Each "maison" contains twelve questions numbered a, b, c, etc. for the first twelve, bb, bc, bd, etc. for the second, and so on. Then follow two tables containing each one hundred and forty-four divisions arranged under the twelve planets and constellations. A question is selected from one of the "maisons" and its place found in the first table by its number: then the die is thrown and one counts down in the column the number thrown. This gives a reference to the second table, which leads to the answer contained in one hundred and forty-four sets of answers of twelve each. The questions and answers are in distichs.

This is, in the main, the usual form of the Italian *Libri di Ventura*; for the planets and constellations are sometimes sub-

sponse de vingt questions coustomierement demandées, avec les responses aus dites questions. Les vingt questions sont spécifiées en la Roüe de Fortune, au feuillet sequent. A Paris, Pour Jacques Dallin, sur le Pontneuf, vis a vis la Samaritaine. M.DC.XXXVI, 4to, ff. 44 (15 to 25 not numbered). Picot in his Catalogue of the Rothschild Library says, Vol. I, p. 172 (No. 312): "Cet ouvrage est la traduction du livre de Lorenzo Spirito *Delle Sorti*, dont la première édition fut imprimée à Vienne avant 1474. Le nom du traducteur français Anthitus Faure ou Favre figure sur le titre de l'édition de 1528." The French work is an adaptation of the Italian original. The kings to whom the user of the book is referred are French kings, *e.g.*, "Si la vie doit estre heuruse, va au Roy Clovis. . . . En quel estat et terme doit mourir l'homme, va au Roy Pharamond, etc." Flowers are used in connection with the kings, whose portraits are given: "Le roy Clodio. Va à la fleur du bouton du Rosier. Le roy Clotaire. Va au bouton du Giroflier, etc." After the flowers come twenty signs of the zodiac, constellations, planets, etc. Then pp. 25 *et seq.* prophets: Adam, David, Isaac, Joseph, Jacob, etc. The verses are of eight syllables. The following will serve as an example:

Ton malheur en brief finira,
Dont ton amour s'esjouira.

Sois certain que jeune mourras,
Et que point tu n'envielliras.

stituted kings and prophets or sibyls. The question arises as to the originality of the work attributed to Jean de Meung. Although I cannot find any Italian work from which it is evident that the *Jeu du Dodechedron* is translated or adapted, still I am inclined to think, considering the great vogue in Italy of this class of works, that the French book is an imitation of an Italian original.

In the work by Charles Sorel, *Les Récréations galantes*, cited above, is a game, which is in effect a Fortune-telling Book. It is entitled: "Questions plaisantes pour se reioïr dans les Compagnies," and consists of fifty-two questions with answers to which one is referred by placing the finger at random on a page of dots and then from the dot touched counting in a certain way.

It is now time to turn our attention to another form of diversion, which, although of French (Provençal) origin, received its highest development in Italy. I refer to the use of "questions" as a means of social amusement. The establishment of the Academy of Poetry and Music in the sixteenth century by Baïf and its revival in 1576 by Pibrac under the title of Academy of the Palace, introduced into France the customs of the Italian academies and gave a powerful impetus to the spread of Platonic philosophy in France. One of the occupations of the Italian academies was, as we have seen, the discussion of "questions," and accordingly the opening discourse of the Academy of the Palace by Ronsard was a discussion of the question: "à sçavoir si les vertus morales sont plus louables, plus nécessaires et plus excellentes que les intellectuelles."⁶ Henry III, the patron of this academy, was himself fond of literary discussions, and it was his habit to have questions of this nature discussed in his presence while at table.⁷ We are, however, not now concerned with academic discussions, but with the use of "questions" as a social diversion.

We have seen in the last chapter during our examination of the works of Marguerite de Navarre, Jacques d'Yver, and Pasquier that the discussion of "questions" constituted a favorite mode

⁶ See E. Frémy, *L'Académie des derniers Valois, etc.*, Paris, n. d., p. 206.

⁷ See A. Baschet, *Les Comédiens italiens à la cour de France sous Charles IX, Henri III, Henri IV et Louis XIII*, Paris, 1882, p. 66.

of amusement in the sixteenth century in France.^{7a} These "questions" were usually connected with Platonic love.

There is a very interesting collection of questions relating to love which belongs to this period. It bears the title *Demandes damours avecques les responses*, and contains eleven folios including the title, without date, place, or name of printer. There is no colophon, and the ending is: "Cy finēt les demandes damours avecques leurs responses." The character of the work may be seen by the following questions. "Ie vous demande se amours auoyent perdu leur nom comment les nōmeriez vous. Response: Plaisant sagesse. Qui fait souvent amours durer? Response: Courtoisie. Je vous demande lequel vault mieulx amant hardy ou amant honteux. Response: Amant hardy par raison." Some of the longer questions are: "Three ladies are of the same age and all three love you to the same degree; one is very beautiful, the second very rich, and the third very wise. Which would you love the best? Answer: The wise one. I ask you which would you prefer, to be jealous of your beloved or to have her jealous of you? Answer: That she should be jealous of me." The last two folios contain "demandes ioyeuses," which a lady puts to her cavalier, and his answers to them.

After remaining in oblivion for two centuries this curious little work attracted the attention of the editors of that *omnium gatherum* the *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans*, and in the volume for January, 1786, p. 180, there appeared: *Questions d'Amour, avec leurs résolutions*, which are only an extract from the *Demandes damours*. In the seventeenth century the use of "questions" becomes more general and, although love plays an important part in them, the subjects discussed are of a wider range. The

^{7a} The *Dubbi* of Lando were translated into French in the fifteenth century; see Chapter III, note 47e.

The use of "questions" as subjects of academic discussion is not unknown in France in the seventeenth century. In Pellisson and D'Olivet's *Histoire de l'Académie française*, ed. Livet, I, 76, we learn that from July 23 to September 2, 1635, four discourses on the nature of love were pronounced: one by M. de Porchères-Laugier on the differences and likenesses between love and friendship; one by Chapelain, "Contre l'Amour, où par des raisons ingénieuses, dont le fond n'est pas sans solidité, il tâche d'ôter à cette passion la divinité que les poètes lui ont attribuée; another by Desmarets on "l'Amour des esprits, où il entreprend de faire voir que si l'amour dont M. Chapelain a parlé, doit être blâmé et méprisé, celui-ci est non-seulement estimable, mais encore a quelque chose de divin"; and, finally, one by M. de Boissat, "De l'Amour des corps, où par des raisons physiques, prises des sympathies et des antipathies, et de la conduite du monde, il peut faire voir que l'amour des corps n'est pas moins divin que celui des esprits."

sources of our knowledge of these "questions" are the novels, miscellanies (*Recueils*), and collections of the day.

It is not until the second half of the century that we find the use of "questions" common in society and their prevalence is closely connected with the *précieux* movement. There are few "questions," for example, in Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Le Grand Cyrus*. One is found in Vol. V, p. 573: "Whether one should see few or many in society." In the same author's *Clélie* "questions" become frequent. The following are the most interesting. "Si une belle enjouée est plus aimable qu'une belle mélancolique ou qu'une belle fière et capricieuse" (II, 1163); Whether a prisoner of love is more unhappy than a prisoner of war (IV, 728); Whether it is worse not to be loved or to be forsaken by one's mistress (IV, 830); "A qui une femme avoit plus d'obligation, ou à un inconstant qui deviendrait fidelle en l'aimant, ou à un amant fidelle qui deviendrait inconstant pour sa première maitresse parce qu'il y seroit forcé par les charmes qu'il trouveroit en la seconde" (IV, 1169); Is it sweeter to be loved than to love? (IV, 1182); Which is preferable, love or friendship? (V, 320); Whether reason should be subject to love, and whether obedience should be blind (VI, 1400); Whether it shows more respect not to make a declaration of love or to make one (VIII, 1360); "Si les bienfaits faisoient plustost naistre l'amitié, que l'amitié mesme, ou que le grand mérite sans bienfaits" (IX, 360).⁸

A number of "questions" are found in the *Recueil de pièces galantes, en prose et en vers, de Madame de la Suze, et de Monsieur Pelisson*, Trevoux, 1741, Vol. IV. On p. 137, are: "Cinq questions d'amour proposées par Madame de Bregy, avec la reponse faite en vers par Monsieur Quinault, par l'ordre du Roy." The five questions are:

"1. Sçavoir si la presence de ce que l'on aime cause plus de joye, que les marques de son indifférence ne donnent de peine.

⁸ The subject of Conversation and "Questions" in the circle of the Hôtel de Rambouillet in the seventeenth century has been treated by me at considerable length in *La Société française au dix-septième siècle*, Second edition, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1907, and *Les Héros de Roman: Dialogue de Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1902. There is little for my purpose in the two works of E. Magne: *Voiture et les origines de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet, 1597-1665*, Paris, 1911; and *Voiture et les années de gloire de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet, 1635-1648*, Paris, 1912.

"2. De l'embarras où se trouve une personne quand son coeur tient un parti, et la raison un autre.

"3. Si l'on doit haïr quelqu'un de ce qu'il nous plaît trop, quand nous ne pouvons lui plaire.

"4. S'il est plus doux d'aimer une personne dont le coeur est préoccupé, qu'une autre dont le coeur est insensible.

"5. Si le mérite d'être aimé, doit recompenser le chagrin de ne l'être pas."

Then follow, p. 147, "Autres questions d'amour," in verse, the first of which will serve as an example of the others:

Lequel est le plus glorieux
Aux charmes d'une belle,
De remettre en ses fers un esclave rebelle,
Ou d'en rendre un autre infidelle,
Lors qu'autre part il est heureux?

The fifth and last is in prose, p. 151, "Si l'amour doit céder à la raison, ou si c'est à la raison à céder à l'amour."

In the same volume, pp. 167-205, are a large number of "Maximes d'Amour, ou Questions en prose, décidées en vers," attributed to Bussy Rabutin.⁹ A few taken at random will show their general character: "Sçavoir ce qui est plus difficile, de retourner de l'amour à l'amitié, que de passer de l'amitié à l'amour," p. 171; "Sçavoir, qui aime le mieux des hommes ou des femmes," p. 174; "Sçavoir, si un grand amour est incompatible avec une grande ambition," p. 176; "Sçavoir, si on peut aimer sans esperance d'être aimé," p. 179; "Sçavoir, si c'est une nécessité qu'il faille aimer une fois en sa vie," p. 181; "Sçavoir, qui temoigne plus d'amour de l'extrême jalousie, ou de l'extrême confiance," p. 182; "Lequel donne plus de peine, de cacher son amour, ou de feindre d'aimer?" p. 201; "Lequel est le plus malheureux d'un amant absent et aimé, ou d'un present et maltraité?" p. 204.

Finally the same volume, pp. 247-251, contains three more "questions galantes" in verse, of which the first (p. 247) may be cited here:

Alors qu'un véritable amant
A laissé prendre sa franchise
Par un objet qui le méprise,
Le doit-il aimer constamment?

⁹ They are by Bussy; see *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules par Bussy Rabutin, revue et annotée par M. Paul Boiteau*, Paris, 1856, Vol. I, pp. 347-398.

Several "questions" are to be found in the *Recueil de pièces en prose les plus agréables de ce temps, composées par divers auteurs*, Paris, Chez Charles de Sercy, 1659, Seconde Partie, 1662, Part ii, p. 65, "Dialogue de Socratine et de Demetriade, ou l'on propose cette question: Sçavoir, lequel se devoit le plus souhaitter à une femme, ou la grande richesse, ou l'extrême beauté: on en demande la solution au belles philosophes, avec les raisons de leurs sentimens." Other "questions" are: p. 80, "Si le talent de bien écrire est préférable à celui de bien parler"; p. 94, "Sil'on doit faire plus d'estime de l'amitié qui naist d'inclination, que de celle qui vient de longue connoissance"; p. 193, "Si on peut accorder la fierté avec la douceur."

The only work devoted exclusively to "questions" with which I am acquainted is *Questions d'amour, ou conversations galantes, dédiées aux belles, par M. Jaulnay*, Paris, 1671.¹⁰ The author lived during the second half of the seventeenth century and is known only by the work above mentioned and one entitled *Les horreurs sans horreur, poème comique tiré des visions de F. de Quevedo*, Paris, 1671. The work in which we are at present interested consists of thirty-three chapters, on such topics as: "De la définition de l'amour; de la division des amours; de l'amour d'inclination; des temperamens propres ou contraires à l'amour; de la préoccupation et de l'aveuglement en amour; des surprises naturelles en amour; des desirs et de l'esperance en amour; des peines de l'amour"; etc. Each of these chapters contains a number of questions varying from four to twenty-three. Those in the first chapter are: "Si l'amour peut avoir sa définition comme les autres passions; Quel est la véritable définition de l'amour; Si l'amour n'est autre chose qu'un desir d'estre aimé de ce que l'on aime; Si les descriptions qu'ont fait Corneille, le Tasse dans *l'Aminthe*, le Cavalier Marin dans *l'Adonis*, et Mademoiselle de Scudéry suffisent pour faire comprendre cette passion."

Some of the "questions" have already been discussed, as, p. 55: "Lequel des deux choisiroit un amant passionné, ou de ne jamais plus voir sa maitresse, mais de l'entendre ou de ne l'entendre jamais plus, mais la voir?"¹¹ The answer is: "L'ouïe est

¹⁰ The only notice I have been able to find of Jaulnay is in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, Paris, 1878, Didot et Cie. The author, "G. B.," cites Viollet-le-Duc, *Bibliothèque poétique*, Vol. I, p. 544.

¹¹ See Chapter IX, note 62.

le sens de l'esprit, et le principal siège de l'amour, estant au coeur dont la veuë est l'organe particulier, c'est sans doute qu'un amant passionné choisira de voir et de ne point entendre."

We have seen in Chapter III what an extensive literature had its rise in the prevalent gallantry of the day. Much of this literature was translated into French, and what was not translated was imitated. This is true of the class of "Love Letters," as we have already seen in the case of Etienne Pasquier. These letters were for the most part mere rhetorical exercises and developed no story or connected narrative.

The first appearance of such letters in France in the seventeenth century is in the second quarter of the century, and their author is the famous wit, Vincent Voiture, 1598-1648. These letters, sixty-one in number, may best be found in the works of Voiture edited by M. A. Ubicini, Paris, 1855, Vol. II, pp. 169-252. They contain no story and are filled with tiresome repetitions of lovers' woes, couched, it is true, in a graceful and delicate form, marred often by *préciosité*. A good example of this is found in the XV. Letter (ed. Ubicini, II, p. 192): "Vous pouvez être assurée que la tristesse ni l'amour ne feront jamais mourir personne, puisque l'un ou l'autre ne m'ont pas encore tué, et qu'ayant été deux jours sans l'honneur de vous voir, il me reste quelque apparence de vie. Si quelque chose m'avoit fait résoudre à votre éloignement, c'étoit la créance que j'avois que j'en serois quitte pour en mourir, et qu'une si forte douleur que celle-là ne me laisseroit pas languir longtemps. Cependant je trouve, contre mon espérance, que je dure beaucoup plus que je ne l'avois imaginé, et, quelques coups mortels que j'aie, je crois que mon âme ne se peut détacher de mon coeur, pour ce qu'elle y voit votre image." In the XXII., p. 202, he says: "Mademoiselle, je ne dors qu'avec beaucoup de peine. J'ai perdu le gout de toutes choses. L'usage même de l'air ne m'est pas libre, et je ne respire pas tant que je soupire." Very characteristic is the XXVI. Letter, p. 208: "Madame, enfin je suis ici arrivé en vie, et j'ai honte de vous le dire, car il me semble qu'un honnête homme ne devoit pas vivre, après avoir été dix jours sans vous voir. Je m'étonnerois davantage de l'avoir pu faire, si je ne savois qu'il y a déjà quelque temps qu'il ne m'arrive que des choses extraordinaires, et auxquelles je ne me suis point attendu; et que depuis que je vous ai vu, il ne se fait plus rien en

moi que par miracle. En vérité, c'en est un effet étrange que j'aie pu résister jusqu'ici à tant de déplaisirs, et qu'un homme percé de tant de coups puisse durer si longtemps. Il n'y a point d'accablement, de tristesse, ni de langueur pareille à celle où je me trouve: l'amour et la crainte, le regret et l'impatience m'agitent diversement à toutes heures, et ce cœur que je vous avois donné entier est maintenant déchiré en mille pièces. Mais vous êtes dans chacune d'elles, et je ne voudrais pas avoir donné la plus petite à tout ce que je vois ici."

He says in the LVIII. Letter, p. 248: "Encore n'est-ce point, qu'ayant réduit mon cœur en servitude, il vous fâche qu'il se mette par là en quelque sorte de liberté et se soulage un peu des maux qui le pressent? Si vous êtes de cette humeur, j'en tirerai occasion de vous faire une prière qui est le principal objet de ce billet: c'est, mademoiselle, d'avoir agréable, si ma captivité vous plait, que j'en porte partout les marques, et que, de tant de beaux cheveux qui se perdent inutilement et que votre peigne dérobe tous les matins, vous trouviez bon que j'en aie ce qu'il en faut pour en faire un bracelet. La vue de cette précieuse chaîne me consolera de la perte de ma liberté, et tant que j'aurai cet objet devant les yeux, je ne croirai pas être tout à fait absent de vous."

The LXIX. Letter, p. 249, deserves to be given almost at length. It is as follows: "Mademoiselle, je vous ai dit autrefois que vous vous méconnoissiez, mais que c'étoit par trop de modestie, comme les autres font ordinairement par vanité. J'ajoute que le soleil, qui échauffe tout ce qu'il éclaire, ne sent point sa chaleur, et que c'est ainsi que vous ignorez la force de vos charmes, quoiqu'ils fassent de si fortes impressions sur tous les cœurs. . . . Après tout, ou il n'y a point de miroirs qui ne soient faux, ou je ne vous ai rien écrit que vous n'éprouviez véritable quand il vous plaira. Mais plutôt que de l'apprendre dans une glace, vous le verrez à la lueur du feu que vos beaux yeux ont allumé dans mon âme. Ne dites point, que si la chaleur de ma fièvre n'est point plus violente que celle de mon amour, je ne suis point en hasard de ma vie. Mon mal passera; mais comme votre mérite est infini, ma passion n'aura point de bornes: aussi ne veux-je point qu'elle en ait. Je ne veux point guérir d'une si belle blessure; elle est de la nature de certaines plaies qui ne se ferment jamais que l'on n'en meure."

The gallant style of Voiture was perpetuated in the second half of the seventeenth century by the Abbé Cotin, the victim of Molière in the *Femmes Savantes*.¹² The letters in question are to be found in *Oeuvres galantes en Prose et en Vers de Monsieur Cotin*, Paris, 1673. As this work of Cotin's gives a perfect picture of the *précieux* literature of the time, a detailed account of its various contents may not be out of place. The first part consists of one hundred and nine "lettres galantes," divided into two parts, pp. 1-218, "Lettres des Dames," and pp. 219-312, "Lettres et poésies galantes en prose et en verse." The second part (the two parts are in one volume with continuous pagination) contains, pp. 313-476, "Suite des oeuvres galantes de Monsieur Cotin." The "Lettres des Dames" are supposed to be written by ladies, but are interspersed with replies and miscellaneous compositions, such as portraits, description of Liancour, pp. 113-120; "De l'Astrologie judiciaire," pp. 138-149. The second part of the Lettres contains a long dissertation on Judicial Astrology ("Jugement d'une Dame de qualité sur l'Astrologie Judiciaire," pp. 221-247); a discourse on the truth of dreams, pp. 277-286; etc. The "Suite" is devoted to poetry and contains the famous "Sonnet à Mademoiselle de Longueville à présent Duchesse de Nemours sur sa fièvre quarte," p. 386, and the equally famous "Madrilal sur un carrosse de couleur amarante, acheté pour une dame," p. 443, which were introduced by Molière in the *Femmes Savantes*. The character of the poetry is sufficiently indicated by the above well-known poems. The Letters are most insipid and on the most frivolous subjects: thanks for a poem, excuses for not writing, assurances of friendship, judgment upon a device, reproaches for a departure, opinion on a book, description of a dream, protestation of friendship and service, criticism of a tragedy, on an absence, reconciliation, etc. The love letters tell no story and are devoid of Voiture's wit and delicate style.

More interesting are the works of René Le Pays, born the 28th of December, 1634, at Fougères in Brittany.¹³ Le Pays is one of the victims of Boileau, who says of him in the third Satire:

¹² Charles Cotin was born at Paris at an unknown date, probably 1606, or thereabouts, and died in December, 1681. There is a pleasant article on Cotin by Livet in *Précieux et Précieuses*, Paris, 1870, pp. 113-130.

¹³ The only essay I know on Le Pays is in the work cited in the last note, pp. 293-319.

Le Pays, sans mentir, est un bouffon plaisant;
Mais je ne trouve rien de beau dans ce Voiture.

So noted was Le Pays for his imitation of this author that he was known as "le singe de Voiture." The works of Le Pays which I have been able to consult are: *Amitiez, Amours, et Amourettes*, Paris, Chez Charles de Sercy, 1664 (second edition), and: *Les Nouvelles oeuvres de Monsieur Le Pays*, Paris, Chez Charles de Sercy, 1672, 2 vols. The first named work, like Cotin's, consists of letters interspersed with poetry and miscellaneous compositions, e.g., pp. 58-79, "Dialogue de l'Amour et de la Raison; portraits," pp. 363-402, etc. The subjects are almost exactly the same as those in Cotin's work: declarations of love, regrets for an absence or departure, excuses for not writing, etc. The *Nouvelles Oeuvres* are of precisely the same character. In the first volume, pp. 273-347, occurs the account of the writer's Muse, whom he names Amourette. He describes her as follows: "La Muse Amourette est fille de la Muse de Voiture. Cet air enjoué qu'elles ont toutes deux, ce caractère galant et facile qu'on voit dans l'une et dans l'autre, en sont des preuves convaincantes. Il est vrai que son enjouement, sa galanterie et sa facilité sont bien éloignées de l'enjouement, de la galanterie et de la facilité de sa Muse. Chez Voiture tout cela est accompagné d'une certaine délicatesse, que la Muse Amourette n'a pas esté capable d'imiter."

This class of literature long remained in vogue as may be seen from the various *Recueils* of the seventeenth century, e.g., *Nouveau Recueil de plusieurs et diverses pièces galantes de ce temps*, Paris, 1665; *Les oeuvres cavalières ou pièces galantes et curieuses*, Cologne, 1671; *Recueil des pièces en prose les plus agréables de ce temps*, Paris, Charles de Sercy, 1659, 5 vols.; and in the work cited above, *Maximes et loix d'Amour, Lettres, billets doux et galans, poésies*, Paris, 1669, which contains some of the same material as the *Recueil de Madame de la Suze et de Pellison*, e.g., "Dialogue du Mérite et de la Fortune, Maximes d'Amour," etc.

The letters thus far mentioned seem to have been mere rhetorical exercises and have no connection with one another. The first writer who conceived the idea of a collection of letters to one person with a thread of dramatic interest was Boursault (1638-1701), the author of some excellent comedies and well

known from his quarrel with Molière. Boursault was also famous as a letter writer although he cannot compare with Voiture. A collection of his letters was published under the title *Lettres de respect, d'obligation, et d'amour*, Paris, 1683. This volume contains the once highly esteemed "Lettres de Babet," pp. 129-260. In these letters is told the love story of Boursault and Babet, whose father wishes her to marry a gentleman from Normandy. She refuses, and the concluding letter of the series contains her farewell to her lover as she is sent away to a convent. The letters are not devoid of interest even at the present day, as they contain many references to society and literature.

The fashion of "Love Letters" was prolonged as late as Fontenelle (1657-1757), whose *Lettres galantes* are the best which this genre has produced.¹⁴ We no longer have insipid declarations of love, or regrets at an absence, but the letters tell some story and there is a thread connecting several letters with the same incident. Even where there is not, the writer gives the most witty and delicate turn to commonplace sentiments, which causes us to overlook the pronounced *préciosité* of the style. The note is struck in the first letter (p. 84, *ed. cit.*), A Madame de G.: "Il y a long-tems, Madame, que j'aurois pris la liberté de vous aimer, si vous aviez le loisir d'être aimée de moi: mais vous etes trop occupée par je ne sais combien d'autres soupirans, et j'ai jugé plus à propos de vous garder mon amour. Il pourra arriver quelque tems plus favorable ou je le placerai. Peut-etre votre cour sera-t-elle moins grosse pendant quelque petit intervalle; peut-etre serez-vous bien-aise d'inspirer de la jalousie et du dépit à quelqu'un, en faisant paroître tout-a-coup un nouvel amant. Comptez que vous en avez un de réserve, dont vous pouvez vous servir quand il vous plaira. Je tiendrai toujours mes soins et mes voeux tout prêts: vous n'avez qu'à me faire signe que je commence, et je commencerai," etc.

So in the second letter A la jeune Anglaise, p. 108: "Il court un bruit de vous, Mademoiselle: on dit que vous etes aimée d'un cavalier Anglois, et que vous n'êtes pas mal disposée pour lui. Vous moquez-vous? Falloit-il passer la mer pour venir aimer un Anglois en France? Quel profit tirez-vous de votre voyage? Voilà ce qui fait souvent qu'on perd la peine qu'on a prise d'aller dans des pays étrangers; on n'y voit que des gens de sa nation.

¹⁴ See *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1792, Vol. VIII, pp. 84-280.

Eh! du moins donnez-nous le tems que vous passerez chez nous. . . . Vous avez répondu à ceux qui vous reprochoient le cavalier Anglois, que vous l'aimiez pour la commodité de lui parler et de l'entendre; mais, en vérité, cette raison-là n'est pas valable. Votre Anglois n'entend que ce que vous lui dites: mais un François entendroit cent choses que vous ne lui diriez pas, il liroit dans vos yeux ce que l'autre attend que votre bouche lui dise. D'ailleurs, je vous donne ma parole, qu'en moins de rien vous sauriez notre langue; elle n'est fort difficile que pour les personnes qui n'aiment point: mais dès qu'on aime un François, la langue Française est aisée. Les étrangers l'en estimeroient moins, s'ils savoient cela; c'est pourquoi on ne dit pas ce secret à tout le monde: on les fait passer par les grammaires et par des méthodes qui ne finissent point. Mais pour vous, on vous eût fait la grâce de vous abréger ce chemin. Ecoutez, il est encore tems; apprenez un peu de François avec moi."

It is impossible to dwell on even the wittiest of these charming letters, such as the one to Mademoiselle de C . . . , en luy envoyant un extrait de son baptême (p. 136), the two letters in *précieux* style to Madame de L. S., pp. 141, 143, in which Fontenelle describes the rescue of her daughter from danger while crossing a river, the letter to Madame de V., en luy envoyant un More et un singe, which recalls the letter of Voiture to Mademoiselle Paulet, sending her some wax lions from Africa. In a subsequent letter (p. 146) he says: "Le singe est mort, Madame, j'y perds beaucoup; il n'y a plus que le More qui puisse vous faire souvenir de moi. Ce pauvre animal apparemment a pris du chagrin de ce qu'il ne pouvoit pas m'imiter assez bien auprès de vous; il n'y avoit rien qu'il n'eût pu contrefaire plus aisément que ma tendresse . . . Peut-être aussi parce qu'il imitoit ma passion, il s'est attiré vos rigueurs, et en est mort de desespoir. En ce cas-là, c'est à moi à l'imiter à mon tour, à mourir après lui," etc.

As I have already said many of the letters tell a story, as the letters to Monsieur d'O . . . , pp. 154 *et seq.*, in which Fontenelle tries to dissuade him from a marriage which will cost him an inheritance; the letters to Monsieur d'E . . . , pp. 178 *et seq.*, regarding his relative who had been educated in a convent, where Fontenelle visits her, lends her Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Cyrus*, and ends by falling in love with her; the letters to Mademoiselle d'Her . . . , pp. 238 *et seq.*, on her clandestine marriage

to the Marquis de la F.; the letters to Monsieur de la S . . . , pp. 256 *et seq.*, containing the story of one who married and buried himself in the country with his bride; etc.

The letters seldom contain anecdotes or short stories. There is one amusing exception in the letter to Monsieur d'A . . . , p. 222, which is worth quoting entire: "Je crois, Monsieur, que je ferai bien d'en user avec vous sur la mort de votre beaufrère, comme j'en ai usé avec madame votre soeur. Son mari étoit homme de grand mérite, fort estimé dans sa profession; elle vivoit fort bien avec lui: mais enfin elle est veuve et très-riche, et encore fort jeune. Je n'ai jamais pu déterminer si je lui ferois un compliment de condoléance ou de conjouissance. Selon la bienséance et la coutume, il ne pouvoit pas y avoir de doute; mais selon la vérité, il pouvoit fort bien y en avoir. Dans cette incertitude, je lui ai envoyé pour toute chose un blanc-signé. Elle m'a bien entendu, et m'a répondu en ces quatre mots, fort spirituellement à ce qu'il me semble: 'Je remplirai votre blanc-signé dans six mois.' Ne voulez-vous pas bien, Monsieur, que je vous en envoie un pareil?"

I have already alluded to the *préciosité* of Fontenelle, and cited some letters in which this quality appears; others are the letters to Mademoiselle de V . . . , pp. 247 *et seq.*, in which he advises her as to the costume in which she is to be painted: "Il faut qu'on vous peigne en Iroquoise. Si vous ne savez pas quelle sorte d'habillement c'est, informez-vous-en, on vous le dira. Il est vrai que cet habillement-là est difficile à soutenir, et qu'il y avoit bien peu de femmes qui y parussent avec avantage; mais ne vous mettez pas en peine, je vous réponds qu'il vous siéra bien. Il est fort galant, et en même tems fort simple, deux choses qu'on a de la peine à faire rencontrer dans le meme habit. Ces Iroquoises entendent bien comment il faut se mettre. Il m'est venu une petite imagination qui pourra servir à orner le tableau: C'est que comme les Iroquoises, aussi bien que leurs maris, mangent volontiers de la chair humaine, il ne sera pas mal de mettre devant vous une douzaine ou deux de coeurs dont vous mangerez quelqu'un par manière d'amusement, cela s'accordera avec la figure d'Iroquoise que vous aurez, et avec votre caractère."

Other examples are found in the letter to the same lady on an accident which she met with in hunting, p. 252; to Mademoiselle

de J . . . en lui envoyant des pâtés d'un sanglier qui l'avoit pensé blesser à la chasse, p. 268; and to Madame . . . en lui envoyant du vermillon pour une de ses amies, p. 279, which ends: "Au reste, Madame, soyez sûre du secret que vous me demandez. J'ai une égale discrétion pour les coeurs et pour les teints qui ont de la confiance en moi; et vous verrez que, quand je rencontrerai votre amie, je serai le premier à admirer ce que j'ai acheté."

The letters of Fontenelle, as I have said above, are the best and the last of the *genre*.

One of the most interesting social and literary events connected with the Hôtel de Rambouillet was the *Guirlande de Julie*, an illustrated album of poetry in the form of madrigals on various flowers, presented by the Marquis de Montausier to Julie-Lucine d'Angennes de Rambouillet, whom he married in 1645, and whose suitor he had been for fourteen years.¹⁵ The exact date of the presentation is not known. The manuscript is dated 1641, and the fête day of Julie was the 22d of May (jour de Sainte-Julie). Huet, the bishop of Avranches, says it was presented the 1st of January, but is in error as to the year, which he makes 1633 or 34.¹⁶ Uzanne inclines to the 1st of January, 1642, as the most likely since the manuscript is dated 1641.¹⁷

The madrigals are sixty-two in number and are by nineteen authors, among the best known of whom are Chapelain, Desmarets, Godeau, Gombaud, the two Haberts, Malleville, and Georges de Scudéry. Montausier himself wrote sixteen.

The *Guirlande de Julie*, was not an original idea, but was copied from *La Ghirlanda della contessa Angela Bianca Beccaria, contesta di madrigali di diversi autori, raccolti e dichiarati dal Signor Stefano Guazzi*, Genova, 1595.¹⁸ The question of the

¹⁵ The Marquis de Montausier was at this time Baron de Salles, but signed his verses in the *Guirlande* Marquis de Montausier, which title apparently he did not legally possess until 1644. See Uzanne, *La Guirlande de Julie*, Paris, 1875, p. xxiii, note 4.

¹⁶ See *Huetiana*, Paris, 1722, p. 103, cited by Uzanne, p. xvii, note 2.

¹⁷ A history and description of the manuscript may be found in Uzanne, *op. cit.*; Livet, *Précieux et Précieuses*, Paris, 1870; and *Bibliographica*, Part III, "La Guirlande de Julie," by John W. Bradley, pp. 291-307. A facsimile of the title-page, madrigal of The Carnation, and flower itself, may be found in Lacroix, *Dix-Septième Siècle, Lettres, Sciences et Arts*, p. 185.

¹⁸ Guazzo's *Ghirlanda* is excessively scarce and there was but one edition. I was many years finding a copy, slightly defective. Some time after I was fortunate enough to acquire for Cornell University Library a complete copy. The Italian custom of forming collections, *Raccolte*, of prose and verse in celebration of festal occasions, such as birthdays, weddings, funerals, etc., goes back

originality of the *Guirlande de Julie*, which has been discussed at considerable length by Livet, Uzanne, and Roy, will be better understood after a detailed account of the Italian work cited above.¹⁹

to the early years of the sixteenth century and is the subject of an article by Francesco Colagrosso in *Studi di letteratura italiana*, I (Napoli, 1899), pp. 240-317, "Un'usanza letteraria in gran voga nel settecento." Unfortunately the author confines himself almost entirely to the eighteenth century and merely mentions the *Ghirlanda di Angela Bianca Beccaria*.

¹⁹ Livet, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii, merely states that the *Guirlande* is an imitation of the Italian work just mentioned. Uzanne, *op. cit.*, p. xv, cites the *Ghirlanda della Contessa Angela*, and, on the strength of Quadrio, *Storia e ragione d'ogni poesia*, Vol. I, p. 263, *Ghirlanda di frondi, fiori e frutti, ed altre rime del Signor Alcide infiammati* [sic] per l'illustrissima Signora Zenobia Reina Beccaria, Patrona Gentil-Donna di Pavia, In Pavia, per gli Eredi di Girolamo Bartoli, 1596, in 12mo. The reference to Quadrio is incorrect. The work in question is mentioned in Quadrio, *Storia, etc.*, Vol. VII (Indice universale), Milano, 1752, p. 128: "Daremo luogo qui anche alla seguente opera encomiastica, che ha per titolo: *Ghirlanda*, etc. Qui Tre, dove han pure alquante lor rime Cesare Noce Concoreggio, Ippolito D. Giorgio Buzio, e Giovanni Giorgio." I have been unable to find this work in any library in Italy, or in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, or the British Museum at London, and I am compelled to believe it the same work as Guazzo's. Uzanne adds: "Il existe également des livres de poésie française sous le titre de *Couronne de Fleurs*, etc. Voy. au *Catalogue imprimé des Belles Lettres de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, p. 511, col. 1, lettre Y. no. 4898." This reference is incorrect; it should be: *Catalogue des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, Belles Lettres, II, p. 139 (Jurisprudence, I, p. 91). The work in question is *La couronne de fleurs tissée dans le parler de Themis et des Muses du Parnasse de Guyenne dédiée au Roy*, Bordeaux, Jacques Millanges, 1624 in 4to.

A fuller discussion of the Italian origin of the *Guirlande de Julie* is to be found in Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 248, note 2. He says: "M. Livet a indique la *Guirlande italienne de la comtesse Beccaria*, 1595, comme l'origine de la *Guirlande de Julie*. Ce titre et ce genre de poésies étaient si communs en Italie qu'on en faisait de semblables pour les comédiennes et même pour les podestats. Ex.: la *Ghirlanda di varii fiori di diversi tessuti all'illustriss.* Antonio Zeno, podestà di Trevigi, 1613, in 4to. D'autre part le duc de Montausier s'est laissé devancer, en France même, par un petit avocat de Nîmes, Jean Barnier: la *Guirlande donnée aux dames de Nîmes par l'amour*, citée par Haag (*France protestante*, Tome I, p. 861); par Passerat (*le Jardin d'Amour à la Marquise de Monceaux*); par Jean Le Maire des Belges (*la Couronne Marguéritique en l'honneur de Marguérite d'Autriche*). Les fleurs sont remplacées par des marguérites ou des pierres précieuses, symboles des vertus de la princesse."

In regard to the works mentioned above I would say that I have been unable to find any where in Italy the *Ghirlanda di varii fiori*, etc., and no copy is in the Arsenal Library or Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, or in the British Museum at London. The work of Barnier is mentioned as follows in Haag, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, col. 861: "Un membre de cette nombreuse famille (Barnier) nommé Jean, et vivant de la première moitié du XVIIe. siècle a composé un grand nombre de poésies qui n'ont pas été imprimées mais que l'on a conservées en manuscrit et dont Menard dans son *Historie de Nîmes* (tome V, p. 630) fait un honorable éloge. Il cite entre autres une pièce de vers intitulée *Guirlande donnée aux dames de Nîmes par l'Amour* où l'auteur dédie galamment la rose à Marie du Pin, l'oeillet à Marie de S. Chapte, l'orange à Tiphène Rozel, l'eglantine à Bernardine de Mages, le souci à Jeanne Rozel; dans d'autres vers le poète nomme surtout Renée de Malherbe à laquelle sous le nom de Lynde s'adressaient plus particulièrement ses pensées." The poetical works of Jean Barnier are placed by Haag at the end of 1632.

We have already, in Chapter VII, made the acquaintance of Stefano Guazzo, the author of the famous treatise entitled *La Civil Conversazione*. In order to aid his son in his legal studies Guazzo took up his residence in Pavia in 1589 and remained there until his death in 1593. Soon after his arrival at Pavia he made the acquaintance of Count Alfonso Beccaria, who introduced him to his cousin the Countess Angela Bianca Beccaria. In the introduction to the *Ghirlanda* Guazzo gives an elaborate portrait of her in the following words: "I shall not now speak of the remarkable majesty of her appearance, her noble form, and the other mortal and outward beauties, which she seems to prize little or not at all. The Countess Angela is endowed with an intellect conformable to her name. She speaks of everything,

Ménard (*op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 630) says of the work in question: "L'amour y présente, entre autres, la rose à Marie du Pin, etc.," and continues: "Dans une autre pièce qu'il intitula *Le Camail donné aux dames de Nîmes par une des Grâces*, il fait présenter le saphir à Isabeau de Nages, la perle à Marie du Pin, l'opale à Bernardine de Nages, et ainsi de quelques autres pierres précieuses. Ce manuscrit contient 85 pages. Il ne nous est resté aucune particularité de ce poète. Sa famille exerçait alors la magistrature dans le présidial de Nîmes."

As Barnier's works were never printed it is doubtful whether the Marquis de Montausier ever saw them, and as the latter, according to Uzanne, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxviii, 76, began his work as early as 1632 or 1633, his *Guirlande* may after all be prior to Barnier's.

As to the other works mentioned by Roy, they are of little interest. Jean Passerat was born at Troyes the 18th of October, 1534, and died at Paris, the 14th of September, 1602, where he had long been professor of Latin at the Collège de France. The poem which Roy cites is *Le Jardin d'Amour, à Madame la Marquise de Monceaux (Gabrielle d'Estrées)* and may be found in *Les poésies françaises de Jean Passerat publiées avec notice et notes par Prosper Blanchemain*, Paris, 1880. In the poem in question the poet passes the various flowers in review and draws from them allusions to his love. The flowers do not address the subject of the poem and there is no resemblance whatever between the work of Passerat and the *Guirlande de Julie*.

There is hardly more resemblance between the *Guirlande de Julie* and the *Couronne Margaritique* cited by Roy, which may be found in *Oeuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges, publiées par J. Stecher*, Louvain, 1891, Vol. IV, pp. 1-167. The work is almost wholly in prose and is an arid allegorical composition. The ten virtues which compose the crown of Margaret of Austria, the widow of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, are: Modération, Animosité, Rectitude de conseil, Grace, Urbanité, Erudition, Regnative prudence, Innocence, Tolerance, Experience. The precious stones which adorn these virtues are: Pearl, Diamond, Ruby, Coral, Amethyst, Emerald, Radiane (a stone supposed to be found in the cock's comb), Jasper, Topaz, and Carbuncle. In the course of the allegory the lives of ten women are related, among them Dido, Rachel, Vesta, the Sibyl Eriphyle, Ingeborg of Denmark, the repudiated wife of Philip II of France, Artemisia, the widow of Mausolus, etc. The relations of each virtue, stone, and woman are explained by ten eminent scholars, philosophers, and writers: Robert Gaguin, Albertus Magnus, Jean Robertet, Isidore of Seville, George Chastellain, Boccaccio, Arnold de Villeneuve, Marsilio Ficino, Martin Franc, and Vincent de Beauvais. It will be seen very easily how entirely dissimilar is the plan of this work from that of the *Guirlande de Julie*.

thanks to her long and constant studies, as if she had journeyed and seen and learned more than the wise Ulysses or the great Queen of Sheba. She possesses, I do not know whether by nature or art, an eloquence which compels her hearers to bestow upon her the highest praise, since in a laconic style she unfolds more maxims than words. She exercises more willingly her ears than her tongue, and seeing that the custom of many women is to be unable to remain silent, she listens and heeds with humble silence and with grateful attention the conversation of others. I have seen no woman, nor man, who could equal her in answering seasonably, in turning her words, in launching her witticisms without sharpness, in warding off those of others without anger, in defending herself with a sweet smile and with pleasant weapons. She recites readily and gracefully the *canzoni* of Petrarch, whole cantos of Ariosto, and an infinite number of verses of different poets. If any conversation arises she offers you a noble feast of various sciences which testify to a quick and tenacious memory."

Guazzo continues for some time in this strain, describing minutely the moral qualities of the Countess, and giving some interesting details of her habits. "She devotes at certain times a few hours to music, not for pleasure but to soothe the wearied minds and disposing her skilful hands to the music and her angelic voice to the song, she represents not less the harmony of the celestial spheres than the consonance of the strings and of the inner organ of her soul.

"All these qualities were enough to give her the principal ornament and splendor among the most illustrious women in the world; but she does not stop here; and because all other virtues vanish away without the foundation of charity, this worthy woman, persuaded that she has not fulfilled the law by excelling solely in letters and in the things pertaining to the care of herself, has always devoted equal study to the care of her household and family, and especially to the instruction of those two little angels, Signora Margherita and Signora Camilla, her well-born daughters, admired by all as two images of intelligence (*simulacri di senno*)."

Guazzo says he resolved to give her in those his last years some token of his devotion, but as he distrusted his own ability he called to his aid "some elegant and worthy spirits bound to me

in love, who when they heard my lofty and seemly plan of presenting to this lady an honorable Garland in reward in part of her merits, and in testimony of my veneration for her, concurred with ready and courteous hands to show me so many boughs, flowers, and fruits gathered in their most fertile gardens, that, thanks to God, I made of them the Garland and presented it to her with such affection and esteem that she in token of having accepted their good-will and mine too did not disdain to give it prominence and to make it the occasion of a company of ladies and gentlemen to admire it, and for the space of three days to make pleasant discourses over it."

The Countess was requested by Guazzo to give him an account of this entertainment, but she hesitated as it seemed to her vainglorious to recite the things which had been said in her praise. At last she yielded to Guazzo's entreaties and dictated to him the discourses pronounced by the various ladies and gentlemen on that occasion. This recital Guazzo sent to his daughter with the following description of the event.

"It is an ancient custom and one introduced perhaps in the first century to celebrate with games, festivals, and various tokens of joy the first day of the beautiful and flowery month of May, in which it seems as if the sober thought it praiseworthy and honorable to indulge in intoxication, the wise in folly, the modest in liberty, and the old in childishness. In this year then of 1590, and on this first day of May, the Count Alfonso Beccaria, in order not to violate tyrannical usage and not to display in the midst of rejoicings a hateful and untimely seriousness, prepared, at least outwardly, to conform to the usual custom and to invite a virtuous band of ladies and gentlemen to celebrate that day in the garden of his house. The leather hangings of the salon were clothed with green and odoriferous boughs of oak and the pavement covered with fresh herbs. The table was adorned no less with precious viands than with beautiful flowers, and a joyful, solemn, and pleasing banquet was given, at which, besides the Count and Countess Louisa his wife and Count Claudio his son, were the Countess Angela Bianca Beccaria, Signora Hortensia Isimbaldi, Signora Maria Pietra, Signor Bartolomeo Brignolo, royal captain of justice then arrived from Milan, Cavalier Don Girolamo Torto, and Signor Giulio Stefano Lana, all chosen persons. . . .

"All then having made a solemn protest not to rest like the widowed turtle upon the dry branches of melancholy, but to wander like the nightingale upon the joyful green, spent the time of dining with many pleasing speeches in honor of May, so that they felt themselves rejuvenated by a joyful and flattering persuasion. After the table had been cleared and a reverent silence observed for some time, the Countess Louisa seemed to read upon the brows of the ladies a desire to rise; and therefore she turned to the gentlemen saying that with their permission she was going to take the ladies to gather flowers for a garland. So the gentlemen remained in the salon talking for some time, as may be believed, of the most serious things. Count Alfonso, however, rising and seeing the Countess surrounded by the other ladies and reading certain writings, gave a sign to the gentlemen and with one accord they quietly made their way to the garden, hoping to take the ladies unawares. But the Countess Angela seeing with her Argus eyes the shadow of their bodies, suddenly hid those writings in her bosom, and all four casting down their eyes pretended to be picking flowers. Then the Count said: 'Do not think, ladies, to deceive us; we have seen you and heard all, and if you do not act frankly with us some one, who does not think it, will be robbed of what she has in her bosom.' Here the Countess, arming her countenance with a feigned anger, said: 'I see clearly that you are like the Polyp which embraces in order to drown, since you have received us into your house in order to harm us; but we trust the Countess Louisa will so tie your hands that you cannot rob us.' The Countess Louisa replied: 'Do not doubt that I will relieve you from all trouble and will suffer him to do this violence to me.' After some further bantering, the secret was revealed by Signora Maria Pietra, who said that some elegant wits had presented the Countess with various rhymes in her praise under the title of Garland, but she feared that if she revealed this it would seem like vainglory. The gentlemen were all compelled to make most humble excuses for their unjust suspicions, and after a slight resistance the Countess drew the papers from her bosom and handed them to Count Alfonso, who found on them this inscription: 'The Garland of the Countess Angela Bianca Beccaria, woven from madrigals of divers authors, and divided into three parts, that is to say, boughs, flowers, and fruits.'"

The Count then had seats placed beneath a beautiful arbor, and after all had withdrawn to that spot, the Countess proposed that before anything else they should consider why the author of this undertaking was moved to entitle it *Garland*, and because she knew that the Cavalier Torto had already in the Academy of the Affidati pronounced publicly and to the wonderful pleasure of the whole city a learned, copious, and delightful discourse upon crowns and garlands, it seemed to her opportune to lay this burden upon his shoulders. The cavalier then made a very prolix discourse in praise of the Countess and only incidentally touched on the subject of poetic crowns. After he had finished the Countess thanked him and handed the papers to Count Claudio, who, turning the first leaf, found at the beginning of the *Garland* a madrigal by the reverend Donna Laura Beatrice Capilli.

The subject of the madrigal was the laurel, and after Count Claudio read it he pronounced a long discourse by way of commentary on the poem he had read. Others of the company took part in a discussion which followed; and when it was finished, the Countess gave to Lana the madrigal of the second bough of the *Garland*, also on the laurel. This was read and discussed in the same way.

The work is divided into three "giornate" or days corresponding to the three divisions of the *Garland* into boughs, flowers, and fruits. The boughs are: laurel, palm, oak, ivy, poplar, olive, juniper, box, orange, balsam, cypress, elm, cedar, beech, plane, fern, and mistletoe. Among the flowers are: rose, narcissus, lotus, heliotrope, lily, violet, etc. Of the fruits are: mulberry, olive, peach, mustard, date, chestnut, orange, etc. At the end of the work are twenty-two madrigals which are not commented upon. Each day is preceded by an introduction, and there is a graceful conclusion at the end.

This brief account of the *Ghirlanda* of Guazzo will show how different it is from the *Guirlande de Julie*, in which the madrigals are given without any comment or even any introduction describing the occasion. The Italian work is ponderous and academic, and reveals the national fondness for subtle discussions. At the same time there is no doubt that Guazzo's *Ghirlanda* gave Montausier the idea of his *Guirlande* and furnishes us an interesting example of the influence of Italian society upon that of France in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XI.

Edmund Tilney's *Flower of Friendship*—George Whetstone's *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*—Robert Greene's *Love-Pamphlets*—*Mamillia*—*Penelope's Web*—*Euphues his Censure to Philautus*—*Morando: The Tritameron of Love*—*Greene's Farewell to Folly*—Italian sources of Greene's works—Lyly's *Euphues*—English translations from the Italian during the Elizabethan period—Allusions at this time to Italian works—Games in England—Games in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*—Edward Phillips's *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*—*The Academy of Complements*—Fortune-Telling Books in England—The mediæval game of *Ragman*—Translation of Jean de Meung's *Dodechedron*—Translation of Lorenzo Spirito's *Libro della Fortuna*—John Phillips's *The English Fortune-Tellers*—"Questions" in England—Lodge's *A Margarite of America*—Translation of Landi's *Dubbi*—English Country Life and its Diversions in the Sixteenth Century—*Cyville and Uncyville Life*—*The Demaundes Joyous*.

We have already seen that with few exceptions all the important Italian works we have considered were early translated into English.¹ First in order was Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, in connection with which were mentioned Edmund Tilney's *Flower of Friendship*, George Whetstone's *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, Henry Wotton's *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels*, Robert Greene's *Morando: The Tritameron of Love*, and Lyly's *Euphues*. As we have seen in Chapter IX, Wotton's

¹ *Prefatory Note*.—There is no work on the social relations between England and Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and but little material can be gleaned from the works devoted to showing the literary influence of Italy. Among this class of work which I have consulted may be mentioned the following. J. Ross Murray, *The Influence of Italian upon English Literature during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1886, Being the Essay which obtained the Le Bas Prize, 1885. This work is from its very nature brief and general. It does, however, contain a good résumé of the subject and in the V. division, "Signs of the Times," there is a slight account of Italian social influence. Much more general is A. H. Hallam's "Oration on the influence of Italian works of Imagination on the same class of compositions in England," to be found in *Remains in Verse and Prose*, London, 1865, pp. 112-145. Of a very general nature also is Vernon Lee's "The Italy of the Elizabethan Dramatists" in *Euphorion*, London, 1885. Some material may be found in J. J. Jusserand's interesting and valuable book, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, London, 1890. Far more valuable, however, is E. Koeppel's *Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle in der Englischen Litteratur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1892, to which I have been greatly indebted. Koeppel is also the author of two other articles which may be mentioned here for the sake of completeness, although they do not contribute much to my present purpose: "Studien zur Geschichte des Englischen

book is merely a translation of Jacques Yver's *Le Printemps* and need not detain us here. The other works are worthy of a detailed examination.

Edmund Tilney, the date of whose birth is not known, first came into notice, as Sir Sidney Lee says in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, as the author of a prose tract, *A Briefe and Pleasaunt Discourse of Duties in Mariage*, which was published in London in 8vo by Henry Denham in 1568. The work, which shows considerable reading in Italian literature, was dedicated by the author to Queen Elizabeth. It reached a second edition within a year of its first publication, and it was reissued in 1576.² Tilney was appointed Master of the Revels in the royal household in 1578 and held the office for nearly thirty years. As Sidney Lee says: "All dramatic performances and entertainments at court were under his control. He selected the plays and helped to devise the masques which were performed in the sovereign's

Petrarchismus im sechzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Romanischen Forschungen*, Erlangen, 1890, Vol. V, pp. 64-97, and "Dante in der Englischen Litteratur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteratur-Geschichte und Renaissance-Litteratur*, N. F., Bd. III, pp. 426-45, Berlin, 1890. A general article of interest on Italian Influence on English Poetry may be found in the *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1896, pp. 28-54, "A Treasury of English Sonnets." I have left for the last the most important and extensive work in this field, Miss M. A. Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, Baltimore, 1895-99, four papers reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*. This work displays great industry and is a useful and valuable collection of material; unfortunately the author has not had access to the great libraries of England and the Continent and hence her work is defective and at times incorrect. This work has now been printed separately in the *Vassar Semi-Centennial Series*, Boston and New York, 1916. Reviews of this work may be found in *Modern Philology*, General Section Part I (August, 1918), pp. 213(45)-218(50) by C. R. Baskerville, and in *The Romanic Review*, vol. X, No. 3, July-Sept., 1918, pp. 304-308, by J. de Perott.

² The full title is: *A briefe and pleasant discourse of duties in Mariage, called the Flower of Friendshippe*. Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham, dwelling in Paternoster Rowe, at the signe of the starre. Anno 1568, cum privilegio. The British Museum has this edition only. The Bodleian has this and one of 1571, published by the same printer. On the front fly-leaf of the Bodleian edition of 1568 is a note by Edmond Malone: "Entered in the Stationers' Register in 1567. This therefore is the first edition. There was another in 1571, and a third in 1577." The analysis in the text was made for me from the first edition in the Bodleian by the late Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith.

The best documentary account of Edmund Tilney is in Joseph Quincy Adams's *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels*, 1623-1673. Yale University Press, 1917. Tilney held his office until his death, but during his last years he had the aid of a deputy, a relative of his wife. Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 20, gives a brief analysis of the *Flower of Friendshippe*, of which she mentions a second edition of 1568, and two others of 1571 and 1577, in the Bodleian Library.

presence, while outside the court he was entrusted with the task of licensing plays for public representation and publication. . . . During his long term of office the greatest productions of the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, including the greater number of Shakespeare's plays, were submitted to his criticism before they were represented on the stage." He retired from his office apparently in 1608, and died August 20th, 1610.

The following analysis of the *Flower of Friendshippe* is made from the first edition of 1568, a copy of which I have consulted in the British Museum.

In the summer time early on a sunny morning I with a friend Master Pedro di Luxan walked in the fields till near noon; we then went to the house of the Lady Julia to rest in the heat of the day. "Even as we entered they had newly washed, and were ready to sit downe to dinner"; a company of ladies and gentlemen were assembled, among whom were Lady Isabella, Madame Julia's daughter, the Lady Aloisa and others, M. Lodovic Vives, and an old gentleman called Master Erasmus. The Lady Julia "deuised with the company in what pastymes we should spende the after noone." Carding, dicing, dancing, and chess were discarded as fit only for Christmas; field games, as bowling, shooting, etc., Don Pedro did not like because they left out the ladies, but he "remembered how Boccace and Countie Baltizar with others recounted many proper deuises for exercise," which "were used in the courts of Italie, and some much like them are practised at this day in the English court, wherein is not only delectable, but pleasure ioyned with profite, and exercise of the wyt." He was begged to set one going, and all would obey. So after dinner they went into an arbour in the garden—"it might be called a terrestrial Paradise"; the benches "were trimly set with camamile and dasies," etc.; and making a wreath of roses Don Pedro crowned the Lady Julia sovereign for the day. He proposed that they should either rehearse stories, or debate upon a set subject, and further suggested that they should treat of friendship and the love of man and wife, "wherein I woulde the duetie of the married man to be described, for the knowledge of duetie is the maintenance of friendship." All liked this, and Lady Julia commanded Master Pedro to begin, "bicause we being yet wholly ignorant in this kinde of pastimes," also "not being

so well languaged, as you are, we shall have good sporte to hear you interlarde our countrie speeche with some Spanish trickes." After some preamble he obeys; "my charge, the Flower of Friendship," first declaring "the virtues of the matrimoniall estate." He cites a few examples from the Bible; shows the rites of divers nations in marrying (Babylonians, Venetians, French, Mauritians, Canary Islanders, Chaldeans, and Scots); next speaks of equality in marriage, citing several instances, lugging in Alexander the Great and his wife Barcina—contested by Lady Julia. Master Gualter brings in a story of a man who married four times, and was a bondman to each wife in turn for some special virtue. He mockingly asks which of these four best pleases the speaker, at which the ladies would have all driven him away. But Father Erasmus said he was not to be blamed as he did but repeat the words of Anaxagoras. Don Pedro continues, giving excellent advice as to the grounding of love at the beginning and the continuance and keeping of mutual love; the man, he says, must not scold nor chide. He recites several examples of those who loved well their wives—Adam, Darius, Tiberius. Gracchus—and tells a story from Baptista Fulgosa.³ Master Gualter interrupts again (he is the "saucy foole" who prattles against women), but Pedro says "hee increaseth our sporte. and therefore we cannot well want [that is, do without] him."

Don Pedro goes on to show the "pysoned weedes that will overgrow the friendly Flower," which are Adultery, Gaming, Riotousness, and Drunkenness; as to the last, he gives many examples of the evil of excess in wine. Then there are certain delicate herbs to be cherished by the married man for the preservation of his friendly flower; on the enumeration of them Lady Aloisa says: "These be excellent herbes, and rarely founde all in one garden. Wherefore we pray you teach us how we may plant and conserve them." Pedro answers, "That appertayneth not to my charge"; but he agrees to instruct the company in their qualities. They are 1. to be advised in speech [*i.e.*, self-control]; 2. to be courteous in conversation; 3. to be secret and trusty with what he is trusted; 4. to be wise in giving counsel, which is not every man's office, but for "such as be of good yeares, that have seen and heard much"; 5. to be careful in providing for his house (in which he

³ See Koeppel, *Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle*, p. 19.

details what the office of the husband and what the office of the wife are in the household); 6. to accompany no defamed persons; 7. to be sufferable in the importunities of his wife; 8. to be circumspect and not to be jealous of his wife; and 9. to be careful in the education of his children. Don Pedro expatiates on all these, citing many instances and sayings from classic authors. Concluding, he apologises to the ladies for the length of his "tedious talk," and to knit up this Flower of matrimonial amity, touching the office of the man, "he must above all things have the fear of God before his eyes."

The Lady Julia and the whole company rose up and gave Don Pedro great thanks; the lady desired that he should bestow the crown next day upon another in order that they might hear "the married woman prescribed in like sort as you have done the married man," but he begged her to keep it till next day, when he would come again. All then went out of the arbour into the garden, where they took leave of one another.

The next morning, two or three strangers visiting Master Pedro, they were hindered of their walk, so did not go till after dinner, when they took horse to save time. They found the company assembled in the arbour, listening to music. The Lady Julia rose up and bestowed her "garland of principalitie" upon the Lady Aloisa, not wishing to usurp continuance therein, and the company confirmed the election. The Lady Aloisa then commanded the Lady Julia "briefly (for that the day is farre past)" to describe the office of the married woman and to show how she must apply herself to maintain this Flower of Friendship between her husband and herself.

After hesitation, she obeys—"for disobedience is a fault in all persons, but the greatest vice in a woman." She says she agrees that divers points mentioned by Master Pedro are as necessary in the woman as in the man; such as suppression of the three weeds aforesaid, and in choice, "for if the man ought to be circumspect in the electing of his wyfe, what shall the siely woman doe, being so often deceyued by you men?" Love blindeth the eyes and bewitcheth the senses of women, and she cites Themistocles' answer as to whom he would marry his daughter to—"he would sooner choose a man without money than money without a man." And there should be equality of match.

She expatiates next on the necessity of chastity, and of endeavouring "to encrease a perfection of love, to lyke, and love well"; the wife must pass over defects, for "true love is the sauce of marriage." She cites many examples of loving wives among the Romans and Greeks from Plutarch, Martial, and Pliny—"I could occupie you till to-morrow with lyke stories of worthy women," but these may suffice to let Master Gualter understand that there hath been always women as loving as men. Gualter replies no doubt, but they run to extremes; he would like to bring women to a mean. But Lady Julia "will have no meane in love." Having planted this Friendly Flower in a faithful heart the woman must be as "curious" as the good husband in preserving it against tempestuous storms and venomous weeds. The greatest help is shamefastness, "the only defence that nature hath given to women." Another is obedience. The Lady Isabella contests this, and thinks that there should be no superiority between husband and wife, and cites the Achaïans (men obeying the women) out of Plutarch. Master Gualter puts in saucily too; but Lady Julia continues, citing other old uncivilized customs among the Parthians, Numidians, etc., and draws her moral that "all those barbarian customes are to be disannulled and contemned of Christians."

Upon which, "Ye say well, Madam, quoth Master Erasmus, for indeede both divine and humaine lawes in our religion giveth the man absolute authoritie over the woman in all places." Lady Julia shows what qualities a man has to give him sovereignty—when Gualter pities a man matched with a shrew—and continues her defence of obedience in woman, adding that the man ought not to let himself be commanded by his wife. Further, the good name of a woman is delicate; she ought to keep well her house and not run to excess in apparel. She should be skilled in housewifery and use her needle, not sit idle, etc.; "it is also a great want in a woman if she be unskilfull in dressing of meate." The face of the husband should be the looking-glass of the wife whereby to shape her behaviour, for men must be reformed by gentleness. Lady Julia has cited several tales as instances in the course of her discourse, but here Don Pedro, by her leave, tells "a pretie storie" of a gentlewoman who by gentle wyles reclaimed her husband. Lady Aloisa breaks in with indignation at the husband's behaviour.

Lady Julia lays down wise advice as to the best time and place to reprove a husband, and concludes, to "knit up the married woman's office in maintaining and conserving this Flower of Friendship," that she must put her whole trust in the first and principal author thereof, and shows how the fear and service of God advantages her. In which Pedro agrees, with classic instances.

The company rose and thanked Lady Julia, going into the garden and talking over her theme; the Lady Isabella at parting charged the author to pen the whole discourse of this fragrant Flower for her sake. "So with the help of my friend Master Pedro and others I have adventured to publish this discourse."

From the above analysis of Tilney's work it will easily be seen that the author was acquainted with Boccaccio and Castiglione at least. The meeting in a garden, the selection of one of the company as queen, and the discussion of a set question are all characteristic of the social diversions of Italy in the sixteenth century, as we have abundantly seen in the earlier chapters of the present work.

Very little is known in regard to George Whetstone, the author of *An Heptameron of Civil Discourses; containing the Christmas Exercise of sundrie well-courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen*.⁴ The dates of his birth and death are not known, but his literary activity extends from 1576 to 1582. Chalmers in his *General Biographical Dictionary* says of him: "It appears that he first tried his fortune at court, where he consumed his patrimony in fruitless expectation of preferment. . . . He became a soldier and afterwards sought his fortune on the sea, and embarked with Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the expedition to Newfoundland, which was rendered unsuccessful by an engagement with the Spanish fleet. From this period Whetstone seems to have depended entirely on his pen for subsistence. When or where he died has not been ascertained."

⁴ There seems to be only one edition of this work, London, 1582, of which there are copies in the British Museum and in the Bodleian, from the latter of which the analysis in the text was made for me by the late Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith. Koepfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-40, gives an extensive analysis of this work, largely, as usual, from the standpoint of the novels inserted in the frame.

Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 46, mentions the tales inserted in the *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, but gives no analysis of the work. More recent accounts of Whetstone may be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*.

Whetstone was the author of several metrical versions of Italian novels, and of the work mentioned above which we have now to examine in detail.

The author relates that in the "dead season," winter, his affairs sent him into a country far from home and unknown to him; having travelled on Christmas eve through a forest, and gone astray, he came to a stately palace where every one was feasting indoors. A servant with his lord's welcome invited him to alight and walk in, which after some excuses he did. An interesting description of the screen of the great hall, and of another great chamber is given. The lord (he was brought up in the French court and was a Protestant) met him in the hall and led him into "a faire great chamber," where he found many gentlemen and ladies. Declaring himself an Englishman, the lord broke out into a eulogy of the "Mayden Queene," and begged him to stay. He was led to a bed-chamber and afterwards to supper, where many other foreigners were present. After supper, a cake being cut and distributed to select a king or queen, the lot fell to Madame Aurelia, sister to the lord of the palace, to be queen of the Christmas pleasures.

Next day "the trumpets sounded the honour of Christmas;" the queen and her company attended the chapel, and then dined. The host then committed the company to the good entertainment of his sister Aurelia. She dubbed the author Cavaliero Ismarito ("The Wandering Knight"), under which name he takes part throughout, and admitted him as her servant. The laws of the queen were proclaimed, as follows: 1. Obedience to the queen. 2. Every gentleman bound to find a mistress whom he would serve, before noon next day. 3. Every gentleman bound to give fealty and chief place to his own mistress. 4. Every gentleman bound to employ her own servant. 5. Every gentleman bound to defend the honour of his mistress. 6. Every gentleman bound to encourage her servant, not scorning dutiful service. 7. Every gentleman bound to court his mistress with civil speeches. 8. Every gentleman bound "either by some exercise of value, or by some shew of excellency of wit, to approve himself worthy of his mistresse."

The queen then appointed two judges of the controversies, Fabritio and Donna Isabella; and twelve to attend her in affairs of pleasure, viz., six gentlemen chosen from the foreigners (Italian,

Neapolitan, Frenchman, German, Scot, and himself English) and six ladies, each having an epithet, one being "Katherina Trista, a soure and testy dame." A division of time was made, viz., the forenoon to be bestowed in the service of God, after dinner two hours in civil discourse and disputation, the rest till supper at pleasure, and after supper to spend a time in dancing, masking, or other like pastimes.

At 9 o'clock next morning the young couples assembled, and saluted the queen Aurelia. After service and dinner were solemnly ended all went into "a pleasaunt drawing chamber"; to quicken the wits a boy sung to the accompaniment of his lute a lay on the joy of love.

Madonna Isabella then commences. If love be so sweet, whence the complaints of lovers? Soranso replies, Love is a simple divine virtue. Opinions are given on the distinctions of love, and the queen limits the argument to a contention, Whether marriage or the single life is the worthier. Ismarito, and Lucia Bella—who is to be a professed nun—are appointed to defend the single life. After arguments on both sides in which these two were somewhat overborne, Fabritio, summing up, gave his sentence in the behalf of marriage, enlarging on its praises, but using caveats, and concluding with the opinion of Plato "That marriage was a Paradise on earth if her lawes be observed: and a Hell in the House where her statutes are broken." This bitter-sweet "commendation" gave rise to discussion, in which Doctor Mossenigo, describing the extreme passions of a woman, was held to have offended and was condemned by the queen that at open supper he should renounce his heresy and make satisfaction.

Then ensues "The first night's Pastime," in which after confession the Doctor makes his satisfaction "for praying women against his will" by telling the tale of Borrihauder and Ophella (a simple saddler of Vienna and a crabbed wife). In the conversation following this tale, Timon of Athens is referred to, and the author remarks "for the Hystorie of Thymon of Athens dogged nature, was so well knowne to everie gentleman as the remembrance of his name."

The Second Day's Exercise begins with an account of the sermon in the chapel (on the virtues of Our Lady and the pity of woman) and the remarks of Philoxenus upon the blessings of England in having "the sacred byble" expounded in vulgar

language, and the waters of life open to the thirsty souls both of rich and poor subjects. The friar was outwitted at dinner by his hearers; and in the conversation during the pause after dinner Bargetto was fined by his lady Franceschina (to speak no more of love for three days) for saying that the friar had taught him a cunning way to woo. Again the boy sang a love song, and Queen Aurelia caused Plato's opinion of marriage to be read a second time.

Dondolo asks why beasts are happy together, whereas man and woman who can reason are often not. Faliero replies that it is because reason finds out the imperfection of nature. Dondolo asks How may a man be assured to find pity or avoid sorrow? Faliero replies, By experience. Then Dondolo upholds the foresight of parents in directing the matches of their children, in order to avoid the evils. This brings out a condemnation of forced marriages from Faliero, with instances. Soranso continues with stronger proofs of the necessity of love before marriage, and the cry is: "Fye of forcement in mariage." Faliero then tells a "historie in the reproche of forced mariages," in which two merchants of Cyrene marry their children, Sicheus and Elisa, with a tragic ending. The ladies think that women are hardly treated in this tale "stayned with cruelty," and some sharp bandying of words and wit ensues, the Doctor always finding that woman's love and hatred are violent, and that beauty is like poison.

Then comes "The device of the second night's Mask." After supper five of the gentlemen withdrew, and about 9 o'clock re-entered in disguise, a concert preceding them. The dresses of the musicians, the torch-bearers, and the maskers are fully described: each masker bore some article, as a fan, a parrot, an artificial hart, a mirror, or a turtle dove, on or in which were concealed some verses which were given to their mistresses, with whom they afterwards danced.

On the third day chapel and dinner as usual; after dinner, conversation. Franceschina revokes her sentence against Bargetto on his answering successfully three questions, viz., "how three good turnes might be unrewarded, three offences pardoned, three injuryes least unrevenged, and in everye of these, Justice preserved." The debate, at the usual hour, began with a sonnet in behalf of beauty. Free choice of marriage was the sub-

ject chosen for dispute, the queen appointing Bargetto her champion against the attacks of Doctor Mossenigo. Bargetto begins by summing up yesterday's "report," defending the proposition; the Doctor's "reproofs" and Bargetto's "defences" continue, Soranso breaking in that "of two evils the least is to be chosen," to which the Doctor replies, "our question was not, to chuse the least of evils, but that which is simply good," and brings strong arguments to bear against "temerity in marriage." Bargetto replies, and the judges pronounce on both sides with Bargetto in behalf of beauty, and with the Doctor in reproof of rashness of marriage. The queen then desires the Doctor to tell a story to confirm his reasoning. He tells the tale of Malipiero, a young Neapolitan gentleman who suddenly married the lovely Felice of poor family, and how she was led astray by the rich merchant Marino.

The third night's pastime, after supper, was to see "a mountebanke, his neck bechayned with live adders, snakes, cau'ts, and twentie sundrie kinde of venemous vermines, whose mortal stinges were taken away by arte, and with him a zanni, and other actors of pleasure." They came to recreate the company, and not like common "mountebanckers" to deceive people with unprofitable merchandize. This gave rise to some talk on the strange nature of a woman's tongue, which cannot be tamed like the serpent's, and, on the defence of a chiding wife.

On the fourth day's exercise, Aurelia was sick, and Phylloxenus to cheer Ismarito took him into a beautiful gallery hung with maps and paintings, *i.e.*, portraits, which are briefly described. After dinner the company were shown into a chamber hung with rich tapestry, also very well described. Queen Aurelia appearing, a pretty sonnet, "Care, away," was sung, and the judge Fabritio desired that they might begin with a tale. Mons. Bargetto related "the adventure of Fryer Inganno" (in the Apenines), in which the friar got trapped into a punishment for his misdeeds. "This was the gentlewoman's day, wherefore the civill gentlemen would not offer to crosse them much," so that after this Madam Isabella related "the rare historie of Promos and Cassandra."

Morals were drawn by the company from these tales, and the queen saying, "I will not be to bould of the victorie over my late distemperature," they broke up. At supper "many prettie

nyps passed" on the subject of the stories, and Aloisa Vechio maintained that a woman is a "creature every way as excellent and perfecte as man." Soranso contested this, and the Doctor and Aurelia took it up. Ismarito even declared that "soveraigne vertue is feminine and (I blush to tell it) yrksome vice is masculine." But Fabritio blamed this unnatural contention and opposed it. Aurelia, smiling, said "she was content that a man should governe as the head, and women direct as the heart."

The fifth day's exercise dealt with the excellency of man, and the inconveniencies of over lofty and too base love. In the morning, Soranso and Ismarito meeting fell into discourse, suggested by the sight of a picture of Ixion, upon the arrogance of vainglory; Ismarito enlarged upon the likeness of man to the image of God, showing three defects of the body, and three remedies against them which are the origin of all arts and sciences. After dinner talk, the company being met in the drawing chamber, a sonnet was sung commending lofty love; some sharp talk as to jealousy ensued, but was cut short by the queen,— "by your talk of hell [the story of Orpheus had been alluded to], quoth she, I see we are out of the way to Platoe's Paradise."

The debate then turned upon the point that the happiest estate in marriage is that where both are equal in rank. Soranso argues that man likes to raise his desire to those above him, and that love spares no degree; but Dondolo (who has married the daughter of a burgess) shows the danger from disdain of the wife's kindred to the man who aims high, and shows how the wife is either degraded to the man's base estate, or rules the roost uncontrolled. Fabritio adjudges Soranso to be in error. But Queen Aurelia, thinking Dondolo too free against the woman, says: "If happinesse in mariage consisteth so much in the lordly rule of the husband, then where a man maryeth his inferior in reputation, there is a lykelyhood of good agreement," and begs him to show "the blessinges of this inferior choyce." Thus "in-trapt with a slander of his owne reputation"—at which all smiled—Dondolo put a good face on it and defended "bace love." But Faliero reproved him, giving instances of the troubles caused by marriages with inferior women; to which Dondolo gave a few counter-proofs, but in the end was obliged to yield to the further arguments of Faliero. "But how?" quoth Aloisa Vechio; "doe you repent you of your bargaine, or disalow of Faliero's

proofes?" "Neither," quoth Dondolo, "for in general choice, this course is out of the way to Plato's Paradise; but for that my especial fortune is good, I am pleased."

The pastime of the fifth night, after supper, was this: a band of comedians made an extempore play or morality by personating the answers given by the guests to thirteen riddle-questions asked of each in turn by the host Philoxenus. The questions asked were resolved by the names of the following qualities, etc., Inconstancy, Dissimulation, Ignorance, Chastity, a Dicer, Envy, Will, Hope, Beauty, Ingratitude, Jealousy, Covetousness, and Pride.

The sixth day's exercise contained "many needefull regardes, for a gentleman: with a discoverie of the inconveniences of mariages, where there are great inequalities of yeares."

While the rest diverted themselves in the morning, Philoxenus took Ismarito into his library, "beautified with such a number of goodly bookes" that it resembled the famous library of Cosmos de Medicis in Florence; and then into his private study, furnished with summaries or abridgments of all sciences. As "in all his actions he was ye true patterne for a gentleman to imitate," Ismarito set down the subjects of his study, with short comments, viz., Divinity, Physic (*i.e.*, Medicine), Lawe, Art Military, Morality, Cosmography, Historiography, Armory (*i.e.*, Heraldry). Dinner followed, during which an incident arose of a "meane fellow, garded between two furies of the kitchen," brought in, *coram nobis*, for a petty theft in the scullery which gave occasion for the pity of the ladies, and some sharp sallies of wit between the Doctor and the thief, whose smartness so pleased the company that he was set free. Bargetto, being jealous of the favours shown to Ismarito, tried to make a quarrel, but Philoxenus turned this off by setting forward a new device; using palmistry he told the fortune of Maria Belochi, and every one fell to telling fortunes.

To begin the disputation of the day a sonnet was read containing the pleading of an aged lover with his fair mistress, which made all the company smile because it was written by Doctor Mossenigo, "who to revenge upon himselfe all the injurie, which he had done to the sexe of women, became inamoured of Katherina Trista, the waspishest damosel among the whole troupe of gentlewomen." All dissembled their knowledge of

the authorship, but Aloisa Vechio thought this couple, the old man and young woman of the sonnet, might be proved "worthye of a place in Platoe's Paradise." The Doctor took upon him to maintain this opinion, but Soranso, although saying he well deserved a fee, took up the other side, showing the strong disadvantages of such a marriage. Further defence and rebuttal by the Doctor and Bergetto were made with much spirit, but in the end Fabritio and Isabella with one accord gave sentence against Doctor Mossenigo.

The Queen, seeing in the cloth of arras, the figure of a Rhinoceros with his horn in a maiden's lap asked the meaning of it, on which Ismarito related the story of Circe. The disputation was long continued by several on the folly of a young man marrying an old woman, and the plagues to both, in which the Doctor again took the chief part. Aurelia, tired of it all, desired Fabritio to give judgment, which he did saying, "the evill of this inequality in mariage is bothe so auncient and so common in use, as there needeth no other iudgement then experience of our neighbours mischances."

At supper this night, Philoxenus asked an account of the benefit of the six days' disputation. Soranso replies that they must present him a bankrupt's reckoning "who the longer he occupieth, the worse he thriveth," and, shortly, tells the result of each day. Philoxenus compliments him on the ease of his relation, and comforts him. Soranso says we all know "the infirmities of mariage, but to fynde out the blessinges muste proceede from your sound directions." Thereupon Philoxenus promises to join their exercise to-morrow (New Year's Day).

The seventh day's exercise consisted of "a discourse of the excellencie of marriage with many sound lawes and directions, to continue love betweene the married," etc.

In honour of the New Year the company were all awakened by the sound of trumpets, drums, and flutes. Apparelling themselves, they "in theyre moste brave and sumptuous araye, by nine of the clock, made the great chamber resemble a fayre garden in Maye," dresses embroidered with pearl, gold, or bugle, and every gentleman wearing his mistress' favour. In the chief place of the room was hung up Janus, God of Time, in the likeness of a serpent with his tail in his mouth, "garnished with many sweete flowers, garlands, and devices." Philoxenus,

"though he hated superstitious ceremonies, yet he honored ancient laudable customes," presented every one of his guests with a rich new year's gift which explained some moral virtue. "This order the Italians use, the best giveth newe yeare's giftes to his inferior friendes, and in England cleane contrarie. The ten-naunt giveth his lord; the meane gentlemen to knightes; knightes to barrons; barrons to earles; earles to marquises; and dukes to their soveraigne prince." All went then to service in the chapel, and afterwards to dinner, where they discoursed of ceremonies and old rites in times past. After dinner Aurelia and Philoxenus, followed by the company, "entered into a moste delycate banquetinge house," the walls of which were painted with all manner of fruits, flowers, vines, arbors, etc., done to nature. A sonnet in praise of Hymen is sung, and Queen Aurelia, "as soveraigne of the civill pleasures," first beseeches her brother, and afterwards on his well-turned excuses commands him (although lord of the palace) "to give ceremonies a disgrace" and obey her will by blazoning "the blessings and excellency of this sacred institution." Philoxenus then shows how marriage was instituted before the fall of Adam, and confirmed by God's commandment—"you shall be two bodies in one flesh and no more"—and expatiates on the various happinesses of union, prizing quiet life and children above jewels, citing Cornelia and Olympia. The ring should be of gold to typify the highest love by the most precious metal. He quotes Propertius on the ring, and cites the laws of Lycurgus and of the Romans against the unmarried men. Philoxenus also cites many classic examples of "unseperable love betweene the married," and so ends his discourse. But Queen Aurelia begs him to further fulfil his promise and "give us good lawes to preserve love amonge the married"; he says she has set him a very hard task, for "the rose is hostesse as well for the butterflie as the bee: the sunne shineth both upon the good and bad"; but on further urging he consents. Then follows a set of "Householde Lawes, to keepe the maryed in love, peace and amytie: reported by Segnior Phyloxenus." It fills four pages, and is really a kind of summary of the best arguments and statements used during the six days, debate, laid down in the form of maxims. Thus, of points before marriage, it treats of equality in years and manners, consent in religion and free choice; of points after marriage, it treats of the

office of the husband and of the wife regarding the household, behavior of each, apparel, behavior under reproof by each other; behavior of old husband or old wife to young partner and *vice versa*. This finished, the Queen demands a story, whereon Philoxenus relates the tale of Phrigius and Pieria.

The company were pleased, and Lucia Bella was converted from her intention of becoming a vestal nun by the discourses of Philoxenus. The Queen gave suitable thanks, and Fabritio, taking up Philoxenus' disclaimer that the "bare words" only belonged to him, adjudged that "Such bare wordes deserve to be registered amonge the lyfe deeds of memorie."

All returned into the great chamber, where there was a stately show and mask to honor the ladies; about 9 o'clock at night, after the Queen and others had danced certain "solemne almaynes," in an enclosed place in the great hall appeared a mountain covered with pleasant fruit trees with vermin creeping among the rocks, and noble wild beasts lying by the streams which ran aslant the side of the mountain. In an arbor on the mountain sat Diana and the nine Muses; at the foot sat the monster Envy to hinder any going up this hill of Parnassus. The gentlemen of the company armed themselves to overcome him, the ladies tryed to charm him with music, and Queen Aurelia advanced towards him with a mirror, in which he, assailing her with a club, seeing his own image, fell backwards, and was killed by Philoxenus. Diana sent down a present (a shield with four devices) to the queen, and the Muses descended and crowned her with roses; then they danced an Almayne with the knights and gave them favors. "The silver pen and verses delivered by Uranie to Ismarito stand in the forefront of this booke." By this time it was midnight and all went to bed.

I have given much space to this most interesting and characteristic work, in which clearly appears the influence of many of the Italian books already cited, as well as an acquaintance with the *Heptaméron* of Marguerite of Navarre. It is the most elaborate original production of the kind in English literature, and is deserving of rescue from the oblivion into which it has fallen.⁵

⁵ Koepfel's concluding remarks on this work are worthy of quotation. He says, *op. cit.*, p. 39, "We see in the spirit of Whetstone, whom we can regard as the typical representative of a numerous class of Elizabethan writers, the confluence of different streams of culture. Evident is the influence of the

No writer of this period, however, shows more markedly the influence of Italy than Robert Greene, whose unhappy life is so well known from his own confessions to the readers of Elizabethan literature. He was born about 1560 at Norwich, and was educated at Cambridge. He visited Italy and on his return settled in London, where he devoted himself to literary work, dying in 1592.⁶ Greene's prose works—we are not now interested in his dramatic productions—deal largely with love, treated in the manner with which we are familiar from the Italian works discussed in Chapter III of the present book. Discussions on the nature of love, debates on questions connected with that passion, companies where stories are told to illustrate some phase of love—all these things are characteristic, as we have so frequently seen, of Italy in the sixteenth century. A brief survey of Greene's works from this standpoint will show what a deep impression Greene's Italian journey and subsequent Italian studies made upon him.

The scene of his earliest work, *Mamillia*, published in 1583, although written some years before, is laid in Padua. The book is concerned with the love affairs of the beautiful Mamillia,

Italian *Decameron* and the French *Heptaméron*, but Whetstone's work differs in an important manner from these two novels with frames. In them the picture in the frame predominates, in Whetstone the frame itself. He has, like Tilney, and very probably influenced by Tilney, taken as his model the *Courtier* of Castiglione, which he mentions among the books of his Philoxenus: 'for Government and Civil behaviours he read Plutarches *Morales*; Guevaraes *Dial of Princes*; the *Courtier* of Count Baldazar Castillio.' Whetstone brings his circle before us not in the open air as Boccaccio and the Queen of Navarre, but in a splendid palace, like Castiglione. From Castiglione, who offers moral-didactic conversations with brief illustrative stories, Whetstone learned the introduction of the extensive frame. Whetstone also took as the models of his individual characters the figures of the Italian company: as in Castiglione the wife of the master of the house, the Duchess of Urbino, so in Whetstone Aurelia, the sister of the host, is the centre of the circle. Doctor Mossenigo has inherited the woman-hating disposition of Signor Gasparo Palavicino, and the English author's ladies have been to school to the ready Signora Emilia Pia. As in Castiglione, at the end of the second and the beginning of the third book, so in Whetstone on the fourth day, the question whether woman is as perfect a being as man is fully discussed."

⁶ I have used for this examination of Greene *The Life and complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene, for the first time collected and edited* by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, 1881-86, in 15 volumes, printed for private circulation only (*The Huth Library*). The best sketch of Greene's life is to be found in J. Churton Collins, *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, Oxford, 1905. 2 vols. There is an excellent article by S. L. Wolff, "Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance," in *Englische Studien*, XXXVII (1907), pp. 321-374. Koepfel has in the work already cited, pp. 51-8, an analysis of Greene's works, from which, for some unaccountable reason, he omits *Greene's Farewell to Folly*. Koepfel, as usual, deals chiefly with the stories in the novels.

daughter of Gonzago, ruler of Padua, and her fickle admirer Pharicles, who deserts her for a relation named Publia. In spite of Pharicles's inconstancy Mamillia is true to him and finally rescues him from prison, and thus earns his gratitude and lasting love.

The most remarkable thing about this first work of Greene is the slavish imitation of Lyly which it displays. It does not contain any stories, nor is there a frame in which discussions and tales are inserted. The work is, however, full of the Italian treatment of love, and the hero, Pharicles, is compelled by lot to pronounce a disquisition on love.

Penelope's Web, of which there seems to be but one edition, that of 1587, consists of a frame in which are inserted three stories. Penelope, during the absence of her husband Ulysses, is beset by "the Péeres of Ithaca," who sue for her hand. She promises to give her answer when her web is finished, but takes care to unravel at night what she has woven during the day. To beguile the time she converses with her maids on the subject of love and marriage, and relates on three nights as many tales to illustrate her views. The arrival of Ulysses after the third night puts an end to the diversion. The maids discuss with Penelope the nature of love in general, and one maid, Ismena, explains the attributes of Cupid as follows: "paynting Cupid blynd, as noting the selfe conceipt in choyce: like a little boye, as figuring small government, not leveled by the proportion of reason: winged as absolutely pourtraying inconstant and fickle passions of Lovers, whose thoughts are variable, whose joyes are momentarie, like to the shadowes which Juno presented to the Giants, bringing forth like the Ceader trees, fayre leaves but no frutes, and as the Date having soft ryndes, but within stones as hard as steele."⁷ There is not time now to analyze this in-

⁷ For similar discussions as to why Love is depicted as blind, etc., see Chapter VI, note 22, and Chapter VIII, note 16; the same question is asked again in *Greene's Farewell to Folly*. To all the previous references to this subject may be added a Latin poem found in a manuscript of the thirteenth century; see *Carmina Burana. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Bd. XVI, Stuttgart, 1847, p. 192.

Est Amor alatus puer et levis, est pharetratus.
Ala recessurum demonstrat, tela cruentum,
Etas amentem probat et ratione carentem,
Vulnificus pharetrâ signatur, "mobilis" alâ.
Nudus formatur, quia nil est quo teneatur.
Mittit "pentagonas" nervo stridente sagittas,
Quod sunt quinque modi quibus associamur amori,
Visus, colloquium, tactus compar labiorum.

teresting work more fully, but it is a typical treatise on Platonic love such as we have seen in a former chapter, enlivened with stories in the usual fashion.

In the same year, 1587, Greene published a curious imitation of Castiglione's *Courtier* under the title *Euphues his censure to Philautus. Wherein is presented a philosophicall combat betweene Hector and Achylles, discovering in foure discourses, interlaced with diverse delightfull Tragedies, the virtues necessary to be incident in every gentleman: had in question at the siege of Troy betwixt sondry Grecian and Trojan Lords: especially debated to discover the perfection of a souldier.* As the title indicates, Greene's work is a continuation of Lyly's more famous book, which ends with the marriage of Philautus and the retirement of Euphues to the mountain of Silixedra, where he broods over his misfortunes. In the dedication to Lord Essex, the author gives the imaginary history of his work, declaring that some part of Euphues' "counsell," written from Silixedra to Philautus, who had been made commander-in-chief of some fictitious army, had accidentally fallen into his hands. "In these counsels Euphues, following the footsteps of Tullies orator, Platoes common wealth, and Baldessars courtier, aymeth at the exquisite portraiture of a perfect martialist."

During a brief truce, the Trojan ladies, Andromache, Polixena, and others, visit the Grecian camp and are courteously received by Achilles and Ulysses. After supper, the venerable Nestor proposes as a subject for discussion the qualities which an ideal general should possess to live happily and die honored. The usual discussion then follows. On the next day, the Greek ladies, accompanied by Achilles, Nestor, and the other Grecian heroes, visit Troy, and are received with hospitality by old Priam in his palace. After dinner the company resume the discussion of the question of the day before. The only departure from the idea of the original consists in the introduction of illustrative stories, here termed "tragedies," of which four are related by Ulysses, Helenus, Hector, and Achilles.

To 1597 also, apparently, belongs *Morando: The Tritameron of Love: The first and second part. Wherein certaine pleasant conceites, uttered by divers worthie personages, are perfectly discoursed, and three doubtfull questions of Love, most pithely and pleasantly discussed: shewing to the wife how to use Love, and to the fond, how to eschew Lust: and yeelding to all both pleasure and profit.*

This work differs from those previously examined in that it does not contain any illustrative stories, but is only a discussion of various questions relating to love. The frame is as follows. A knight of Bononia named Bonfadio is assassinated, leaving a widow Panthia who deeply deplores his death and celebrates a solemn funeral, erecting a sumptuous sepulchre. After a time of mourning she is invited by Signior Morando, an old friend of her husband's, to visit him at "a graunge house of his, seven miles distant from Bononia, whither also divers gentlemen were bidden, thinking this the fittest meanes to drive her from her sorrowfull dumps." Panthia accompanied by her three daughters came at the day appointed to Morando's house, where she found a number of gentlemen, among them Signior Peratio, Messier Aretyno, and Signior don Sylvestro. After dinner the company happened to see a picture representing the Rape of Europa, and the conversation naturally fell on love; and after some discussion Morando asked the opinions of the company "whether this our countrie proberbe be true or no, which is commonlie spoken: Amor fa molto, ma argento fa tutto: Love doth much, but money doth all. In men quoth, Panthia, and that we will prove. In women, quoth, Peratio, and that I shall defend." Panthia did not think it proper for a person in mourning to debate such a question as this, and asked her daughter Lacena to take her place.

The usual contest of wits ensues, and finally Morando is called on to decide the controversy, which he does in these words: "This therefore is my censure, that as Phillip of Macedon saide there was no citie so surely defenced, whereinto an asse laden with gold might not enter: so the temple of Vesta is never so well shut, but a key of gold will speedelie unlose the locke."

Lacena's wit had deeply touched Sylvestro and awakened his love; so the next day he rose early and betook himself to the garden to muse "on the painefull passions which so diversely perplexed him"; and there the rest of the company found him later. Peratio taunts Sylvestro with his state, and the two gentlemen grow so warm that their host is obliged to "part them with this parle. . . . Had not Sylvestro and Peratio fallen out about love, we had never brought it in question whether it be good to love or no." Sostrata, another daughter of Panthia's, "who from her birth was vowed unto Vesta," offered with her

mother's leave to prove "that the worst course of life is to love." Silvestro naturally defended the contrary opinion. At the conclusion of the debate Morando calls on Panthia to render judgment, which she does in these words: "Sir (quoth she) if I should passe against Silvestro, then all might think I either never loved my husband, or els that I spooke of affection, therfore that I be not accused of the one, nor condemned of the other, this is my opinion: that Silvestro speaking of those loyall lovers, which fixe their fancie and place their affection first upon the vertue of the mind, and then upon the beautie of the bodie, defendeth the right in saying that to love is a vertue, and that my daughter Lacena (in touching the excessive love, nay rather lust of those fond and fantastickall lovers, who only repect the complexion of the bodie, and not the perfection of the mind, having their fancie so fickle, as they are fired with every new face, respecting pleasure more than profit, and yet refusing no paines to satisfie their fleshly desires) saith well that such love is a vice."

Aretino marvels that Lacena should be "so far out of the square, sith that by natural constitution women are more subject unto love then men." This statement is contradicted by Panthia, and is made the subject of the third day's debate. Meanwhile the company dined and spent the rest of the day in hunting.

The company rose early on the following day and went into the garden to take the fresh and fragrant air while awaiting the appearance of their host. When Morando came he bade them all good day and enjoined silence to hear the discussion of the question already proposed, which Aretino and Panthia's third daughter Fioretta were to debate, Aretino naturally supporting the affirmative and Fioretta the negative side. After a briefer discussion than usual Panthia decided "that men or women are no more or lesse subject unto love, respecting their naturall constitution, but by the secrete influence of a certaine supernaturall constellation."

The work ends with these words: "The discourse thus ended, and the sentence set downe, Morando and his guesstes went to dinner, which being ended as well with pithie devises as pleasant dainties, Panthia constrained by certaine urgent affaires, yeelding Morando great thanks for his courteous entertainment,

went home to Bononia, accompanied with the three gentlemen: who likewise leaving Morando in his dumps for the losse of such good companions, departed, and for a time stayed with Panthia at Bononia: where what successe Silvestro had in his love I knowe not: but if I learne, looke for newes."

This "newes" is vouchsafed the reader in the Second Part, which is much less interesting, dealing almost wholly with the course of Silvestro and Lacena's love affairs. No questions are debated, although there is a discussion between the two lovers on the nature of love, and a long discourse on Fortune by Peratio, and one on Friendship by Silvestro. The work concludes with the happy marriage of the two lovers.

Four years later, in 1591, Greene published the last of his Love-pamphlets with the significant title *Greene's Farewell to Folly: sent to Courtiers and Schollers as a president to warne them from the vaine delights that drawes youth on to repentance*, and with the motto "Sero sed serio." In this work Greene returns to his earlier plan, and presents a frame in which are set three tales. The frame is as follows:

Ieronimo Farneze, a citizen of Florence, at a time when "the state of Italie was pestered with the mutinous factions of the Guelphes and Ghibellines," to avoid all suspicion "that might ensue by his residence in so troublesome a citie, setting his household affaires in some good order, accompanied with his wife, three daughters, and foure young gentlemen, allied unto him by affinitie, hee departed from Florence, seated himselfe in a farme of his about sixe miles distant from Vienna." The company on their arrival found "a graunge place by scituation melancholie, as seated in the midst of a thicket," and were naturally somewhat discontented. Their host perceiving this made a long address concluding with: "and we Gentlemen, that have lived pleasantlie at Florence wearing out our time with vanitie, may now refine our senses dulled with the tast of sundrie vaine objects, and for a weeke or two betake our selves to this solitarie place, wherein I thinke to finde no other pleasure but a sweete meditation and friendly conference of the vaine suppose of such as thinke none Philosophers but Epicures, and none religious but Atheists. Thus Gentlemen, I appoint your penance, and therefore shew me your opinion by your countenance." Peratio answered for the rest that they were content, and entering the

house they went to dinner. After dinner, the conversation turned on various follies, and Signior Farneze proposed "to spende this afternoone in discoursing of the fondnesse of such of our cuntrymen, as overgrowne with self love drownes themselves in that follie which all the world gives unto us as due: I meane pride, which Signior Peratio for that I knowe you have alwaies to have borne the profession of a scholler, I commit unto your charge."

Peratio obeys the request of his host and pronounces a discourse on Pride, which ends, as usual, in a discussion on the part of the others. Peratio finally declares: "but pride as the predominant qualitie in everie sexe, degree and age challengeth in everie ones mind some special and particular prerogative. To confirme which, Gentlemen, if you will give me leave, I will rehearse you a pleasaunt historie." Then follows Peratio's tale about Vadislaus, King of Buda, and the fair Maesia.

At the conclusion of Peratio's story the host commanded "one of his men to cover for supper," after which one of the gentlemen, Cosimo, asks Benedetto why love is painted blind, "and covered with a vail, when as we see that in nothing there is a deeper insight than in love." The conversation which follows leads the host to say: "I am gladde that we are entered into the discourse of love, for I will injoyne this nights work to bee about the discoverie of the verie substance of lust, which drowned in voluptuous pleasures, haleth on the minde to the foule deformed sinne of lecherie, a fault that we Italians greatly offend in, and yet the custome of sinne hath so taken awaie the feeling of the offence, that wee shame not oft times to glorie in the fault." The discourse is committed to Cosimo, who, in confirmation thereof, later relates the tale of Ninus and Semyramis.

The following morning the gentlemen found their host with his wife and four daughters walking in the garden, and the talk fell on temperance in diet. "The host proposed that they should spend the forenoon "in discoursing the follie of superfluitie or gluttonie: which Bernardino I appoint unto your charge, as one which we all knowe to have beene an enemy to such disordered bankets." After the discourse Bernardino tells a brief tale of Don Antonio and Rustico. When the tale was ended, the Countess said: "Wee have so long discoursed of gluttonie, that our simple cheere having so good a sauce as hunger, will prove verie

good delicates, therefore Gentlemen, seeing wee must either make our cooke cholerike, or else leave our present parle, let us at this time not disturbe his patience, but hie us in to dinner: and repast being taken, willingly wee will continue our discourse. Then Seignior Farneze and the rest having their stomackes armed to such a combat, willingly obeied, and so for this time we will leave them."

It is evident from the above analyses of Greene's Love-pamphlets that he made diligent use of Italian materials. Koepfel has sought with great care the sources of the tales which Greene has inserted in his novels, as well as references to Italian influences in general, and has recognised the great difficulty of discovering these sources owing to the free use made by Greene of his originals. He has imitated the *Courtier* of Castiglione in his *Euphues his Censure to Philautus*, and in *Penelope's Web*, *The Tritameron of Love*, and *Farewell to Folly* we find a more general imitation of the *Decameron*, the *Heptaméron*, and the multitude of Italian dialogues on Love which we have already examined. When one who is familiar with this branch of Italian literature reads Greene he seems to be perusing a translation from the Italian, but when he seeks the original he can discover no single work that Greene has used. Like the other Elizabethan writer he has so fully assimilated his material that his works have an original worth.

I have already (Chapter II, p. 29, and note 23) stated that Lyly's *Euphues* may also be included in the list of Elizabethan works modeled on the Italian. This book has been the subject of much discussion from the standpoint of its extraordinary style, which had such a profound influence on contemporary writers, but no one, to my knowledge, has studied it in respect to its Italian sources. The work is too well-known to need an extensive analysis here.⁸ It consists of two parts, the first of

⁸ I have used Arber's edition of Lyly in *English Reprints*, London, 1869. Lyly was born in 1553 or 1554, and died in 1606. He was educated at Oxford and there is no evidence that he ever visited Italy. There is an excellent account of Lyly by Sidney Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The best account of Lyly and his works is now to be found in *The Complete Works of John Lyly* . . . By R. Warwick Bond. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1902, 3 vols. The first volume contains a life of Lyly, pp. 1-82; *Euphues*, the text and bibliography, pp. 83-118; *Euphues and Euphuism*, pp. 119-175, an admirable essay, but, like all previous works, treating Lyly's Italian sources in a very inadequate fashion. The same is also true of the most recent edition of *Euphues* by M. W. Croll and H. Clemons, London and New York, 1916, which is entirely silent on the subject of Italian influences.

which contains the story proper, a treatise on education, and diverse letters written by Euphues to his friends. In the course of the story Philautus takes his friend Euphues, a young gentleman of Athens then sojourning at Naples, to a supper at the house of Don Ferardo, with whose daughter, Lucilla, Philautus is in love.

At first sight of Lucilla Euphues "was so kindled with desire, that almost he was like to burn to coales. Supper beeing ended, the order was in Naples, that the Gentlewomen would desire to heare some discourse, either concerning love, or learning: And although Philautus was requested, yet he posted it over to Euphues, whome he knewe most fit for that purpose: Euphues beeing thus tyed to the stake by their importunate intreatie, began as followeth . . . It hath bene a question often disputed, but never determined, whether the qualities of the minde, or the composition of the man, cause women most to lyke, or whether beautie or wit move men most to love." This question is discussed by Euphues for a time until he is overcome by a sudden indisposition caused by his growing love for Lucilla. The interrupted debate is, however, renewed on a later occasion. Lucilla jilts her first lover Philautus for Euphues, and afterwards Euphues for Curio, whereupon the first part ends so far as the story is concerned.

In the second part, *Euphues and his England*, the two friends, who have become reconciled after Lucilla's treachery, sail for England, and on the way Euphues relates the tale of Cassander the hermit and Callimachus. The voyage lasted eight weeks, at the end of which time the ship landed at Dover and the travellers proceeded to Canterbury; after leaving Canterbury they encountered an old man tending bees in a garden. The old man, whose name is Fidus, invites the friends to stay the night with him and after supper relates his own story. In the course of it a company meets in a garden "under a sweete Arbour of Eglentine," and a story is told of a "Magnifico in Sienna," whom God blessed with three daughters, but by three wives, and of three sundry qualities: "the eldest was very fayre, but a very foole: the second mervailous wittie, but yet mervailous wanton: the third as vertuous as any living, but more deformed then any that ever lived." After a detailed description of the three, the story concludes with the words: "Now Gentlemen,

I have propounded my reasons, for every one I must now aske you the question. If it were your chaunce to travaile to Sienna, and to see as much there as I have tolde you here, whether would you chuse for your wife the faire foole, the witty wanton, or the crooked Saint?" Later in his history Fidus says: "My Father, very desirous to heare questions asked, willed me after dinner, to use some demaund, which after grace I did in this sorte." He tells of a lady in Spain who had three suitors: the one excelled in all gifts of the body, the other had nothing to commend him but a quick wit, and the third was a gentleman of great possessions, large revenues, full of money, but neither the wisest that ever enjoyed so much, nor the properest that ever desired so much. Lady Issida is then called on "to determine this Spanish bargaine, of if you please, we wil make it an English controversie: supposing you to be the Lady, and three such Gentlemen to come unto you a wooing. In faith who should be the speeder?"

When Fidus has finished his history, the two friends depart for London, where they quarrel and Philautus devotes himself to the fascinating Lady Camilla. After a long interchange of letters, Euphues and Philautus are reconciled, and discourse at length on love: "As they were thus communing there came from the Ladie Flavia a Gentleman who invited them both that night to supper, which they with humble thanks given promised to doe so, and till supper time I leave them debating their question."

Lady Flavia's supper-party is a faint reflection of the more elaborate one described by Guazzo. The friends found at Lady Flavia's the worthy gentleman Surius, Camilla, Mistress Francis, with many other gentlemen and gentlewomen. The supper is dismissed in a few words: "It now grew toward Supper time, when the table being covered, and the meate served in, Ladye Flavia placed Surius over against Camilla, and Philautus next Mistres Frauncis, she tooke Euphues and the rest, and placed them in such order as she thought best. What cheere they had I know not, what talke they used, I heard not: but Supper being ended, they sate still, the Lady Flavia speaking as followeth. Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, these Lenten Evenings be long, and a shame it were to goe to bedde: colde they are, and therefore follye to walke abroad: to play at Cardes is common, at

Chestes tedious, at Dice unseemely, with Christmasse games, untimely. In my opinion therefore, to passe awaye these long nights, I would have some pastime that might be pleasaunt, but not unprofitable, rare, but not without reasoning: so shall we all accompt the Evening well spent, be it never so long, which otherwise would be tedious, were it never so short. Surlius the best in the companie, and therefore best worthy to aunswere, and the wisest, and therefore best able, replied in this manner.

"Good Madame, you have prevented my request with your owne, for as the case now standeth, there can be nothing more agreeable to my humour, or these Gentlewomens desires, to use some discourse, as well to renewe olde traditions, which have bene heertofore used, as to encrease friendship, which hath bene by the meanes of certeine odde persons defaced. Every one gave his consent with Surlius, yeelding the choyce of that nights pastime, to the discretion of the Ladie Flavia who thus proposed hir minde.

"Your talke Surlius shall be to dispute wyth Camilla, and choose your owne argumente, Philautus shall argue with mistresse Frauncis, Martius wyth my selfe. And all having finished their discourses, Euphues shall be as judge, who hath done best, and whatsoever he shall allot eyther for reward to the worthiest, or for penance to the worst, shall be presently accomplished. This liked them all exceedingly."

Surlius propounds his question to Camilla as follows: "If Camilla one wounded with your beautie (for under that name I comprehend all other vertues) should sue to open his affection, serve to trie it, and drive you to so narrow a point, that you were never so incredulous, he should prove it, yea so farre to be from suspition of deceite, that you would confesse he were cleare from distrust, what aunswere woulde you make, if you gave your consent, or what excuse if you deny hys curtesie?"

After a long discussion, Lady Flavia commands them to cease and give others an opportunity to speak, and thereupon proposes the following question to Martius, her opponent: "I woulde know thy minde whether it be convenient for women to haunt such places where Gentlemen are, or for men to have accesse to gentlewomen, which me thinketh in reason cannot be tollerable, knowing that there is nothing more pernicious to either then love, and that love breedeth by nothing sooner then looks.

They that feare water will come neare no wells, they that stande in dreade of burning flye from the fire: and ought not they that woulde not be entangled with desire to refraine company? If love have ye panges which the passionate set downe, why do they not abstaine from the cause? if it be pleasant why doe they dispraise it?"

Philautus' question to Frauncis is "whether in love be more required, secrecie, or constancy."

Finally Euphues pronounces judgment in the three questions in this wise: "Touching Surius his question whether love come from the man or the woman, it is manifest that it beginneth in both, els can it not ende in both. To the Lady Flavias demaunde concerning companie, it is requisite they shoulde meete, and though they be hindered by divers meanes, yet is it impossible but that they will meete. Philautus must thus thinke, that constancie without secrecie availeth little, and secrecie without constancie profiteth lesse."

Each of the debaters answered Euphues briefly and then the company broke up.

With the rest of the work, 'containing a long description of England, and an account of Euphues' withdrawal to the Mount of Silixsedra in despair at his failure to win Camilla's love, we have now nothing to do. Enough has been said to show the essentially Italian character of this famous work.

We have already seen in earlier chapters that Castiglione's *Courtier* and Romei's *Discorsi* were translated into English during the period with which we are now dealing. While there were no complete translations of Bandello and Parabosco, separate stories were found in the Elizabethan collections.⁹ Of the etiquette books Casa's *Galateo* and Guazzo's *Civil Conversazione* were put into English, as we have seen in Chapter VII. Of the Italian treatises on love one at least, Alberti's *Ecatomfila*, was translated in 1598.¹⁰ Many Italian authors were of course read even if not translated. Gabriel Harvey (about 1545-1630) in his *Letter-Book* mentions Bibbiena, Boccaccio, Casa, Castiglione, Guazzo, Guicciardini, Jovio, Machiavelli, Petrarch, Pietro Aretino, and Strozzi.¹¹ The reference to *Guatzoes newe*

⁹ See Koeppl and Miss Scott *passim*.

¹⁰ See Chapter III, p. 103.

¹¹ Gabriel Harvey was born about 1545 and died in 1630. He is now known for his friendship with Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser, and for his

Discourses of curteous behaviour shows that this author must have been known in England as early as 1579.¹² Other references to Guazzo and Italian authors studied in England may be found in Florio's *Vocabolario Italiano ed Inglese*, cited by Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 351.

Turning now to the particular classes of social influence in which we are especially interested, I shall pass briefly in review Games, Fortune-Telling Books, and Conversation, including "Questions."

Although it is probable that games were played in England at an early date and that the French ones were carried to England at the time of the Conquest, I have been unable to find any reference to the early games. So far as I can learn the Italian collections were not translated, although they might have been known through the French translation of Ringhieri and Sorel's *Récréations galantes*.^{12a}

bitter quarrels with Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe. His works are printed in the *Huth Library*, and his curious *Letter-Book* by the *Camden Society* in 1884. The principal references to Italian authors are to be found on pp. 78-79, although there are many other allusions scattered through the work. Harvey is a staunch defender of the Classics against the rage for Italian authors. He asks in a letter to Spenser (*Works edited by Grosart*, Vol. I, p. 69) what the news is at Cambridge, and answers the question: "Tully and Demosthenes nothing so much studyed, as they were wonte. . . . Matchiavell a great man: Castilio of no small reputation: Petrarch and Boccace in every mans mouth: Galateo and Guazzo never so happy: over many acquainted with Unico Aretino: The French and Italian when so highly regarded of Schollers? The Latine and Greeke, when so lightly?" Harvey's satire (Vol. I, p. 84), "Speculum Tuscanismi," begins thus:

Since Galateo came in, and Tuscanisme can usurpe,
Vanie above all: Villanie next her, Statelynes Emprise.

¹² We have already seen in Chapter VII, note 61, that Guazzo was translated in 1586.

^{12a} There are, however, occasional references to games in the literature of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In Thomas Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, 1596 (*The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*, Hunterian Club, 1883, Vol. IV, p. 47), it is said of "Fornication," one of the "Sevin Devills Incarnat,"—a personification of the dissolute gallant: "At Riddles he is good; at Purposes better; but at Tales he hath no equall, for Bandello is more perfit with him than his Paternoster."

For "Purposes," see this present work, Chapter VI, note 2, Chapter XII, p. 585. I have not considered at any length the use of Riddles as a social diversion; see, however, Chapter VI, notes 30, 31, 32. There is an English collection of riddles of the eighteenth century which I have not been able to see. It is mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography* under Burton, Robert or Richard: *Winter Evening Entertainments, containing: I, Ten pleasant and delightful Relations, II, Fifty ingenious Riddles*. 6th edition, 1757. Although this work was evidently very popular, I have been unable to find a copy in the British Museum or the Bodleian Library, and it is not in the Huth Catalogue.

There are two games not only mentioned but actually played in detail in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*.¹³ They both occur in the fourth act, and the first one is the Game of Substantive and Adjective. The company select adjectives which each tells; then some one mentions a substantive, and each player must explain the fitness of his adjective to go with that substantive. The second game is called "Crab," for a reason to be stated presently. Another name is "A thing done, and who did it," etc. One of the company imagines a thing done; the others, who did it, with what it was done, where it was done, when it was done, for what cause it was done, what followed upon the doing of it, and who would have done it better. The last begins, hence the name "Crab," because it goes backward. The thing done is not mentioned until all the players have declared who did it, with what it was done, etc. The reader can easily see what an admirable opportunity the game offered for equivocal statements, for at last the thing done is rehearsed in connection with the other declarations. This is the game of Consequences, still played with delight in modern polite society.

Jonson's play was first acted in 1600, and from this time the influence of Italian Games and other modes of social diversion made itself felt in England, probably through the medium of the French.

The English forms of these diversions are preserved in a scarce book by Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton.¹⁴ Ed-

In Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621 (Vol. II, p. 93, ed. Shilleto, 1893), we read: "The ordinary recreations which we have in Winter, and in most solitary times busy our minds with, are Cards, Tables and Dice, Shovel-board, Chess-play, the Philosopher's game, Small trunks, shuttle-cock, billiards, musick, masks, singing, dancing, Yulegames, frolicks, jests, riddles, catches, purposes, questions and commands, merry tales of Errant Knights, Queens, Lovers, Lads, Ladies, Giants, Dwarfs, Thieves, Cheaters, Witches, Fairies, Goblins, Friars, etc., such as the old woman told of Psyche in Apuleius, Boccaccio Novels, and the rest quarum auditione pueri delectantur, senes narratione, which some delight to hear, some to tell, all are well pleased with."

¹³ They may be found in the edition of Jonson published in the *Mermaid Series*, London, 1894, Vol. II, pp. 234, 236. I do not know of any parallels to the two games in *Cynthia's Revels*. A better edition of *Cynthia's Revels* may be found in *The Works of Ben Jonson*. Edited by Lt. Col. Francis Cunningham. London (1871), 3 vols. None of the editors explain the games in question or have any idea of their source. The same is true also of the latest and most elaborate edition by A. C. Judson in *Yale Studies in English*, XLV, 1912.

¹⁴ For Edward and John Phillips, see William Godwin, *Lives of Edward and John Philips, nephews and pupils of Milton*, London, 1815, and an excellent article by Sidney Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

ward was born in London in 1630 and died probably in 1696. He was carefully educated by his uncle and spent a short time at Oxford. He produced a number of works in the fields of lexicography and history, his only frivolous book being the one now to be described. The title page is as follows: *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence, or, the Arts of Wooing and Complementing; As they are manag'd in the Spring Garden, Hide Park, the New Exchange, and other eminent places. A Work, in which are drawn to the Life, the Deportments of the most accomplisht Persons, the mode of their Courtly Entertainments, Treatments of their Ladies at Balls, their accustom'd Sports, Drolles and Fancies, the Witchcrafts of their perswasive Language, in their Approaches, or other more Secret Dispatches. To compleat the young Practioners of Love and Courtship, these following conducing Helps are chiefly insisted on. Addresses, and set Forms of Expressions for imitation; Poems, pleasant Songs, Letters, Proverbs, Riddles, Jeasts, Posies, Devices, A la mode Pastimes, A Dictionary for the making of Rhimes, Four hundred and fifty delightful Questions, with their severall Answers. As also Epithets and flourishing Similitudes, Alphabetically collected and so properly applied to their severall Subjects, that they may be rendered admirably useful on the sudden occasions of Discourse or Writing. Together, with a new invented Art of Logick, so plain and easie by way of Questions and Answers, that the meanest capacity may in a short time attain to a perfection in the wayes of Arguing and Disputing.* London. Printed for N. Brooks, at the Angel in Cornhill, 1658.

The Preface to the Youthful Gentry is signed "Yours, ever to be commanded, E. P." The Epistle Dedicatory runs "To those Cruel Fair ones, that triumph over the distresses of their loyal Lovers, the Author wisheth more Clemency, and to their afflicted Servants, more magnanimity and Roman Fortitude, Bright Stars of Beauty."

The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence; or the Arts of Wooing and Complementing, etc., occupy pp. 1-288. Then follows, with a new pagination: *Generosi Ludentes. A Description of those Joviall al-a-mode sports and games, that are most celebrated by Persons of Honor*, pp. 1-70.

The following extracts will give some idea of the First Part. Pp. 1-9. "The Mode of Hide Park." A conversation in Hide Park, "In the Ring," p. 6, "The next variety is that of the

Horse Races, the general Terms of which Art, are expresst in the following Dialogues." Pp. 9 *et seq.*, "The Mode of Balls." P. 13, "After all this, to give a little more rest to the Ladies weary limbs, they all take their seats, and a motion is made to go to Questions and Commands, which is by all unanimously consented to."

The *Questions and Commands* occupy pp. 13-15. Here are some of them. "It was demanded, Whether of the two wrought the most excusable Love-cure upon themselves, Hero that drown'd her self, or Phillis that hang'd her self? It was answered, Phillis that hang'd her self, because it may be the nature of some women to love hanging so well, that they had rather hang by the neck than not hang at all." The Question was put, "Whether a wife, beautifull, or wealthy woman were to be chosen? The Reply was drawn from the comparison of a Wallnut: For they said, Beauty was like the rinde, presently peel'd off: that a womans Wit was quickly crakt: and that therefore Wealth, which was like the kernel, and brought substance along with it, was to be preferred as best of all."

The *Commands*, pp. 14-15, are mostly too obscene to be given; the only decent one is: "Another was commanded to tell, who she loved best in that room." The Gentlemen's Commands are without exception obscene.

Then follow a large number of model dialogues on the most varied subjects, such as: "An address to a company of ladies; To enter into Discourse with a Lady being in Company; An address to make known an Affection for his Mistress; Addresses of Salutation; The Departure; The Return; The Discourse of a Gentleman bringing his friend into Company; A Visit; To request a Courtesie; To give thanks for a Courtesie received; To invite a Friend to Dinner; Another form of Invitation; Before Dinner; After Dinner; To take leave of his Friends Wife; To take leave of a Lady with whom you are familiar; A Private Intercourse between the Trunk-breech'd Page and the waiting Gentle-woman in her Ladies Chamber." There is a reference in this obscene dialogue to a game "Can play at hoop all hid."

A collection of lyrical poems fills pp. 55-109, and is followed by forms for letters, "Posies for Rings," proverbs with brief remarks and comments, and, pp. 165-184, "Natural, Amorous, Moral, Experimental, Paradoxical, Enigmatical, Jestings, and

Jovial Questions, with their several Answers and Solutions." Here are some familiar ones: "Why do the Poets bestow Arrows on Cupid? To signify how desperately love wounds. Why is Cupid painted a Childe? To signifie the youthfulness that should attend a lover, as also, that for the toy and knack of his light affections, he will love the accomplishment of his weightiest fortunes. Why is love painted naked? To shew that all the acts and deeds of love ought to be open, such as are free from treachery or dissimulation. Whether is the man or woman more constant in love? The man, as he is of a more firm body and spirit. Why is Cupid pictured blinde? Because he uses in the dark to play at Blind-man-buff."

Several pages, 185-190, are devoted to "Wit and Language. Set Forms of Expression inserted for imitation." Here are a few examples: "A kiss is but a minute's joy; Your words are Delphian oracles; Your wit hath too much edge; You are a flame of beauty; You are the star I reach at; I will unrip my very bosom to you; You wrap me up in wonder."

Of a somewhat similar character are the "Select Sentences" which come after: "Nothing is hard to them that dare to die; When clouds appear, wise men put on their cloaks; The worst deeds are made good with good success, etc."

Considerable space is devoted to "A Dictionary for the more expeditious finding out of any Rime, being useful for that pleasing Pastime called Crambo."

The First Part concludes, pp. 222-228, with "The Art of Reason in the Art of Logick. Rendered so plain and easie by Questions and Answers, that the meanest Capacity may in a short time attain to the perfect wayes of Arguing or Disputing." This is an art of Logic in the form of questions and answers, and seems to be a perfectly serious work.

The Second Part, the title of which has been given above, begins with "A briefe Description of the sport of Crosse Purposes. Every one round the Company are to whisper their Questions about, which are to be conceal'd, till every Question is gone round, and afterwards every man is to tell aloud what Question he was askt, and what answer was given him to his Question; it may be in more, but I will onely for brevity give you a plain example in three Persons." Unfortunately the example can not be quoted here.¹⁵

¹⁵ A similar game is described in Bargagli, p. 22, "Giuoco del Proposito."

Next comes "The Description of the Sport called the Lovers Alphabet."¹⁶ First it must be said, what good quality a Mistress is to be loved for; Secondly, what bad qualities she is to be hated for; Thirdly, her name; Fourthly, what part about her you love best; Fifthly, what signe you invited her to; Sixthly, what dish of meat you treated her with. This may be done successively by all the Company throughout the Alphabet. I will only instance a plain example in the letter A. First, I love my Love with an A, because she is Amiable. Secondly, I hate her with an A, because she is Apish. Thirdly, her name is Alcinda. Fourthly, the best part about her is her Arme. Fifthly, I invited her to the signe of the Artichoak. Sixthly I gave her a dish of Asparagus."

The sport of Questions and Commands has been described above, and the sport of "Crambo" is contained in the Dictionary of Rhymes.

The Description of the sport of the Bird in a Tree:¹⁷ "First, the name of the Tree; Secondly, the name of the Bird; Thirdly, what the Bird said, all of which must begin with the same letter; as for example, though it may be done throughout the whole Alphabet, I will only give an instance in P. Going through an Orchard, I spied a Peacock which sat upon a Plum-Tree, and cryed Peeter, Plucket, Plucket."

The Description of the sport of Gliphing: "It chiefly consists in the quick pronouncing of a sentence hard to be uttered without a wanton or some other unlucky kind of merry mistake, it runs chiefly with one letter of the Alphabet; as for example, the Cock sat at the barn door picking, Poppy Cock, Pick Poppy, etc., the severall gamsters posting through the Letters of the Alphabet by turnes, as fast as they can speak, that the mistakes may the sooner provoke laughter."¹⁸

We have seen that Ben Jonson inserted two games in his play of *Cynthia's Revels*; both of them are given also by Phillips in full without any acknowledgment of the debt to Jonson.

¹⁶ This well known game is in Sorel, p. 90, so far as the alphabetical enumeration of the loved one's qualities is concerned. Some of the other features of the game, as, desirable and undesirable qualities, and, part loved best, are also found in Bargagli, pp. 174, 62.

¹⁷ A similar game is found in Ascanio de Mori's *Giucoco Piacevole*; see Chapter VI, p. 317.

¹⁸ This familiar diversion is mentioned in Bargagli, p. 37, "Giucoco del Bisticcio."

The above are all the games in the work we are examining. The remainder of the book is partly taken up with "The Triall of Wits, a new invented Alphabet of Epithets, properly applyed to their severall subjects, that they may be rendered no less usefull on the suddain occasions of discourse, or writing, then delightfully pleasant in the witty sport commonly named Substantives and Adjectives." An example or two will suffice. "Aspect,—Smiling, favourable, sad, Tragicall, sterne, grim, gracious, generous, winning. Allurements,—Sweet, false, flattering, lovely, deceitfull, attractive, wooing, Sirenian, inveighing, Cozening, Treacherous," and so on throughout the whole alphabet.

The final article in the book, pp. 49-70, is "A Garden of Tulips, or the Pleasant Prospect. An Alphabetical Collection, beautified with flourishing Similitudes and Comparisons, for the better imitation, admirably applied to their several Subjects." Here are a few of these similitudes relating to Anger. "Anger is blood poured, and perplexed into a froth. Reason to rage is like bands to a sore, which often stroking, makes the anguish more. Anger is like a deadly weapon: we hear his voice before it doeth execution, and then we arm. So looks the chafed Lion on the daring Hunts-man that hath galled him, then makes him nothing. As a savage Bore (that hunted long assail'd and set upon) with his onely eyes swimming in fire, keeps off his braying hounds, though sunk himself, yet holds his anger up, and shows it forth in foam; makes firm his stand of battalious bristles, feeds his fate to die, and whets his tusks with wrathful majesty; So fares a furious Anger. Anger is like a full hot horse, who being allowed his way, his self mettall tires him." Then follows Ambition, treated in the same fashion.

Edward Phillips's work enjoyed a certain success, a third edition being printed in 1685, with a few additions in the section devoted to lyrical poems.

The Huth Catalogue says "there is a reissue of this work, under the title *The Beau's Academy*." This work I have been unable to find and I am inclined to believe that the writer of this note had in mind *The Academy of Complements*, a work which enjoyed the greatest favor and of which there are many editions. I am convinced that Edward Phillips not only obtained the idea of his own book from this work, but that *The Mysteries of Love*

and Eloquence is nothing but a *rifacimento* of *The Academy of Complements*. The full title of the latter work is: *The Academy of Complements. Wherein Ladyes, Gentlewomen, Schollers, and Strangers may accommodate their Courtly Practice with most curious Ceremonies, Complementall, Amorous, High expressions, and formes of speaking, or writing, A work perused and most exactly perfected by the Author with Additions of witty Amorous Poems, And a Table expounding the hard English words.* London, Printed by T. B. for H. Mosley, and are to bee sold at his Shop at the Princes Armes, in S. Pauls Church-Yard. 1640.

The prefatory matter consists of the dedication to the "Ladyes and Gentlewomen of England," the author's preface to the reader, signed "Yours, Philomusus." Then follows: "The Academy of Complements, or, Pearles of Eloquence," occupying pp. 1-255. After this is a "Table for the understanding of the hard English words contained in this work." The imprimatur is signed "Matth. Clay, Septem. the 10th, 1639."

We have space to mention only a part of the contents. P. 41: *The Academy of Complements. Choice and faire Flowers, Selected out of the Garden of Eloquence, to adorne our language with variety of expressions upon severall occasions.* Pp. 124-128: *Questions with their answers resolving the doubts of Lovers.* "What is Love? It is the receptacle of pensive mindes, a passion that bindes the spirits. What is the greatest recompence a woman can make a man? To reveale to him her secrets, and make him Lord over her body. How must a man behave himselfe amongst Ladyes? He must be bold and hardy. Why is Love painted blind? Because the actions of love cannot be hid or dissembled. Why do lovers wax pale? From the passions of the mind. Why doe they picture Cupid with wings? Because the desires of Lovers do tend alwayes to high things. Wherefore do the Ancients paint Love with flowers in one hand and fish in another? To shew that Love is Lord both of Sea and Land.^{18a} Whether is more constant in Love, the man or the woman? The man, being both of body and spirit more firme." Pp. 129-149: *Complementall and Amorous Poems. Encomions on the Beauty of his Mistresse; A wooing fit in verse, etc.* Pp. 153-155: *A contention betweene a Wife, a Widow, and a Maide.* Pp. 159-175: *Complementall and Amourous Letters*

^{18a} See Chap. VI, note 22; Chap. VIII, note 16; and Chap. XI, note 7.

(in verse). Pp. 176-179: Phrases for the beginnings of Letters, for our greater speede in our urgent occasions. Pp. 179-245: The Garden-Knot of faire and rare Letters of Complements. Pp. 245-255: Stiles and Tearmes used to the King, or Queenes Majesty, either in our Speech, or in Superscriptions of Petitions directed to them. Divisions of Letters. Superscriptions, with Subscriptions adjoyned to them, as they are most properly applied. For the Readers greater pleasure and variety, these Subscriptions onely are here placed by themselves.

A relatively late reference to Parlor Games in England is found in *The Spectator*, No. 499, October 2, 1712. This is the number contributed by Will Honeycomb, containing an account of a dispute in a company of very agreeable young people of both sexes, whether there were not more bad husbands in the world than bad wives. One of the company, a gentleman, told the famous story of the siege of Hensberg, where the women of the city were allowed to depart out of it with so much as each of them could carry. When the women came out each had her husband on her back.

The writer then continues: "As we were amusing ourselves with discourses of this nature, in order to pass away the evening, which now begins to grow tedious, we fell into that laudable and primitive diversion of questions and commands. I was no sooner vested with the regal authority, but I enjoined all the ladies, under pain of my displeasure, to tell the company ingenuously, in case they had been in the siege above-mentioned, and had the same offers made them as the good women of that place, what every one of them would have brought off with her, and have thought most worth the saving. There were several merry answers made to my question, which entertained us till bed-time."

It is now time to pass to the diversion of Fortune-telling in England. As early as the thirteenth century a game was there played called "Ragman," which Wright supposes was played as follows:¹⁹ Fortunes were "written one after another on a roll of parchment, that to each stanza a string was attached at the side, with a seal or piece of metal or wood at the end, and that, when used, the parchment was rolled up, with all the strings and their seals hanging together so that the drawer had no reason for

¹⁹ See Thomas Wright's *Anecdota literaria*, London, 1844, pp. 76, 82.

choosing one more than another, but drew one of the strings by mere chance, on which the roll was opened to see on what stanza he had fallen." Wright gives two examples, one in French of the thirteenth century, the other in English of the fifteenth.

We have studied in earlier chapters the Italian and French forms of Fortune-telling Books. These passed into England by means of translations from both the French and Italian. Jean de Meung's work was translated under the following title: *The Dodechedron of Fortune; or, The Exercise of a Quick Wit. A Book so rarely and strangely composed, that giveth after a most admirable manner a pleasant and ingenious answer to every demand; the like whereof hath not heretofore beene published in our English Tongue. Being first composed in French by Iohn de Meun, one of the most worthie and famous Poets of his time; and dedicated to the French King Charles the first, and by him, for the worth and raritie thereof, verie much countenanced, used and privileged; And now, for the content of our Countrey-men, Englished by Sr. W. B. Knight. The use of the Booke the Preface annexed declareth.* London. Printed by Iohn Pindley, for H. H. and S. M. and are to be sold at his Shop in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the Ball. 1613. The book is a close and exact translation of the French original. The English translator has only added "The Translator to the Reader." Here are a few of the verse translations:

Ceste nourrisse est fantastique,
Et a son lait trop colerique.

This nurse is humrous, and is most fantasticke,
And thereby her milke, will prove most colerique.

Il est enclin pour entreprendre
A follement son bien despendre.

He is most inclined, to adventures strange,
And so his estate, to poverty shall change.

Ses ennemis ont grand puissance,
Peu luy vaudra sa resistance.

All his enemies are mightie great and strong,
And so his resistance shall bring but more wrong.

In addition to the above translation of Jean de Meung's *Dodechedron*, there was also a version of Lorenzo Spirito's *Libro della Ventura*, already described in Chapter VI. The English translation bears the following title: *The Book of Fortune, Being mar-*

vellous for the Invention, pleasant to be read or heard, and in many things very profitable to be understood. Fit for honest Recreation after more serious Affairs or Studies, and necessary to drive away evil Thoughts and Fantacies, wherewith many are oppressed. First written in Italian, after translated into English, and now newly compared in all the parts thereof, and much amended. London, Printed on M. Flesher, and are to besold by H. Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate-Hill, 1686. The book is a folio in black letter, without pagination, but containing in all fifty leaves including the title.

On the reverse of the title are the twenty questions answered in the book: "If thy Life shall be fortunate or not; In what manner thou shalt die; If the Law shall apply to thy mind; If thy Wife be good or bad; If thy husband be good or bad; If thy sovereign Lady love thee; If it be good to take thy Journey; If it be good to wed a Wife; If it be good to take a husband; If thy people love thee or not; If thy land will yield much Fruit and Seed; If thou shalt win in merchandise; If thy thought may come to effect; How many Husbands a Woman unwedded shall have; If thou shalt escape from Tribulation; If a Wench be a pure Maid or not; How many wishes a Man shall have; If Love lost may be gotten again; If a Woman shall bring forth a Boy or Wench; If a Theft may be found again."

There are a few changes in the figures or characters employed; e.g., under the "Kings" instead of the signs the ancient philosophers are used, as Socrates, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plato, etc. After the philosophers come the Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, etc. Finally come "Astronomers," a remarkable crowd, whose names are probably unknown to most readers. They are: "Tolo, Fircu, Abos, Aram, Teon, Bora, Basi, Nael, Dorot, Talen, Assot, Sari, Alchi, Maer, Boca, Acha, Haly, Sey, Orda, and Ose."

Edward Phillips, whose *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* has been examined above, had a brother John, born in 1631, who lived until 1706. He was a hack writer and translated among other things many of the French Heroic Romances. At the close of 1659, he published a satirical pamphlet called *Montelion, 1660: Or, the Prophetical Almanack*, etc., the object of which was to promote the recall of the Stuarts. It was perhaps this pseudo-astrological work which led Phillips some fourteen years

later to print a *rifacimento* of *The Book of Fortune*, under the title: *The English Fortune-Tellers: containing several necessary Questions resolved by the ablest Ancient Philosophers and Modern Astrologers. Gathered from their writings and manuscripts*, By J. P. Student in Astrology. Licensed and entered according to order. London, Printed for E. Brocksby . . . 1703. The book is a quarto of 148 pages.²⁰

Godwin in his life of the two brothers, says, p. 305, "Upon due examination of the work I see no reason to doubt, that the initials, J. P., represent John Phillips, one of the subjects of the present narrative. The Advertisement prefixed to it reminds us strongly of the publications under the name of Montelion forty [read, fourteen] years before; and when we combine this circumstance with the signature of the author, the unforced and probable construction will be that they are both the production of the same pen." Godwin gives a detailed account of the work without suspecting its origin until the close of his book. Then in an appendix, he states that it is founded on Lorenzo Spirito's work, and adds, "A translation of this work into English lies before me, called 'The Book of Fortune,' in folio, printed for Brabazon Aylmer, 1698. . . . John Phillips may be considered as having in a great degree cast the work into a new mould. He has enlarged the number of questions from twenty to twenty-four; his kings are of a much more humorous and whimsical cast; the philosophers in the old book are the most eminent Greeks and Romans (Socrates, Plato, Solon, Thales), and in his are mostly taken from the Arabians and the dark ages; and the Astronomers (for so they are called in his model) are perhaps all of them imaginary, while his Astrologers are almost without exception the Almanac-makers about the period in which he wrote. The verses, in which the response is returned to the trembling enquirer, are in the old book in an eight syllable metre, except in such examples as have a syllable redundant, or a syllable wanting; and in John Phillips's comparatively smooth verses are uniformly in a ten syllable metre."

Here are two of Phillips's verses:

²⁰ This excessively rare book—I believe only one copy is known—was in the possession of Mr. Quaritch, the famous bookseller of London, who courteously allowed my friend the late Mr. G. W. Harris, former Librarian of Cornell University, to examine it for me.

Thou shalt to middle age attain
 Sometime thou shalt have joy and sometime pain.
 The Smiles of Fortune thou shalt often have
 But never carry them unto thy grave.

My friend, three years I say must come and go
 Before thou any happiness shalt know,
 Think them not long, for they once past, a wife
 Fair, young, and rich shall happy make thy life.

In the early part of this chapter I have described a number of works which were imitations of the *Filocolo* and *Decameron*, representing the diversions of a company of ladies and gentlemen, involving story-telling and the discussion of "questions" relating to love. The use in England of such discussions, not as a part of such works of fiction, are referred to from time to time. In Hall's *Chronicle* (s. a. 1527), we are told that to entertain the king and court "two persones plaied a dialog, theeffect whereof was whether riches were better than love."^{20a}

The most interesting of these references occurs in Thomas Lodge's *A Margarite of America*, written in 1592 while the author was in the straits of Magellan on a privateering expedition under the command of Thomas Cavandish. He says in his address "To the Gentlemen Readers" (ed. Hunterian Club, Vol. III), "Some four years since being at sea with M. Candish it was my chance in the library of the Jesuits in Sanctum [Santos, Brazil] to find this historie in the Spanish tongue, which as I read delighted me, and delighting me, won me, and winning me, made me write it." The work, as we shall presently see, shows evident signs of Italian imitation, and contains various poetical compositions imitated from Dolce and other Italian poets. What the particular Spanish work was which suggested the *Margarite of America* has not been discovered, but some of its features are plainly copied from Italian sources. I shall now give an analysis of this little-known work, which Mr. Gosse (Introduction to the edition in the Hunterian Club, reprinted in *Seventeenth-Century Studies*, London, 1883, pp. 3-4) says is perhaps, with the exception of the *Rosalynde* and the *Phillis*, the work of Lodge's which will best reward the ordinary reader.

^{20a} Professor Joseph Quincy Adams has called my attention to two plays by John Heywood (born about 1497 and dead before 1587): *The Play of Love* (1533), and *A Dialogue concerning Willy and Willess* (date not known), in which are debated the "questions": "Whether loving not loved; or loved not loving, is the case most painful in suffering"; and whether "it is better to be a fool, than a wise man."

Unfortunately Mr. Gosse's analysis is very brief and inadequate and overlooks entirely the most interesting features of the work.

The story opens with an approaching battle between two emperors, Protomachus of Mosco and Artosogon of Cusco, over the sovereignty of the city of Mantinea. Just as the battle is to begin, Arsinous, an old man, bearing the image of the Gods in his arms, advances into the field between the two armies and utters a long harangue on the folly and wickedness of war, and ends by proposing a settlement of the quarrel by the marriage of Protomachus' only daughter to Artosogon's only son. The proposal is accepted and Artosogon withdraws to his court to make proper provision for sending his son Arsadachus to Moscovia. Protomachus retires with his daughter Margarita to a castle of Arsinous, elaborately described. There Margarita finds and loves Philenia, the daughter of Arsinous, betrothed to Minecius.

Meanwhile, Artosogon makes preparations to send his son to Mosco and dismisses him with a prolix address full of advice as to his behavior at the court of Protomachus. No sooner has Arsadachus arrived there than he falls in love with Philenia and plots with two dissolute noblemen, Thebion and Brasidas, to surprise Philenia and Minecius on their wedding journey and kill the latter. The wedding is described at length and the subsequent attack upon the newly married couple in which both are slain. Suspicion falls upon Arsadachus' attendant Brasidas, who, as had been arranged, had fled after the murder of Minecius and Philenia. To prevent possible betrayal by Thebion and a page of Philenia's who had discovered Arsadachus' treachery, Arsadachus reveals to the emperor Protomachus a pretended conspiracy involving Thebion and Arsinous. The former is put to death, the latter banished from the court, and the page's tongue cut out and his eyes blinded.

Arsinous retires to a cave in a solitary spot where he resolves "to spend the residue of his days in studies, praying to the gods continually for revenge."

Protomachus in his gratitude to Arsadachus for saving his life, as he believes, gives in his honor a tournament, described in the usual elaborate manner. On the third day, after the bestowal of the honors won in the jousts, the emperor gives a

banquet, and after the tables have been removed, the guests begin to dance. During a pause in the entertainment, a very characteristic dialogue takes place between Arsadachus and Margarita. "Princess," says he, "by what means might love be discovered if speech were not?" "By the eyes (my lord, said she), which are the keys of desire, which both open the way for love to enter, and lock him up when he is let in." "How hap then (said he) that Cupid among the poets is fained blind?" "In that (my lord, quoth she) he was masked to poets' memorie; and you know that falcons against they fly, are hooded, to make them more fierce and clearer sighted, and so was love, which was blindfold at first (in the opinion of Poets) who never could see him rightly until they felt his eye in their hearts." "Why sticketh he his eye in their hearts?" "I had thought (madam) it had been his arrow," says Arsadachus. "Why his eyes are his arrows," quoth the princess, "(or I mistake his shooting;) for the last time he leveled at me he hit me with a look."

Arsadachus continued his discourse in the next pause: "Madam, if love wound by the eye, how healeth he?" "By the eye (my lord, said she) having the property of Achilles' sword to quell and recure." "Then gracious lady," quoth the prince, "since love hath wounded me by your looks, let them recover me, otherwise shall I blame both love's cruelty and your judgment." Margarita replied thus: "Great prince, if mine eyes have procured your offence, I will pluck them out for their folly; and if love hath shot them for his shafts, I beshrew him, for the last time they looked on you, they left my heart in you." "In me, mistress?" quoth Arsadachus. "Yea, in you, my lord," quoth Margarita. "Can you then live heartless?" (said the prince). "Yea, since hopeless," replied she. "This said, the music cut off their merry talk, and the sudden disease of the Emperor brake up the pastimes."

The following day the Earl Asaphus gave a feast and invited Margarita and Arsadachus and the best princes and ladies of the Court, by the Emperor's consent, "to make a merry festival." After the banquet Asaphus took his guests to a cool arbor, "covered with roses and honisuckles, paved with camamile, pinks and violets, guarded with two pretty crystal fountains on every side, which made the place more cool, and the soil more fruitful." There Asaphus was chosen by the company

to direct the sports of the occasion, and took the highest seat, having placed the ladies opposite their lovers. He then said: "But to our purpose, since love is the affection that leadeth us, at him will we level our fancies, canvassing this question amongst us, whether he so best worketh, by the eye, the touch, or the ear, for of the five senses I think these three are most forcible." Asaphus then commands Arsadachus to begin.

The question is debated by the ladies and gentlemen of the company and Asaphus concludes the discussion with these words: "Leave your talk, and shut me all these three senses in one, and then tell me the felicity, when the eye shall give earnest of the heart, the heart take comfort by the ear, the words we have heard, and the sights we have seen confirmed by touch, this is the love I had rather have in my arms than hear it in this place discoursed by argument."

The emperor, owing to his increasing illness, was anxious to hasten the marriage of his daughter to Arsadachus and betrothed her to him in a public assembly of the nobility, fixing the wedding for the seventeenth calends of March. The fickle Arsadachus was imagining how he could break off his engagement, when he was recalled to his father's court by the illness of the emperor, who was anxious to see his son and establish him in his succession. Protomachus much against his will was obliged to dismiss Arsadachus, who parted from his betrothed with feigned sorrow. Margarita was so overcome by her sincere grief that she "fell in a swoon and her ladies could hardly recover life in her." When she came to her senses she remembered a precious box set with emeralds which Arsinous had given her, with the charge to keep the same until such time as he she loved best should depart from her. So she sent the same as a present to Arsadachus, beseeching him as he loved her, never to open the box until such time as he began in any sort to forget her, for such counsel Arsinous had given her. This present was delivered to the prince when he was mounting on horse, who promised carefully to keep it. After Arsadachus had departed the lovesick Margarita laid aside her rich garments, shut herself up in a melancholy tower, and watched for her lover's return.

The false Arsadachus, on the contrary, had no sooner reached home than he fell desperately in love with Diana, the daughter of Argias, Duke of Moravia, who encouraged Arsadachus' suit

and counselled him how to break off his engagement to Margarita and how to appease the emperor Artosogon. The course of this love affair, with its letters and poems, is narrated in great detail. The affair is at last discovered by the emperor, who, in his rage, orders Diana's father to be torn in pieces "at the tails of four wild horses," and his mangled members to be sent as a present to the unhappy daughter.

Arsadachus, in his fury at this act, thrusts his father from his throne, orders his tongue to be cut out, and the right hand with which he had signed the decree of Argias' death to be cut off, apparels him in a fool's coat, and exposes him to the derision of the nobles of Cusco. Fortunately the sorrow of the unhappy emperor and his wife soon ended in their death.

Meanwhile, Arsadachus called Diana to his court and honored her as a goddess, writing in her praise poems imitated from various Italian and French poets. While all this was going on at the court of Cusco, Margarita fled secretly with a faithful follower, Fawnia, and was on her way to Cusco when a lion devoured Fawnia but left Margarita unharmed. At this moment, Arsinous, who was studying magic in his melancholy cell, finding by reason of the aspect of the planets, that the hour of his revenge was at hand, and the place was Cusco, set out for this city and came across Margarita with the lion's head in her lap. She stole softly away and joined Arsinous, whom she did not recognize. She refused to disclose herself to him and he had recourse to a magic vision, in which the semblance of Arsadachus led Margarita to reveal herself. The two continued their way to Cusco, Arsinous from time to time "reading in his book," and conjuring up pavilions and servants and food. They soon drew near to the city of Cusco and learned that the coronation of Arsadachus was to take place the next day. Margarita by Arsinous' counsel stayed at a castle so wrought by art that "although Margarita had a desire to hear tidings of Arsadachus, yet made she no question of him all the time of her abode there."

The coronation procession is then described in great detail, but the coronation is dismissed in a few words. The royal couple returned to the palace and after a repast, Arsadachus remembered Margarita and her parting present, and sent for the box, "merrily jesting with Diana, and saying that the empress of Mosco deserved so small a remembrance." The box was brought

to him and no sooner was it opened, "but (see the judgment of just heaven) a sudden flame issued thereout, which with a hideous odor so bestraught Arsadachus of his senses, that thrusting the tables from him, and overthrowing whatsoever encountered him, he brake out from his seat, cursing the heavens, rending his embalmed hair, tearing his royal vestures." When his eyes fell upon Brasidas, his accomplice in the murder of Philenia and Minecius, he took a huge bowl of wine and crying out, "I drink to Philenia whom thou murderedst," dashed out Brasidas' brains with it. Then he snatched up a carving knife and rushing upon Diana "slit up the poor innocent lady's body," and seizing her heart, "he tare it in pieces with his tyrannous teeth, crying, *Sic itur ad astra.*" After a time he entered "the secrets of his palace, and finding there a young son which his Diana had bred and he begotten, he took it by the legs, battering out the brains thereof against the walls."

By this time Arsinous and Margarita had entered the city and learned what had happened. Margarita "began wofully to exclaim, till she was pacified by Arsinous, who told her that the nature of the medicine which he gave her was such, that if Arsadachus were constant to her, it would increase his affection; if false, it would procure madness: to which effect, since the matter was brought, it could not be but the young Emperor had wronged her." With these persuasions he drew her to the palace, where "thrusting through the press Arsinous thought himself happy to see such a revenge wrought on his enemy."

Margarita could not refrain from breaking through the guard and rushing up to Arsadachus addressed him with pitiful words. At sight of her his madness revived and taking her for Diana, he snatched a sword from "the sheath of one of those who ministered fast by him, and ran Margarita quite through the body, and fled to his private chamber." The poor princess even when death began to arrest her, pursued him, and as she "endeavoured to utter her moans, fell down dead on the floor."

Arsinous "wofully bewept her" and in the presence of the princes of Cusco "discovered what she was." They began to be afraid that the Emperor of Mosco should revenge her death at their hands and consulted how to shut up Arsadachus until Protomachus were informed of what had happened. This they were able to do as they found Arsadachus on his bed and soundly

sleeping, "enforced thereunto by the industry and art of Arsinous," who caused the ministers to gather up the mangled members and cover them with a rich cloth of gold, and afterwards seeing all the courtiers attentive, he addressed to them a long harangue, in which he exhorted them to punish Arsadachus for his crimes.

When he had finished there grew a great muttering among the nobility which awoke the emperor. He called on his servants to open the door of his chamber and when he saw what he had done, he threw himself down upon the mangled members of Diana and the dead body of Margarita, washing them in his tears and breaking out into bitter words. Then he tore his eyes out before his subjects, who in vain endeavoured to pacify him. At last he groped among the dead bodies and found the weapon with which he slew Margarita, "wherewith piercing his hated body he breathed his last to the general benefit of all the Cuscans," who to pacify the Emperor Protomachus (who, as they understood, had levied a huge army), "after they had interred their slain emperor with his fair love, bestowed honorable funeral on the princess Margarita, on whose sepulchre, as also on that of Diana's, Arsinous wrote epitaphs."

When the emperor of Mosco arrived at Cusco and was informed of what had occurred, he lamented his daughter with bitter tears, "and upon the earnest submission of the Cuscans, spoiled not their confines, but possessing himself of the empire, he placed Arsinous governor of the same, whom upon the earnest reconciliation and motion of the Princes, he took to favor, being certified of his wrong and innocencie; which done, he returned to Mosco, there spending the remnant of his days in continuall complaints of his Margarita."

We have seen above that Lodge expressly states that he found his story in a Spanish book in the Library of the Jesuits at Santos in Brazil. No Spanish work has yet been discovered with any resemblance to the *Margarite of America*, and the tone of Lodge's novel is far more like that of certain Italian books. The discussion of "questions" at banquets, the endless debates on love, are, as we have seen above, peculiarly Italian, and are found in books which must have been known to Lodge. Finally, the tragic plot of the novel is characteristic of the Italian *novelle* of the sixteenth century, a characteristic which goes back to the *Decameron*.

Turning finally to the rubric "Questions," we shall not find any works in English devoted to this topic as we have found in Italy and France. Still it is clear from what has already been said that "questions" were in common use during the Elizabethan period and later. As early as 1566 the *Quattro Libri de' Dubbi* of Ortensio Lando was translated into English from the French version made a few years before. The English translation bears the following title: *Delectable demaundes, and pleasaunt Questions, with their severall Aunswers, in matters of Love, Natural causes, with Morall and politique devises. Newly translated out of Frenche into Englishe, this present yere of our Lorde God. 1566. Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde by John Cawood for Nicholas Englande.* This translation was received with favor, for it was reprinted thirty years later by Thomas Creede, 1596.

That the English were fond of "Questions" in the sixteenth century is also shown by a very rare book entitled: *Cyvile and Uncyvile Life. A discourse very profitable, pleasant and fit to read of all Nobilitie and Gentlemen. Where, in forme of a Dialogue is disputed, what order of lyfe best beseemeth a Gentleman in all ages and times: aswel for education, as the course of his whole life: to make him a parson fit for the publique service of his prince and Countrey, and for the quiet, and cumlynesse of his owne private estate and callinge.* Imprinted at London by Richard Jones, and are to bee solde at his shop over agaynst Sainct Sepulchers Church. 1579. There was a later edition: "Imprinted at London, by Richard Iones: dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crowne neere unto Holborne Bridge, 1586." In a manuscript note in the Huth copy Mr. Halliwell says: "No book of the period known to me contains so curious an account of old English country life. The list of games in vogue and the books then read in country houses at signature H4. is specially curious." The copy in the British Museum which I have used is of the first edition and contains 48 folios. "The Argument and occasion of this Dialogue," p. 4, begins as follows: "It happened (as ofte it doth) that diverse Gentlemen beeinge convited to dyne togeathers: Among many other things, they chaunced to fall in speeche of the Countrey and Courtly lyves, reasoninge whyther it were better for the Gentlemen of England to make most abode in their Countrey houses (as our English manner is) or els ordinarily to inhabite the Citties and cheefe

Townes, as in some foraine Nations is the custome. These Gentlemen as they were diversly disposed and used, so were their opinions of this matter likewise differing," etc.

One of the interlocutors, Vincent, who defends the side of country life, at the point referred to above by Mr. Halliwell, gives the following interesting description of English country life in the sixteenth century: "In fowle weather, we send for some honest neighbours, if happeley wee bee with our wives alone at home (as seldome we are) and with them we play at Dice, and Cardes, sorting ourselves accordinge to the number of Players, and their skill, some to Ticktacke, some to Lurche, some to Irish game, or Dublets: Other sit close to the Cardes, at Post and Paire, at Ruffe, or Colchester Trumpe, at Mack or Maw; yea, there are some ever so fresh gamesters, as wil bare you company at Novem Quinque, at Faring, Treytrip, or one and thirty, for I warrant you, we have right good fellows in the countrey. Suntuimes also (for shift of sports, you know is delectable) we fall to slide thrifte, to Penny prick, and in winter nights, we use certaine Christmas games very propper, and of much agilitie. Wee want not also pleasant mad headed knaves, yet bee properly learned, and will reade in diverse pleasant bookes, and good Authors: As Sir Guy of Warwicke, Ye foure Sonnes of Amon, the Ship of Fooles, the Budget of Demaundes, the Hundreth merry Tales, the Booke of Ryddles, and many other excellent writers, both witty and pleasaunt.²¹ These pretty and pithy matters do some times recreate our mindes, cheefely after longe sittinge, and losse of money. In faire weather when we have straungers, or holly daies (for els in the day time wee attend our thrift)

²¹ Of the works mentioned: *Sir Guy of Warwicke* (see Jusserand, *The Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, pp. 19, 39, 67, 349-351), *Ye Foure Sons of Amon*, and *The Ship of Fooles* are too well known to detain us now. *The Hundreth Merry Tales* and the *Booke of Ryddles* deserve a moment's examination. In regard to the former, see Miss Scott, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 4, and W. C. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, London, 1864, vol. I, pp. i, x. The work is reprinted in the above, pp. 1-124: *A C. Mery Talys*. For the *Booke of Ryddles*, see J. Payne Collier, *A bibliographical and critical account of the rarest books in the English Language*, N. Y., 1866, Vol. III, pp. 322-326, *The Booke of mery Riddles*, etc., London, 1600; and W. C. Hazlitt, *Handbook to the popular, poetical and dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, London, 1867, p. 508: 1, *The Riddles of Heraclitus and Democritus*, London, 1598, 2, *The Booke of Merrie Riddles*, London, 1617, 1629, 1631 (Bodleian), 1660 (British Museum), 1672. There were also editions in 1673 and 1685, both in 12mo, with 12 fols. The edition of 1629 (?) was republished by J. O. Halliwell in *The literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrated by reprints of very rare tracts*, 1851, 4to, only 75 copies printed.

wee exercise our selves in shooting at Buttes, Prickes, Roavers and Rownes: We cast the Bar or sledge, Leape or Run, if our ages and condicion bee fit for such exercise, els (beeing aged) wee chat at home, and talke of Turrin and Tornyn, or some other notable war, wherein wee served our Prince: Or if wee have continually dwelt at home, and bin Justices of Peace, we accompt what grave Judges and gentlemen we have seen sit on our Bench, and with what eloquence we have (when it was our turne) geven the charge."

The only work mentioned in the above extract in which we are directly interested is *The Budget of Demaundes*. The only work in any way corresponding to this title is *The Demaundes Joyous*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1511, of which there is a reprint.²² The work is very brief and the "questions" are in the nature of riddles. Here are a few: "Demaunde, who bare the best burden that ever was borne? That bare ye asse whan our lady fled with our lorde into egypte. Demaunde, where became ye asse that our lady rode upon? Adams moder dede ete her. Damaunde, who was Adams moder? The erthe. Demaunde, what space is from ye hyst space of the se to the depest? But a stonys cast. Demaunde, how many calves tayles behoveth to reche frome the erthe to the skye? No more but one if it be longe ynough. Demaunde, why doo men make an oven in the towne? For bycause they can not make the towne in the oven. Demaunde, which was fyrst ye henne or ye egge? The henne whan God made her. Demaunde, why doth an ox or a cowe lye? Because she can not sytte." On p. 7, is the arithmetical question of the man who had three daughters and gave one fifty, another thirty, and the last ten, apples to sell and bring each the same amount of money home.

Another book of "Demaundes," as we have seen above, was merely a translation of Lando's famous work.

Although I have given but a very brief and inadequate account of the influence of Italian society on that of England, it will, I think, be evident that such influence was extensive and profound.

²² I have used a copy at the British Museum which says at the end: "Reprinted by Thomas White, Johnson's Court, 1829."

CHAPTER XII.

Influence of Italian Academies in Germany—The *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* of Nuremburg—The Life of George Philip Harsdörfer—Founds the Pegnesische Blumenorden in 1644—Harsdörfer's *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*—Object of the work—Analysis of this work in relation to its Italian sources.

We saw in the first chapter of this work that the influence of Provençal poetry in Germany was extensive and profound, especially as to form. The subtle discussions of Love, however, as contained in the Tenzons and *Jeux-partis*, did not meet with great favor in Germany. In spite of the constant intercourse between Germany and Italy from the times of the Empire, I do not find that the latter country exerted upon the former any great social influence. The forms of social diversion with which we are at present engaged were essentially courtly and flourished only under circumstances which did not exist out of Italy. There were, it is true, times when other countries, as we have seen, felt the influence of Italian manners and imitated as best they could the social diversions of that land.

In the seventeenth century the influence of the Italian Academies made itself felt, and similar associations were formed in Germany and introduced into that country some of the diversions with which we are familiar. One of the most important of these academies or societies was the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" of Nuremburg. One of its members, George Philip Harsdörfer, was the means of introducing into Germany Italian games, etc., and a brief sketch of his life is now necessary.¹ He

¹ A sufficient account of Harsdörfer may be found in *Festschrift zur 250-jährigen Jubelfeier des Pegnesischen Blumenordens in Nürnberg*, Nürnberg, 1894, "Georg Philipp Harsdörfer, Ein Zeitbild aus dem 17. Jahrhundert." Von Theodor Bischoff. As has been said in the text the object of the author is entirely different from mine. He is concerned only with the content of the work and not its form, or relation to foreign sources.

There is a readable little work by R. Hodermann, *Bilder aus dem deutschen Leben des 17. Jahrhunderts, Eine vornehme Gesellschaft*. (Nach Harsdörfers Gesprächspielen.) Paderborn, 1890, 16mo, pp. 80. This work contains a reprint of Harsdörfer's *Schutzschrift für die Deutsche Spracharbeit*. The book is of no independent value, but is simply a pleasant résumé of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*.

There is an inaugural dissertation by Albert Krapp, Berlin, 1903, *Die ästhetischen Tendenzen Harsdörfers*, which is of no value for the present work.

was born in Nuremburg on the 1st of November, 1607, and received his early education at home and later at the University of Altdorf. After the completion of his university studies he undertook with his friend Christopher Führer the tour which was then considered an indispensable part of a youth's education. A year was spent in Strassburg (about 1627) and the four following years in travel. Harsdörfer visited France, the Netherlands, England, and Italy. From Turin he went to Genoa, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Loretto, Perugia, Rome, Naples, Florence, Siena, where with his friend, he spent an entire summer, Pisa, and Leghorn. One result of this journey was a thorough knowledge of French, Spanish, and Italian.

Harsdörfer on his return entered the service of his native city in the magistracy, filling various offices of trust and importance. He early began to distinguish himself as a writer and devoted his efforts to the improvement and enrichment of his native language and its literature. His biographer, Bischoff, says: "The aims of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft became the task of Harsdörfer's life. These were: correct German orthography and versification, German grammar, exclusion of foreign words, German dictionary, and enrichment of German literature by means of translations." Harsdörfer was received into the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" in 1642, and two years later became one of the founders of the "Pegnesische Blumenorden." These literary societies were mere imitations, so far as form was concerned, of the Italian Academies described in the third chapter of the present work. Prince Ludwig of Anhalt, the founder of the first named society, had spent a year in Italy in 1600, and had been a member of the Accademia della Crusca of Florence. He introduced into the society which he founded the Italian custom of an academic name for the members, at first, in imitation of the della Crusca, taken from the names of grain, meal,

After writing the account of Harsdörfer in this chapter I was able to use the very valuable work of Dr. Adam Schneider, *Spaniens Anteil an der Deutschen Litteratur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, i. E., 1898. In the course of the work Dr. Schneider mentions various translations from the Spanish by Harsdörfer, among them: Teresa de Jesus, Juan de la Cruz, and the *Diana* by Montemayor and Gil Polo. A special section of the work, pp. 313-336, is devoted to the Spanish authors used in the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, thirty-six in number. Some of these, Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo, Juan Perez de Montalvan, Salas Barbadillo, and Lope de Vega are treated in the thirteenth chapter of the present work.

and the processes of milling; later these were changed to terms connected with gardening.

Harsdörfer, the founder, with Johann Klai, of the "Pegnesische Blumenorden," was familiar, as we have seen, with Italy, and had spent a summer at Siena, where he must have become well acquainted with the academic life of Italy and with parlor games, which, as we know, were cultivated at Siena with great zeal. He was evidently captivated by the pastoral tendency of the age, for he translated Montemayor and Gil Polo's *Diana*, and introduced into his society all the pastoral affectations of Italy.² As to the serious aims of the society, they were the same as those of the Italian Academies, the cultivation of poetry and the purification of the language.

Until his death, which took place in Nuremburg in 1658, Harsdörfer displayed the most prodigious activity—an activity almost incredible when we consider that he was a hardworking magistrate and had the care of a large family. With the great mass of his writings we are not here concerned.³ They are mostly of a didactic nature and concern the improvement of the German language and literature. Such was also the object of the singular work in which we are now interested, and of which, owing to its rarity, I shall give a somewhat detailed account.⁴

The work consists of eight parts or volumes which appeared at Nuremburg in 1641 (second edition, 1644), 1641 (second edition, 1657), 1643 (second edition, 1647, third edition, 1653), 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1649. The first two parts are entitled: *Frauen-Zimmer Gespräch-Spiel. So bey Ehrliebenden Gesellschaften zu nützlicher Ergetzlichkeit beliebt werden mögen. Erster Theil. Ausz Spanischen, Frantzösischen und Italianischen*

² Bischoff, *op. cit.*, p. 208, says Harsdörfer had in mind the regulations of the "Intronati" of Siena.

³ See Bischoff, VII. *Anhang*, "Harsdörfer's Schriften," pp. 406-421.

⁴ The bibliography of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* may be found in Bischoff, pp. 407-8, and a lengthy analysis of the work itself on pp. 117-185. Bischoff has in view the didactic element only and the ordinary reader would hardly guess that he was dealing with a collection of games taken from Italian sources. The object of Harsdörfer's work, it is true, was quite different from that of Bargagli and Ringhieri: Harsdörfer's aim was to use games as a medium for serious instruction; the Italians employed them for social diversion. I may add that the copy of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* which I have used belongs to the Library of Cornell University and bears the dates: 1644 (with a title-page belonging to the first edition of 1641 inserted), 1657, 1643, 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1649. It is oblong in form, measuring 5 and three quarters inches by 3 and a half, and contains many engravings.

Scribenten angewiesen durch Georg Philipp Harsdörffern. Nürnberg, In Verlegung Wolffgang Ednters. M.DC.XXXXI. The word "Frawen-Zimmer" is omitted in the title of the last six parts.⁵

Harsdörfer's object is expressed in the "Vorbericht an den Lesenden," Vol. I: "Anleitung geben wollen, und den Weg weisen, wie bey Ehr-und Tugendliebenden Gesellschaften freund- und fruchtbarliche Gespräche aufzubringen, und nach Beschaffenheit aus eines jeden Sinnreichen Vermögen fortzusetzen. Eingedenk, dass gute Gespräch gute Sitten erhalten und handhaben, gleichwie böse selbe verderben." He answers the objection that the diversion he proposes is too difficult for German maidens by referring to Maria Schürmann and Anna Römer. Although the work is for "Frauenzimmer," yet no one is excluded, and the author hopes "dass durch Lesung oder Gebrauch folgender Gesprächspiele die Jugend aufgemunteret, der Lust zu allerhand Wissenschaften erwecket, und zuwollständiger Höflichkeit veranlast werden solle."

In the same "Vorbericht," Harsdörfer acknowledges his indebtedness to Italian sources: "Im Fall auch, günstiger Leser, unter diesem allen dir nichts belieben solten so wirst du doch leichtlich etwas anderes, und vielleicht bessers nach diesem ersinnen können, welches meistentheils aus den Senesischen Spielen, und des Scipio Bargali, Innocentia Ringhier, und eines unbekannten Scribentens Buche, welches betitelt ist das Spielhaus, genommen."⁶

The eight volumes of games and other diversions are supposed to be played by a company of six (in the first edition of the first part, four) persons, three ladies and three gentlemen: Angelica von Kuschewitz, a noble maiden, Cassandra Schönlebin, another noble maiden, Julia von Freudenstein, a prudent matron, Reymund Discretin, a travelled and learned student, Degwart von Ruhmeck, a clever and well informed soldier, and Vespasian von Lustgau, an old courtier.

In addition to the games each volume has an appendix containing an independent article: "Schutzschrift für die Teutsche Spracharbeit und derselben Beflissene; Das Schauspiel deutscher

⁵ Although the word "Frauenzimmer" is omitted in the last six parts, their character is in no way changed; see Bischoff, p. 121.

⁶ In the margin are the words "Gedrucket zu Paris, 1643." The work in question is *La Maison des Jeux* by Charles Sorel; see Chapter X, p. 482.

Sprichwörter; Melissa oder der Gleichniss Freudenspiel; Rede von dem Spiele, dazu, das Christliche Waldgedicht oder Freudenspiel genannt Seelewis Gesangsweis auf Italienische Art gesetzt; Die Reitkunst in Reimen verfasst; Andachts Gemahle; Frauenzimmer Bücher Schrein; and, XXV Aufgaben ausser der Naturkündigung und Tugend- oder Sittenlehre."

Each volume has an index, and there are additional special indexes to two volumes, Volume II containing "Register etlicher Scribenten welcher sich der Verfasser zu Behuff der Gesprächspiel bedienet," and Volume IV, "Register der Scribenten aus welchen meistentheils die Gesprächspiele verfasst werden."

In addition to these indexes there are marginal references which sometimes give the source of the game, but not always. It must be borne in mind that although the material of Harsdörfer's games is not original with him, the manner in which the work is carried out is. In Bargagli, for example, the games are described in the most concise manner; in Harsdörfer, they are performed by the company. So, when stories, etc., are needed they are furnished, often in translations from the Spanish, etc. The result is that Harsdörfer's book is not a dry treatise on games, but an interesting collection of dialogues admirably suited for the author's purpose.

The interest of Harsdörfer's book for us lies exclusively in the Italian element which it contains. In the Register to the Second Part, among the Italian authors cited are: Piet. Allotto (*i.e.*, Arlotto) *Scelta di facetie*; Francesco Alunno, *Fabrica del Mundo*; Scip. Ammirato, *Rota, ovvero Dialogo delle Impresse*; Pietro Aretino, *Del Giuochio*; Scipio Bargagli, *Trattenimenti over Giuochi dilettevoli*; Trajan Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnasso*; And. Calmo, *Gerebizzi*; Baldas. Castiglione, *Cortegiano*; Ludov. Dolce, *Dialogo dei Colori*; Lud. Domenichi, *Facetie, Motti e Burle, Nobilità delle Donne*; Doni, *La Libreria, La Zucca*; Mario Equicola, *Libro di Natura d'Amore*; Tomaso Garzoni, *Piazza Universale, Seraglio de gli Stuperi (i.e., Stupori), L'Homme astratto*; Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo delle Imprese*; Nicolo Granacci, *La piacevol Notte e lieto giorno*; Stefano Guazzo, *La Civil Conversatione*; Franc. Guicciardino, *Historia d'Italia, Detti e fatti piacevoli*; Leone Hebreo, *Dialoghi d'Amore*; Il Materiale (*i.e.*, Scipio Bargagli), *Dialogo de Giuochi Senesi*; Fr. Petrarca, *Opere*; Innocentio Ringhiero, *Cento giuochi liberali e d'ingegno*;

Annibal Romei, *Discorsi*; Frances. Straparolla, *Notti piacevoli*; Torq. Tasso, *Opere*.

In the Register to the Fourth Part, these additional names are given: Bandello, *Novelle*; Giosep. Betussi, *Dialogo d'Amore*; Bernhard Bibiena, *Calandra*; Luigi Groto, *Cieco d'Hadria*, various dramatic works; Gio, Frances. Loredano, *Bizzarie Accademiche*, *Scherzi geniali*; Nicolai Macchiavelli, *Mandragola* Ascanio Mori, *Novelle*; Alessand. Piccolomini, *L'Amor costante*; Nicol. Secchi, *L'interesse* etc.

As has already been said, Bischoff gives in his account of Harsdörfer a long analysis of the *Gesprechspiele*, but almost exclusively from the standpoint of matter and not of form, and without regard to the foreign element. I shall now endeavour to indicate, not exhaustively, the latter. The following list contains the most important games in Harsdörfer, with their Italian sources.

Vol. I, i, Die Gewonheit = Bargagli No. 70, Delle Usanze (p. 86, ed. Siena, 1572).

Vol. I, ii, Die Verwandlung = B. No. 75, Delle Metamorfosi (p. 88, ed. cit.).

Vol. I, v, Die Gleichniss = B. No. 16, Della Comparatione (p. 38).

Vol. I, xi, Die Sinnbildkunst = B. No. 114, Delle Imprese (p. 145).

Vol. I, xii, Müntzpregen = B. No. 118, De' Rovesci delle Medaglie (p. 159).

Vol. I, xiv, Der Turnier = B. No. 96, De' Colori (p. 102).

Vol. I, xvi, Das Gemähl = B. No. 113, Della Figura d'Amore (p. 139).

Vol. I, xviii, Die Schönheit = B. No. 111, Del Ritratto della Bellezza (p. 139).

Vol. I, xix, Das Angesicht = B. No. 19, Della Fisionomia (p. 40).

Vol. I, xx, Die Hand = B. No. 19, Della Ch'romantia (p. 40).

Vol. I, xxi, Die Liebsfragen = B. No. 47, Delle Quistioni (p. 65).

Vol. I, xxii, Der Liebswunsch = B. No. 124, Delle Qualità desiderabili (p. 174).

Vol. I, xxiii, Das A. B. Spiel = B. No. 10, Delle Lettere (p. 27).

Vol. I, xxvii, Die offene Briefe = B. No. 93, Delle lettere aperte (p. 96).

Vol. I, xxviii, Träume = B. No. 13, Dei Sogni (p. 36).

- Vol. I, xxix, Die Sibyllen = B. No. 109, Dell' Oracolo (p. 135).
 Vol. I, xxxii, Die Grabschrift = B. No. 64, Degli Epitaffi (p. 82).
 Vol. I, xxxv, Die heimliche Frage = B. No. 1, Del Proposito (p. 22).
 Vol. I, xxxvi, Die Einsamkeit = Guazzo, *La Civil Conversazione*, Bk. iv, fol. 183, ver.
 Vol. I, xxxvii, Die Rätsel = B. No. 5, Degl' Indovinelli (p. 25).
 Vol. I, xxxviii, Die Sprichwörter = B. No. 114, De' Proverbi (p. 144).
 Vol. I, xli, Die Elementi = Ringhieri, No. viii, Giuoco degli Elementi (ed. Venice, 1553, fol. 11, ver.).
 Vol. I, xlii, Der Feldbau = Ringhieri, No. xxxv, Giuoco dell' Agricoltura (fol. 41, ver.).
 Vol. I, xliii, Die Gärtnerey = Ringhieri, No. xxxvi, Giuoco dell' Ortolano (fol. 42, ver.).⁷
 Vol. I, xlv, Banquet.

This is the game of Follow-my-leader, in which a girl commanded water to be brought and the company to wash their faces, with the result that those who had painted faces were put to confusion. The game is mentioned in

Luigini, *Il libro della Bella Donna*, p. 73.⁸

- Vol. I, xlv, Die Beschenkungen = B. No. 42, Del Pasto e de' Presenti (p. 59).
 Vol. I, xlvii, Das Verlangen = B. No. 11, De' Desiderii (p. 28).
 Vol. I, xlviii, Der Müßigang = Ringhieri, No. lxix, Giuoco dell' Otio (fol. 84, ver.).
 Vol. I, l, Der Narren Spital = B. No. 71, Dello Spedale de' Pazzi (p. 86).
 Vol. II, lii, Von Fremden Sinnbildern.

A conversation on *Imprese*.

- Vol. II, lviii, Von den Zahlen = Ringhieri, No. xxxvii, Giuoco de' Numeri (fol. 43, ver.).
 Vol. II, lxii, Die Zweiffelfragen.

This is simply a reference to the use of Riddles and other Questions in Games.⁹

⁷ This game is described at great length in *Novelle di Pietro Fortini Senese*, Florence, 1888-1890, Vol. II, pp. 485-593. It is also found in Scipio Bargagli's *I Trattenimenti*, p. 114. A similar game is in Sorel, *Récréations galantes*, p. 66.

⁸ In *Biblioteca Rara pubblicata da G. Daelli*, Vol. XXIII, Milan, 1863, *Il Libro della Bella Donna di Federigo Luigini*. See present work, p. 322.

⁹ At the end of the game, p. 75, Harsdörfer introduces several questions: "Wie kan man ein Ding sehen und zugleich nicht sehen? Welcher Haan, welcher Hund, und welcher Knecht haben se am besten?" Etc. These are taken from Guazzo, *La Civil Conversazione*, Bk. IV, p. 185, ver.

Vol. II, lxiii, Das lebendige Schachspiel = Ringhieri, No. xcvi, Giuoco de' Scacchi (fol. 118, ver.).

Vol. II, lxv, Die Tapezereien.

A game describing figures on tapestry and running into the game of telling stories; cp. B. No. 100, Delle Novelle (p. 107). The stories told are of French, Spanish, and Italian origin.

Vol. II, lxvi, Die neuen Mähre.

Similar to the last game.

Most of the following games, until the xcix. are of Harsdörfer's invention and turn on questions of language, poetry, etc. Vol. II, xcix, Die Nasen = Ringhieri, No. lxxv, Giuoco de' Nasi (fol. 92).

A considerable part of the second volume, pp. 312-417, is taken up with the "Zugabe," which is: "Das Schauspiel Teutscher Sprichwörter. Aus dem Frantzösischen mit zulässiger Freyheit übersetzt durch den Spielenden." This play is la Comédie des Proverbes attributed to Adrien de Monluc, Comte de Cramail, the original of which may be found in E. Fournier, *Le Théâtre Français au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1871, pp. 191 *et seq.*

Vol. III, cii, Vom Gestirn = Ringhieri, No. vi, Delle figure celesti (fol. 9, ver.).

Vol. III, cxvi, Von den Amazonen = B. No. 58, Delle Amazzoni (fol. 77).

Vol. III, cxvii, Von der Liebjagt = B. No. 99, Della Caccia d'Amore (p. 105).

Vol. III, Von der Jägerey = Ringhieri, No. xl, Giuoco della Caccia (fol. 46, ver.).

Vol. III, cxix, Von der Jägerey.

Harsdörfer cites Scipio Bargagli as the author of this game, which is found in his *I Trattenimenti*, p. 274.

Vol. III, cxxi, Von den Engeln = Ringhieri, No. v, Giuoco degli Angeli (fol. 8, ver.).

Vol. III, cxxii, Vom Liebstempel = B. No. 35, Del Tempio di Venere (p. 51).

Vol. III, cxxiv, Von der Liebwildbad.

This is also from Scipio Bargagli's *I Trattenimenti*, p. 256.

Vol. III, cxxv, Vom rusigen Schultheiss aus Morenland = B. No. 30, De' Tinti, (p. 48).

Vol. III, cxxvii, Von der besten Thorheit.

This is one of the games proposed in the Introduction to the *Cortegiano*, before the company finally settled upon the subject for the evening's entertainment.

Vol. III, cxxix, Vom Lob eines Hofmanns.

This is the subject of the *Cortegiano*.

The Fourth volume is largely taken up with the "Waldgedicht oder Freudenspiel genant Seelewig," with music "auf Italienische Art," and with various things like Emblems, Heraldry, etc.

Vol. IV, clxxxvii, Die Edelgesteine = Ringhieri, No. xxii, Giuoco delle Gemme (fol. 27).

The Fifth volume contains no games, properly speaking, but extensive treatises on Grammar, Logic, Ethics, Rhetoric, Prosody, etc. Under the head of Logic (Die Vernunftkunst) is introduced a translation of the English play *The Sophister*, performed at Oxford about 1638, and attributed to Dr. Zouch.¹⁰

The Sixth volume contains articles on Talismans, with curious folk-lore intermixed, Astrology, Stage arrangements for a theatre, with a great number of "Questions" for debate, e.g. ccxxxiv, "Geschicht-Fragen," where a story is told and questions are drawn from it. So also ccxxxv, "Rähtsel-Erzehlung, where one tells a story and "jedes in der Gesellschaft, aus meinen Worten eine Rähtsel, oder verborgene Frage zu ersinnen schuldig seyn sol."

In the ccxxxvi., "Frag-Gedicht," each one of the company is to propose a question and one is to make a story out of the five questions. The ccxxxix, "Reyen-Fragen," contains questions on Love. There are also many Love Questions in other games in this volume. In the ccxlviii., "Wechsel-Erzehlung," a story is to be told in such a way that one is to draw from it a device, another a lesson, another an anagram, a proverb, and a reflection.

¹⁰ See J. O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Old English Plays*, London, 1860, p. 232, "*The Sophister*, A Comedy, 4to, 1639. Although dated in 1639, this play was really printed in 1638. It was acted at one of the Universities and has a prologue spoken by Mercury, as the god of Eloquence, and addressed to the academical auditory. It is said to have been written by Dr. Zouch." See also F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642*, London, 1891, 2 vols., Vol. II, p. 286; and A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the death of Queen Anne*, London, 1899, Vol. III, p. 183. Dr. Richard Zouch, born about 1590 and dying in 1661, was a famous writer on civil and international law. He was a fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1609, and later connected with the same university in various capacities.

The stories which follow are, I suspect, all taken from Belley's *Événemens singuliers*.¹¹

The Seventh volume contains no games proper, but such things as: ccli, "Das Schauspiel zu Ross," *i.e.*, cavalry evolutions; ccliii, "Die Bildkunst"; cclv, "Die Heroldkunst," cclvi, "Die Sinnbildkunst," which are treatises on Emblems, Heraldry, and Devices. There are also in this volume many exercises involving questions, etc., as cclxxiii, "Reyenfragen."¹²

It is impossible to analyze fully the Eighth volume; we may mention only a part of its varied contents. In cclxxix, "Der Spielstab," is given a brief treatise on games, "Was zu denselben erfordert werde." At the end Reymund says, p. 45: "Unsere Gesprächspiele sind von den Italianern abgesehen, welchen auch die Frantzosen nachgeahmet, und ist solche Verstandübung auch an vielen Teutschen Fürstenhöfen, mit sondrem Behagen, eingeführet worden, es ist auch Keines in fremder Sprache zu lesen, welches wir nicht angeführet."

In the cclxxx, "Buchstabspiel," Angelica says: "Ich will von der Gesprächspiele Abtheilung fragen," that is, as to the division of games in preceding volumes. Then follow games in which a particular letter is omitted; then, cclxxxi, "Sylbenspiele," cclxxxii, "Wortspiele," cclxxxiii, "Die Geberden," cclxxiv, "Überschriften," *i. e.*, Mottoes, cclxxxviii, "Die Erzählung," stories as a source of games;¹³ ccxc, "Reyenfragen"; ccxcii, "Fraggeschichte," a short story calculated to give rise to a question; ccxciii, "Zweiffelfraggen"; ccxcvii, "Ungebräuchliche Spiele," a review of difficult or unseemly games; ccxcviii, Schlechte Spiele, "welche wegen ihrer Einfalt schlecht und selten, oder gar nicht geübet werden." The volume also has an appendix of twenty-five questions "aus der Naturkundigung und Sitten- oder Tugendlehre."

¹¹ This work is by the prolific Jean Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley and afterwards of Arras. The British Museum has: *Les Événemens singuliers, divisés en quatre livres*, 2 tom., Lyon, 1628, Rouen, 1637, and Paris, 1660. There is an English translation: *Admirable Events selected out of foure Bookes*, London, 1639.

¹² After "Die Sinnbildkunst" is given an analysis of "Der wahnwitzige Schäfer" by Jean de la Lande. This is *Le Berger Extravagant* by Charles Sorel, who, under the pseudonym of Jean de Lalande, Poitevin, published an edition of the *Berger Extravagant* with the title *L'Anti-Roman ou l'histoire du Berger Lysis*, Paris, 1633.

¹³ The stories told in this game are from Perez de Montalvan, *Novella III*, "Die Bestrafung des Neids," and "Die entdekkte Verleumdung," by Belley (from *Les Événemens singuliers*). Many stories from the Italian and Spanish novelists are scattered throughout the whole of Harsdörfer's work.

CHAPTER XIII.

Imitation of Italian social observances in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Villalón's *El Crotalón*—Discussions on the Nature of Love—Spanish translations of Leone Hebreo's *Dialoghi d'Amore*—Reinoso's *Amores de Clareo y Florisea*—Contreras's *Selva de Aventuras*—Lope de Vega's *El Peregrino en su Patria*—Figuerola's *El Pasajero* and *Pusilipo*—Montemayor's *Diana*—Cervantes's *Galatea* and its discussions on Love—Why Love is pictured as boy, blind, naked, winged, and armed—Parlor Game in the *Galatea*—Parlor Games in Spain—Guillén de Castro's play *Los mal casados de Valencia*—Calderon's *Secreto a Voces*—Parlor Games in Don Luis Milán's *Libro de Motes*—Spanish imitations of Boccaccio's *Filocolo* and *Decameron*—Tirso de Molina's *Cigarrales de Toledo* and *Deleytar Aprovechando*—"Questions" in latter work—Montalván's *Para Todos*—Hidalgo's *Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento*—Solórzano's *Tiempo de Regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid*—*Sala de Recreación*—*Noches de Plazer*—Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor's *Novelas Amorosas y Exemplares*—Doña Mariana de Caravajal y Saavedra's *Novelas Entretenidas*—Antonio de Eslava's *Noches de Invierno*—Bondia's *Cytara de Apolo*—Lugo y Dávila's *Teatro Popular*—Solórzano's *Tardes Entretenidas*—Pedro de Castro y Añaya's *Auroras de Diana*—Solórzano's *Alivios de Casandra*—*La Quinta de Laura*—*Jornadas Alegres*—*Fiestas del Jardín*—*Huerta de Valencia*—Salas Barbadillo's *Casa del Plazer Honesto*—Jacinto Polo's *Academias del Jardín*—Tórtoles's *El Entretenido*—Moraleja's second part of the same—Ginés Campillo de Bayle's *Gustos y Disgustos del Lentiscar de Cartagena*—Summary of Italian Influence on Spanish social observances.

I have examined earlier in this work (Chapter I, p. 15) the influence of Provençal poetry in Catalònia, Aragon, and Castile, especially during the reign of Don Juan II, whose court presents, I remarked, most of the characteristics of the petty courts of Provence in the thirteenth, or of Italy in the sixteenth, century. We saw that in Spain the precise equivalent of the Provençal *joc-partit* (in which a question is proposed and debated in the same poem) was not found; but that there was a large class of poems known as *preguntas* and *respuestas* in which a question is formulated and answered in a separate poem. This is also the case in Italy, where the question is propounded in one sonnet and answered in another. The subjects of the Spanish *preguntas* and *respuestas* and of the Italian question-and-

answer sonnets are the same as those found in the Provençal *jocs-partitz*.

We have also seen the enormous influence of the *joc-partit* on social diversions in Italy in the sixteenth century. The most interesting literary work reflecting this influence is Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, which was examined at length in Chapter I. This popular work was translated into French, German, and, in an abbreviated form, Spanish. The influence of Boccaccio's work was felt in several Spanish books produced in Italy in the sixteenth century and described in Chapter V. These works contain each but a single question, and no exact counterpart of the *Filocolo* exists out of Italy. Finally, we have seen in Chapter IV the influence of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, which was translated into Spanish by the poet Boscán and imitated by Don Luis Milán.

When we come to make a general survey of Spanish society with a view of tracing the influence of Italy upon its forms of social diversion, we shall find but scanty materials for our purpose outside of the novels which are written in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.¹ These I shall take up later. One would naturally expect from the close contact between Spain and Italy for so many years that the social observances of the latter country would have been imitated in the Iberian peninsula, just as the Italian forms of lyrical poetry were introduced by Boscán and Garcilasso in the sixteenth century.

We catch occasional glimpses of this imitation, as for example, in that curious work *El Crotalón*, ascribed to Cristóbal de Villa-

¹ Materials for this chapter have been found in Miss C. B. Bourland's article "Boccaccio and the *Decameron* in Castilian and Catalan Literature," in *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XII, pp. 1-232, especially pp. 192-198. Miss Bourland's point of view is, of course, quite different from mine. She is chiefly concerned with the influence of the individual stories in the *Decameron*. I am at present interested in the framework alone. More important for my purpose is the introduction (Chapter IX) to the second volume of Menéndez y Pelayo's *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1907, *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, to which I shall have occasion to refer frequently. After all, Mr. Ticknor still remains the surest guide in this as in other fields of Spanish literature. He has mentioned (III, 134 *et seq.*) all the important works and accurately characterized them, with very few errors. I am also greatly indebted to Cotarelo y Mori, who has in his *Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas*, Madrid, 1906-1912, twelve volumes, still in publication, reprinted many rare works and given, in some cases for the first time, biographies of the little known writers. There are some references to "Questions" in Spanish literature by R. Schevill in his essay "Some forms of the Riddle Question and the exercise of the wits in popular fiction and formal literature," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, 2, No. 3, 1911.

lón.² The work is an imitation of Lucian's *Dialogues*, but it contains valuable Spanish material. In the fifth canto the anonymous author gives an account of a splendid castle which has been erected by the magic arts of a witch in order to win the love of the narrator of the story. The architecture and ornaments, including the paintings on the walls ("Piramo y Tisbe, Phillis y Demophon, Cleopatra y Marco Antonio") are elaborately described. "Well might anyone who entered there declare that this was the paradise and spot where Love was born. . . . Nothing is done here but games, pleasures, banquets, dancing, balls, and jesting (*motexar*). . . . In this abode it is always April and May. . . . The mistress of this palace is always accompanied by very worthy ladies, some united to her by relationship, others by friendship. These attract there gentlemen who come in pursuit of their worth. They form a court more delightful and gracious than was ever seen in the palace of king or emperor. For they are occupied only in devising dresses, and arranging jousts, dances, and balls. Some under the shade of pleasant trees tell stories (*novelar*), jest, and laugh. One asks 'questiones

² The *Crotalón* has been reprinted twice: by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1871, Vol. IX, and by Menéndez y Pelayo in the second volume of *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1907. The editor, of the first of the above editions, F. del V., says in his brief *Advertencia* that all his investigations to discover the author of the work have been in vain, and the same is true of the efforts of Don Pascual de Gayangos and Don José Sancho Rayon. Menéndez y Pelayo gives no account of the author in his edition. In 1911 he edited for the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Madrileños, Vol. V, *El Scholástico de Cristóbal de Villalón, Tomo Primero*. In the preface he says that the complete text is not found in this volume, but what is lacking will be given in a second volume with some other works of Villalón and an essay on his life and works. Menéndez y Pelayo died before this promise was fulfilled. In 1898, Serrano y Sanz edited for the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Vol. XXXIII, *Ingeniosa Comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente del Bachiller Cristóbal Villalón*, with the first biography of the author, pp. 1-125. In 1905 the same editor prepared for the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. II, a volume of *Autobiografías y Memorias*, which contains, among other things, the *Viaje de Turquía* of Villalón, and gives in the introduction, pp. cx-cxxiii, a brief account of the writer's life. Villalón, according to the investigations of Serrano y Sanz, was born at the beginning of the sixteenth century, probably at the town of his name, not far from Valladolid. He pursued his studies at Alcalá and spent some time at Salamanca. He was not a soldier nor a priest, although he had the degree of licentiate of theology. He travelled extensively in Italy and in 1552 was captured by the Turks in a battle between them and Andrea Doria near the islands of Ponza. Villalón was three years in captivity, but managed to escape and reached Valladolid in 1555 after many adventures, which are described in the *Viaje de Turquía*, a work composed in the dialogue form. The *Crotalón* is the only one of Villalón's works which concerns us here. It is, as the author declares at the beginning, an imitation of the fourth book of Lucian's *Dialogues*, in which a cock conversing with the cobbler Micyllus censures the vices of his day.

y preguntas de amores.' Others compose sonnets, *coplas*, *villancicos*, and others witticisms (*agudezas*) which constantly rejoiced them."

The discussions on the nature of Love which were so popular in Italy (see Chapter III) are also found in Spain, and one of the most famous of the treatises on Love, the *Dialoghi d'Amore* by Leone Hebreo, was translated into Spanish by no less a person than the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega.³ There are also some original Spanish treatises on Love and Beauty which, however, had no such influence as the Italian works which called them into existence.⁴ Traces of the influence of the Italian works are

³ The influence of Leone Hebreo's work on Italian Society is treated in Chapter III. His influence on Spain is discussed by Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España. Segunda edición, tomo III*, Madrid, 1896, Chap. VI, "De la estética platónica en el siglo XVI.

⁴ In the work just cited, Menéndez y Pelayo mentions several Spanish dialogues on Love, some of which are lost, but some have survived. Those mentioned are: *Del Tractado de la Hermosura y del Amor. Compuesto por Maximiliano Calvi*, Milan, 1576, in three parts, generally united; *Apología en la alabanza del Amor compuesta por Micer Carlos Montesa*; *Discurso de la hermosura y el Amor por Bernardino de Rebolledo*; *Tratado en Loor de las Mugeras por Christóbal Acosta*, Venice, 1592; *Dialogo de Amor intitulado Dorido, en que se trata de las causas por donde puede justamente un amante sin ser notado de inconstante, retirarse de su amor, Nuevamente sacado á luz, corregido y enmendado por Juan de Enzinas*, Burgos, 1593. Ticknor, III, 206, mentions a work similar to that by Acosta: *Dialogo en laude de las mugeres* by Juan de Spinoso, Milan, 1580. These works, most of which are sufficiently described by Menéndez y Pelayo, have little original worth and are based on Leone Hebreo's work or on the treatise of Augustinus Niphus, *De pulchro et de amore*, Rome, 1631. See Chapter III, note 6, Chapter V, note 16.

Of the works mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo I have examined: Christóbal Acosta Affricano, *Tratado en Loor de las Mugeres y de la Castidad, Onestidad, Constancia, Silencio y Justicia*, Venice, 1592. The work is a serious didactic treatise and contains long lists of women renowned for wisdom, prudence, eloquence, etc., as well as of those who were cruel and wicked. There are chapters on women inventors of the things most necessary in human life, of women famous in warlike deeds, etc. I have also examined Maximiliano Calvi, *Del Tractado de la Hermosura y del Amor*, Milan, 1576, in three parts, bound together. The work of Calvi is a ponderous treatise like those of Leone Hebreo and Equicola, in the form of a dialogue in which the interlocutors are "Filaethio, which means the friend of truth, and Peregifilo, which means obstinate." The same interlocutors appear in all three parts.

I have also seen a few other works on the subject of Love and Women: Cristóbal de Castillejo, *Diálogo que habla de las condiciones de las mugeres*. Son interlocutores Aletio, que dice mal de las mujeres, y Fileno, que las defiende. I have seen the editions in the *Biblioteca Universal*, Madrid, 1878 (Vol. XXXIX of the Collection), and in Fernández's *Colección de poetas españoles*, Madrid, 1789-1820, twenty volumes, Vols. XII-XIII. His works are also to be found in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XXXII. The entire work is in verse (*romance*) and deals with various classes of women: "casadas, doncellas, monjas, viudas, solteras, alcahuetas." This work is followed by *Sermon de Amores*, del Maestro Buen-Talante, Fray Fidel, de la Orden del Tristel. The text of the sermon is: ¿"Adonde iré? ¿Qué haré? Que mal

found, for the first time, so far as I am aware, in the *Historia de los amores de Clareo y Florisea y de los trabajos de Isea*, by Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso, printed at Venice in 1552 by Gabriel Giolito de Ferraris.⁵ Little is known of the author, who was born at Guadalajara and spent part of his life in Italy. The only part of the work which concerns our purpose is Chapter XI, which contains a picture of Italian society in the sixteenth century by one who for some reason or another was an exile in that land. It is true (as is also the case with some other Spanish works to be mentioned later) that the scene is laid in Italy, but the work must have contributed to popularize in Spain the forms of social diversion which it describes. The episode with which we are concerned is as follows.

The lovers were overtaken at sea by a terrible tempest and threatened with death. The storm, however, ceased and they discovered an island full of beautiful dwellings and groves. The sailors said it was called the Island of Life, because it was the most fertile and abundant in those parts, and the inhabitants were the wisest and most polite in the world and of the best and most refined intercourse. They further stated that the Duke of Athens resided there, and as he was young and newly wed there was in his palace every kind of society, because there were in it many ladies and gentlemen of good breeding.

vecino es el amor." There is nothing of importance for my purpose in this work. It is the usual satirical attack and defence of women. Another work I have examined is Juan Enríquez de Zúñiga, *Amor con vista. Lleva una sumaria descripción del Mundo, así de la parte elemental, como de la ætherea. Compuesto por Don Juan Enríquez de Zúñiga, natural de la ciudad de Guadalajara*. Impreso en Madrid, 1625. This curious work, not mentioned by Ticknor or Fitzmaurice-Kelley, is a pastoral romance interspersed with some poetry. The second part contains a dream, with the admonition: "Quien quisiere proseguir la historia, passe a la tercera parte." In the dream is given the description of the world. The story is resumed in the third part.

⁵ There is a modern reprint in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. III. *Novelistas anteriores á Cervantes*, pp. 431-468. Menéndez y Pelayo in the first volume of *Orígenes de la Novela*, pp. cccxliii-cccxliv, gives a full analysis of the work and shows that the book referred to by the author in his prologue as his original, *Razonamientos de amor*, was Ludovico Dolce's *Amorosi ragionamenti*, an incomplete translation of Achilles Tatius's romance of *Leucippe and Clitophon*. Reinoso was aware of the incomplete nature of Dolce's work and was stimulated by it to compose his own: "imitando y no romanceando, escribir esta mi obra, en la cuál no uso más que de la invención, y algunas palabras de aquellos Razonamientos." The "questions" in *Clareo y Florisea* are not found in the Greek original or in Dolce's translation. Similar "questions" have been discussed in the first and third chapters of this work and in many other places. See Chapter I, p. 19, Chapter III, p. 132. I have seen at the Hispanic Society the first edition mentioned in the text.

The lovers landed and made their way to the Duke's abode, the marvels of which are described at length. They were received with courteous and kindly words by many ladies and gentlemen who came out to welcome them. They entered the palace to pay their respects to the Duke, whom they found seated in a chair of gold. The Duke and Duchess welcomed the strangers, and the former said that he should be pleased to have them remain there a few days in order to see more fully the country and its customs.

The lovers, disguised as brother and sister, were given apartments, and when evening came there was a banquet with music and after it conversation with the Duke and Duchess as well as with their court. The Duke finally commanded the strangers to be taken to their apartments, saying that the next morning there would be a hunt and in the evening a ball.

The next day, after the chase, which is described in a few words, they changed their hunting dress and returned to the hall of the palace where they supped, for the Duke had commanded that there should be that night a certain kind of conversation to which they were accustomed, which was that after supper the gentlemen and ladies discussed "questions" and told pleasant and witty jokes, omitting all genealogical and local topics.

After the supper was over and the tables cleared, the Duke waited for the ladies and gentlemen to return from supper. Meanwhile the whole story of Daphne and Apollo, how he grieved and how she was changed into a laurel, was sung sweetly. When music had finished, the ladies and gentlemen entered so richly attired that it delighted the gaze. After they were all arranged in order, the Duke commanded that the contest that evening should be between Melisena, a lady of the Duchess, and Roselindos, a knight of the Duke. When all were quiet, Melisena asked which was the more difficult, to feign love without feeling it, or to conceal it when felt.

Roselindos replied that it was more difficult to hide it, for whoever feigned was master of himself and could easily do it; but he who really loved did not have it in his power to conceal the love he felt.

Melisena continued by asking which should be the more esteemed, a lady beautiful but not clever, or, clever and not beautiful. Roselindos replied that the one who was clever should be

more highly prized; discretion was the beauty of the mind, and beauty was the gift of the body, which perished with time, but the things of the mind endure. Besides these reasons, nothing, no matter how precious it may be, can equal knowledge, because the learned can speak, converse, be silent, and finally, follow reason.

She asked further whether love can exist without jealousy. He replied, no, because love is a thing full of anxious care, and whoever loves fears, and jealousy is nothing but fear that the person you love does not love you, but desires and loves another, and this ill goes so far that as it is the greatest of all ills, so there are in it greater extremes than in any other.

She asked what was the clearest sign of love. He answered, to be jealous of another.

She asked what qualities a person ought to possess to be loved. He replied, secrecy.

She asked, who was the more constant in love, the man or the woman. He answered, the man, as the stronger and endowed with firmer qualities than the woman.

She asked, whether love turned to hatred was as strong as the former love. He replied, no, because for great love many have died, but none from hatred.

She asked, which was the more powerful, love or avarice. He answered, love, because it makes the avaricious liberal.

In this way the conversation ended and the Duchess asked Florisea to put some question; but she excused herself. Finally, she consented and said: "I should like to know from these ladies and gentlemen what answer a gentleman who wished to conceal his love should have given to a question which three ladies put to him. To understand this question you must know that in the city of Alexandria, whence I have just come with my brother Clareo, there was once a gentleman who served three ladies, and no one of them knew of the other, because each thought she was the only one, for the gentleman was so prudent in his love affairs that from him it could be understood that he was serving one only, although, in truth, he served and loved all three.

"It happened then that one of the ladies gave him a medal, the other a chain, and the third, a precious sword. One day he was walking with these gifts near the bank of a stream, when the ladies who were there beheld him and began to praise the

beautiful ornaments and the manner in which they became him, each of the ladies praising her own gift. As they did not agree, in order to end their controversy, they had him called and asked which of those objects he prized the most, each thinking that he would say the one which she had given him. He was in doubt how to answer so that they should be satisfied and not suspect one another."

There were many and different replies to this question of Florisea, but the correct one was given by a stranger who was diverting himself there at the Duke's court. He said that in order to satisfy all those ladies, the gentleman should have answered that he prized most highly the object which had been given to him by the lady whom he served. Thus each of the ladies would understand it to be said of herself and all would be satisfied. This answer was approved and praised by all the ladies and gentlemen present. Thereupon, the night having been largely passed, the company retired to their apartments.

The remainder of the work describes the further adventures of the lovers and is of no interest for the present work.

Of greater interest is the novel of Jerónimo de Contreras, *Selva de Aventuras*, published at Barcelona in 1565, and probably earlier.⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo mentions eight subsequent editions and a French translation, of which there were several editions. Little is known of the author, who, Menéndez y Pelayo says, calls himself captain in the title-page of several of his works. He states that he obtained in 1560 from Philip II the favor of a position (*entretenimiento*) in the kingdom of Naples, and that he remained there ten years after the completion of his *Vergel de varios triunfos*, printed in 1572 with the title of *Dechado de varios sujetos*, a sort of moral allegory in the form of a dream, mingled with eulogies in prose and verse of famous Spanish kings and men in ancient and modern times.

The plot of the *Selva de Aventuras* is as follows. A gentleman of Seville is in love with Arbolea, whom he has known from childhood and desires to marry. She has determined to follow a monastic life and refuses his hand in a courteous but firm manner.

⁶ A modern edition of the *Selva de Aventuras* is in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. III, *Novelistas anteriores a Cervantes*. For the little that is known of the author see *Orígenes de la Novela*, I, cccli. I have seen at the Hispanic Society two editions of the *Selva de Aventuras* not mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo: Salamanca, 1573, and Saragossa, 1615.

The disconsolate lover departs for Italy in the garb of a pilgrim. The narrative of his journey and the strange things he beheld form the principal subject of the seven books of the *Selva*. Menéndez y Pelayo says, *op. cit.*, p. ccl: "Following the diffuse mode of narration which we have indicated in the *Libro Felix* of Raymund Lull, and which the authors of the picaresque novels adopted, each of the characters whom the hero meets tells his story, or asks or proffers advice. Among these stories are some very interesting and romantic ones; as that of the Aragonese gentleman Erediano (Heredia?) and Porcia, niece of the Duke of Ferrara, two lovers who led a solitary life and died in the desert; the story of the sad (*penado*) Salucio, who appears to be the prototype of Cardenio; and the story of the Marquis Octavio of Mantua. There are types ingeniously drawn, as the poor Oristes, the rich and avaricious Argestes, the splendid and hospitable Virtelio; episodes of the pastoral novel, casuistic discussions of love, three eclogues which can be performed, one of which, that of Ardeneo and Floreo, the shepherd who loves and the one who does not, recalls the dispute of Lenio and Tirsi in Cervantes's *Galatea*; a dramatic performance of Human and Divine Love, and another which is supposed to have taken place in the Piazza of St. Mark's in Venice, and a great quantity of lyrical poems in all kinds of metres, written elegantly in a rich vein."

In the course of his pilgrimage, the hero visits the cave and oracle of the Cumean Sybil and finds the magnanimous Alfonso V of Aragon reigning in Naples. On his return to Spain he falls into the power of corsairs, who take him captive to Algiers (a commonplace of so many later novels and plays); he succeeds in obtaining his freedom and finds on his arrival at Seville that his beloved Arbolea has taken the veil. Luzman determines to follow her example, builds a hermitage near Arbolea's convent, and there leads a life of penance until his death.

In the course of his wanderings in Italy Luzman comes to the city of Pisa, where he admires the cathedral and the leaning tower. There he finds a famous school (*estudio*), and in it he speaks with some philosophers and great men. When they hear his eloquence they put to him in the form of a sonnet a question, or rather three questions in one: A damsel, excellent, immortal, and very beautiful is buried in a dark sepulchre, surrounded by three powerful adversaries (*contrarios*). There is also seen

winning merit by seeing itself tormented the most precious jewel, without which little or nothing is merited in this sad and sorrowful life. And there is seen what could give life lose its own name and not lose it, conquering the conqueror by being conquered.

Luzman is asked to explain this *pregunta*, which he does by saying that the body is the prison and sepulchre of the fair, holy, and beautiful soul. The world, the flesh, and the devil pursue the soul to destroy its beauty. The jewel is penitence; the conquered one is death, who was overcome by the hand of Him who remained alive, for the sovereign cannot die. And so every Christian should understand that the divine and highest award is given to the just and not to the tyrant.

Luzman then proceeds to Lucca, where he learns of a singular case which is soon to be decided by a celebrated philosopher. The case was as follows. A father had three sons: the eldest was married, the second was never married, but was addicted to women, keeping faith with none; the third was never married, knew no woman, and yet was the most enamoured of all men of his time, saying that in this love consists. They often quarreled bitterly as to which was right in his mode of life. It was the custom of that country for fathers to leave their property to the one son whom they loved best, and let him give what he would to the others. In this case, the father could not make up his mind which of his sons he loved best, and therefore recommended them to submit their differences to some prudent men, and whoever was judged to have chosen the best mode of life should receive the inheritance and the other brothers be subject to him.

The trial took place in public in the square of the cathedral. Each brother defended his own state, and sung in conclusion a sonnet which summed up his case.

The judge after hearing the arguments decided in favor of the eldest, Ardonio, the married brother: "por razon que su estado es mejor que el de sus dos hermanos, porque sigue y guarda mandamiento divino."

Luzman makes the acquaintance of the Marquis of Mantua and accompanies him to Florence, where dwells the object of his love. One day the friends go to a park which is the resort of the ladies and gentlemen of the city. There they find the

musician Sotocles, who always speaks ill of love. After he has sung a sonnet he engages in a dispute with a maiden, Claudia, who asks him why he is such an enemy of women and love. He replies: "Because they are our enemies and love the cause of our perdition." Another damsel asks him what is love. He answers: "A boy, blind and mad (*loco*) and insane (*desvariado*) in all his ways." He is then asked why he is called Cupid, why everyone loves, whence love arises, etc.

At the request of the Marquis, Luzman answers Sotocles and defines love: "A fountain of amorous desire, a tree that never loses its leaves, and a vision of the mind depicted on the senses, without which man is a lifeless sketch." Sotocles replies: "You are greatly mistaken, for love is a sea of blood, a leafless tree, a house built upon the sand, a mad impulse, a stone fixed in the judgment, a lancet which divides the best veins, a lance with two points, by which a hundred thousand are created." Luzman answers: "You have never been in love; therefore you speak by hearsay. Know then that love is the compass of all prudence, garden which delights the eyes, attire which adorns the rustic and elevates the wise, treasure of richest worth," etc.

On his way to Rome by way of Siena, Luzman comes across some shepherds and enjoys their hospitality for a night, with the usual story of love. One of the shepherds sings a song about love, which he overwhelms with epithets of every kind. At last Luzman reaches Rome, where he finds a merchant from Seville, a great friend of his father, who welcomes him to his house, and in his company Luzman sees the principal sights of the city. After he has been with his friend Belcaro a month he is told that a dramatic performance is to take place that night in the residence of Cardinal Julian, who is an invalid, and whose servants divert him with plays. They find a large company assembled in a great hall where there is a theatre *a manera de coliseo*. The Cardinal welcomes them, and after a bountiful collation the play begins with the entrance of Death with bow and arrow, boasting of his prowess. He is followed by two women, one beautiful, the other homely, who sing the praises of beauty and ugliness. Then appear seven damsels singing and playing various instruments, and in their midst Love, naked, blindfold, and with bow and arrows. These seven damsels are the seven deadly sins.

At the same time enter by another door seven other damsels representing the seven virtues, and in their midst divine Love dressed in purple (*morada*) silk, covered with golden stars, his countenance uncovered, wearing a wreath of laurel and carrying a golden bow and arrow. The two choirs of sins and virtues then dispute among themselves, and when they have finished the two Loves, Divine Love and Human Love, come forward and debate their respective powers. When they have concluded Divine Love makes a show of discharging his bow at Human Love, who surrenders and kneels on the ground. Then Divine Love approaches him and taking off a golden chain which he wore throws it over the neck of Human Love in token of his captivity. In like manner the virtues advance against the sins and take them captive with their chains.

With the further adventures of Luxman we have nothing to do. As we have said, he is captured and taken to Algiers. After his ransom he returns to Seville, finds Arbolea in the convent, and, in spite of her advice to him to marry and please his parents, resolves himself to lead a solitary life in a hermitage, which he builds near Arbolea's convent.

Closely connected in form with the *Selva de Aventuras* of Contreras is Lope de Vega's novel *El Peregrino en su Patria*,⁷ which deserves a brief mention here although it does not belong to the class of works in which we are more immediately interested, viz., those containing stories told by a company of ladies and gentlemen, in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. In some of the Spanish imitations the diversions of the different days consist not only of story-telling and music, as in the *Decameron*, but of elaborate masques, *autos sacramentales*, and regular dramas. We shall see that in at least two works to be examined later the stories are told during a journey, and it seems likely that they were influenced by the *Selva de Aventuras* and *El Peregrino en su Patria*. The plot of the latter work, written by Lope de Vega at the end of 1603, is as follows.

A ship is wrecked on the coast near Barcelona during a storm and the Pilgrim is cast half lifeless on the shore. He is restored to life by some fishermen and tells them merely that he was

⁷ I have used the edition of *El Peregrino en su Patria* in the fifth volume of the *Obras sueltas*, 1776. The work has been judged very differently by Ticknor, II, 203, and by Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 150.

coming from Italy where he has been during the holy year of the pontificate of Clement VIII. While in the fishermen's cabin at night the Pilgrim hears someone singing a poem to the sound of a lyre. He goes in the direction of the music and finds a solitary fisherman. While they are conversing they are surprised by a band of soldiers who take them prisoners and are on the point of hanging the Pilgrim. His evident innocence saves him and he goes with the band to Barcelona. There he is thrown into prison for three months. On his release he attends the performance of a *representación moral*, *El Viage del Alma*. The first book closes with the Pilgrim's attempt to discover some remedy for the love by which he was consumed. The nature of love and the claims of magic to heal it are discussed and an enigma on love is given.

At the beginning of the second book the Pilgrim on his way to Valencia encounters two youths, Flemish or German, from their appearance, who had left their country on account of the religious troubles and had taken refuge in Catholic Spain. After some talk about the heresy which is being firmly repressed in Spain, the Pilgrim relates two miracles of the Virgin.⁸ In one a pious painter depicts the Virgin as beautiful and the Devil as ugly; the latter endeavours to kill the painter by throwing down the scaffold on which he is at work. In the second story the Devil involves the painter in an intrigue with a soldier's wife. The adulterous pair are imprisoned and sentenced to death, but the Virgin releases them; the wife is returned to her husband, the painter to his studio, and the people are made to believe that they have dreamed the whole occurrence.

While visiting the sanctuary of Montserrat a monk tells another *exemplum*, on the authority of "Jacob institutor," of three comrades during a thunder storm; two of whom are struck by light-

⁸ Very interesting is the literary use of the two miracles of the Virgin and the *exemplum* which follows. The first miracle of the Virgin is one of the most popular and is found endless times in the literature of the Middle Ages. See Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. of the British Museum*, II, pp. 628, 687, 705, and J. Klapper's *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, p. 273. The second story is a variant of the first and I do not find it in any of the collections I have examined. Very popular is a similar story in which the Devil causes a pious matron and monk to fall in love, elope, and carry away the treasures of the church and property of the husband. The guilty pair are pursued, captured, and thrown into prison. The Virgin intercedes for them and the demons are compelled to restore them to their homes and substitute demons for them in the jail. See Crane's *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, London, 1890, No. 282, and Klapper, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

ning and killed, while the third is spared because he has heard that day in church the words "Et verbum caro factum est."⁹

The pilgrims make their way to Valencia and there hear an *auto*, *Las Bodas del Alma y el Amor divino*, performed in celebration of the marriage of Margaret of Austria to Philip III.

In the third book the Pilgrim rejoins his beloved Nise, who had been separated from him since she supposed him hanged by the soldiers in the first book. She had gone mad in consequence of her grief and is found by her lover in a madhouse.

A third *auto*, *La Maya*, is performed at Saragossa, and a fourth and last, *El Hijo pródigo*, at Perpignan. It is impossible to follow in detail the wanderings and adventures of the lovers; suffice it to say that the Pilgrim (whose name is Panfilo) is taken a captive to Fez, whither Nise follows him disguised as a Moor, and succeeds in ransoming him. The lovers are again separated and it is not until after another long and painful series of adventures that they are finally united in marriage.

For eight nights the marriage is celebrated by the performance of as many plays. These are not printed with the novel, but the author says they will appear elsewhere in order not to swell the size of the present volume. One of the eight, *El Galán agradecido*, is apparently not extant.

Before dismissing *El Peregrino en su Patria* I may say that Book V contains a ghost-story which George Borrow considered the best ever written, and which he took the trouble to translate.¹⁰

About the same time that Lope de Vega wrote *El Peregrino en su Patria*, Augustín de Rojas Villandrando composed *El Viage entretenido*, a work precious for the early history of the Spanish stage, as it depicts the fortunes of a company of strolling actors, and is thus the progenitor of the most famous work in this genre, Scarron's *Roman Comique*. The two works of Lope de Vega and Rojas seem to have influenced another book of this kind, which, in its turn, may have served as an example to those Spanish novels in which stories are related to enliven a journey. I refer to *El Pasajero* of Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa, first published at Madrid in 1617, and reprinted in 1618 at Barcelona. No other editions appeared until 1913, when it

⁹ This *exemplum* is found in Klapper, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

¹⁰ See W. J. Knapp's *Life, Writings and Correspondence of George Borrow*, London, 1899, Vol. II, pp. 118 *et seq.*

was printed in the *Biblioteca Renacimiento*. An interesting account of Figueroa's stormy life is given by Professor J. P. W. Crawford in his University of Pennsylvania Dissertation: *The Life and Works of Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa*, 1907. I have seen the two early editions at the Hispanic Society, and have used for my studies the reprint in the *Biblioteca Renacimiento*.

The plot, or rather frame, of *El Pasajero* is as follows. Four travellers, not previously acquainted, set out from Madrid for Barcelona in order to embark for Italy. One of the company was a master of arts and professor of theology, drawn to Rome by his love of literature and desire for appreciation. The second traveller was a soldier, who from his youth had not yet risen high, and was going to Naples with modest pay, the result more of favor than service. The third was a jeweller, on his way to Milan, where a certain relative (*pariente de pluma*) had died and left him a fortune. The fourth was exiled from his country for no reason, unless a sufficient one was that he had been born in it with some rank (*calidad*) and little means. He had attained in his studies the title of doctor of both jurisprudences, although he was more learned in experience and travel (*comunicación de naciones*). The company resolved to journey by night on account of the heat, and rest during the day. The inns were not propitious for quiet, and the travellers whiled away their idle moments by various conversations. Three of the four left Madrid with sorrow and regret, parting from relatives or friends. Only the Doctor regarded the city they were leaving with displeasure and dry eyes, as if angry at one who is prodigal of her favors to strangers and miserly to her natives. His companions wondered at his indifference, and early in the journey he explained his attitude.

The work is divided into ten books termed "alivios," *i.e.* conversations which alleviate the fatigues of the journey. In these ten chapters are related the experiences of the four companions, or of those whom they encounter on the way. The most interesting of the latter is the story of an innkeeper whom the Doctor once met in his travels.

A large part of the work, and the one which has attracted most attention thus far, consists of literary criticism. Through the Doctor's mouth Figueroa indulges in bitter attacks on his contemporaries and the dramatic forms popular in his day, while

defending the followers of the classical school. Just as Cervantes in *Don Quixote* (Part I, chapters 21 and 50) describes a typical Romance of Chivalry, so the soldier in *El Pasagero* (*Alivio* ii) declares that he could not learn in ten years the art extolled by the Doctor. He prefers to follow in the footsteps of those who have won popular applause, and proceeds to sketch a typical *comedia*.

An interesting and elaborate criticism of the sermons of the day is given in *Alivio* iv; nor is so important a topic as Love neglected. Various questions connected with it are discussed as in Italian society, e.g., Can Love exist without jealousy? Which should reveal Love first, the woman or the man? etc. Many other subjects are also treated, such as courtesy and good manners, conversation, and, at considerable length, friendship. Besides all this, there are endless digressions and reflections of all sorts, moral, historical, geographical,—the work begins with a minute description of Italy. In short, as Professor Crawford says, *op. cit.*, p. 57, "There are few books in Spanish literature so subjective as *El Pasagero*, and perhaps no Spanish writer has left so faithful a record of his disposition and tastes. It not only affords us an opportunity to study the life and character of the author, but enables us to see, with the eye of a contemporary, the life and manners of Spain in the early seventeenth century."

I shall mention briefly in this connection another work of Figueroa which I have seen in the Hispanic Society: *Pusilipo. Ratos de conversacion, en los que dura el paseo*. Naples, Lazaro Scorriggio, 1629. The work is dedicated to the Duke of Alcalá, viceroy of the kingdom of Naples. The book is well characterized by Professor Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 92: "The scene of the book is a garden on the hill of Posilipo, overlooking the Bay of Naples, where four friends sought the cool breezes during the long summer days. *Pusilipo*, which is a record of their conversation, is composed of six *juntas* or meetings, and includes a large number of verses which were introduced from time to time into the dialogue.

"The book shows evident signs of haste in composition, and the author rambles from politics and the principles of government to religion and natural philosophy without any apparent order or system. . . . His discussion of the government of

Naples is valuable as an historical document, but aside from that the book offers little of interest."

The four friends who meet at Posilipo are: Rosardo, an old man who devoted all his wits to "las letras politicas"; Florindo, "que por singulares demonstraciones, avia en al milicia conseguido honrosos puestos," and enjoyed an ample stipend from the king; Silverio, most expert in the "cautelosa filosofia de palacio"; and Laureano, an academician of some repute in the Neapolitan Liceo.

We have seen in Chapter III the important part which a work of a Spanish Jew played in the interminable discussions on Love in Italy in the sixteenth century. The *Dialoghi di Amore* of Leone Hebreo was translated into Spanish three times: by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega (Madrid, 1590, reprinted in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Orígenes de la Novela*, Vol. IV, pp. 278-459); by an anonymous Jew (Venice, 1658); and by Micer Carlos Montesa (Saragossa, 1582). The Italian original was well known in Spain, and the reader will recall Cervantes's allusion to the author in the Prologue to the First Part of *Don Quixote*: "Si trataredes de amores, con dos onzas que sepais de la lengua toscana topareis con Leon Hebreo, que os hinchá las medidas." Long before *Don Quixote* Cervantes had used Leone Hebreo, as we shall presently see.¹¹

The enormous popularity of the *Diana* of Jorge de Montemor (better known under the Spanish form of his name, Montemayor) contributed to the vogue in Spain of discussions on the nature of Love.¹² In the fourth book of that romance the nymphs and shepherdesses gather at the hour of supper in a little meadow enclosed by green willows. There seated on the grass they begin to converse with one another on the topics which most please them. The company is broken up into little groups so that they can talk without disturbance to others. Sireno, desirous that the conversation shall conform to the time and place as well as to the speaker, begins as follows: "It does not seem to me improper, Señora Felicia, to ask a question which I

¹¹ See note 3.

¹² A sufficient account of Montemayor and his famous work will be found in *Orígenes de la Novela*, I, pp. ccxlviii *et seq.*, and in Rennert's *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Baltimore, 1892 (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. VII, No. 3), pp. 6 *et seq.* The *Diana* is reprinted in the second volume of the *Orígenes de la Novela*.

have never been able to solve. It is this: All persons of understanding declare that true love springs from reason; but if this is so, why is there nothing more unbridled in the world or less governed by reason?"

Felicia replies that as the question was one beyond the capacity of a shepherd, she should have to be more than woman to answer it; but with her little comprehension it did not seem to her that because reason was the mother of love one must think that it limits or governs it. "Rather it must be presumed," she continues, "that after reason has engendered it, generally it is unwilling to rule it, and it is so ungovernable that most often it results in harm and prejudice to the lover, since for the most part those who love deeply come to abhor each other, which is contrary to reason and the right of nature. This is why Love is painted blind and devoid of reason, and as his mother Venus has beautiful eyes, so he always desires what is most beautiful. He is painted naked, because good love cannot be dissembled with reason, nor concealed with prudence. He is painted winged, because he enters swiftly the mind of the lover, and the more perfect he is, with the greater swiftness and madness (*enagenamiento de sí mismo*) does he go in search of the beloved person. For which reason Euripides says that the lover lives in the body of the beloved. He is also painted bending his bow, because he shoots straight at the heart, as at his proper target, and thus the wound produced by love is like that made by the arrow or dart on its penetration deep within the lover. This wound is difficult to see, hard to cure, and long in healing."

The reader will recognize in the above passage one of the most frequent topics of discussion in Italian society in the sixteenth century.¹³

It is not necessary to follow further the arguments of the shepherds and shepherdesses in the *Diana*, and we will turn to Cervantes, whose first work, the *Galatea*, also a pastoral romance, was printed at Alcalá de Henares in 1585. The passage in question, much more extensive than the one in the *Diana*, occurs in the fourth book. The scene is at a spring in a cool and pleasing spot, where the shepherds come to pass the noontide heat in the shade of dense green trees. There they meet the shepherdesses

¹³ See Chapter III, p. 114; Chapter VI, p. 278; Chapter VIII, p. 403; and Chapter XI, note 7.

and certain gentlemen and fair ladies who are on a journey and wearied and invited by the cool and pleasing spot have left their road and are spending there the sultry hours of the noontide heat. After a long poem by the shepherd Lauso, the loveless Lenio starts a discussion on the subject of love. The company is augmented by the arrival of other shepherds and shepherdesses who are anxious to hear the arguments of Lenio, who, seating himself on the trunk of a felled tree, begins his discourse in a voice at first low, and then full-sounding.

Lenio's discourse is based on Leone Hebreo, whose words he often follows. He begins with the definition of Love: "Love, then, as I have heard my elders say, is a desire for beauty. Then if it be granted me that love is desire for beauty, it must necessarily be granted me that such as is the beauty which is loved will be the love with which it is loved." He then defines the two kinds of beauty, which lead to two kinds of love. The characteristics and results of these are elaborately described, and the pangs of love are enumerated at great length. The ancients believed that the passions and follies of lovers were due to a fancied god, to whom they gave the name of Cupid. "They were moved to say this, and to give the name of god to this desire by seeing the supernatural effects it produces in lovers. Without doubt it seems a supernatural thing for a lover at the same moment to be timorous and confident, to burn away from his beloved and grow cold when nearer her, to be dumb when speaking much, and speaking much when dumb. It is likewise a strange thing to follow one who shuns me, to praise one who reproaches me, to utter words to one who does not listen to me, to serve an ungrateful one, and to hope in one who never promises nor can give aught that is good. Oh, bitter sweetness, oh, poisonous medicine of sick lovers, oh, sad joy, oh, flower of love, that dost indicate no fruit, save that of tardy repentance! These are the effects of this fancied god; these are his deeds and wondrous works; and indeed it can also be seen in the picture by which they represented this vain god of theirs, how vainly they acted; they painted him as a boy, naked, winged, his eyes bandaged, with bow and arrows in his hands, to give us to understand, amongst other things, that, when a man is in love, he assumes again the character of a simple and capricious boy, who is blind in his aims, light in his thoughts, cruel in his deeds, naked and

poor in the riches of the understanding. They said likewise that amongst his arrows he had two, the one of lead and the other of gold, with which he produced different effects; for the leaden one begot hatred in the breasts it touched, and the golden one increase of love in those it wounded, merely to tell us that it is rich gold that causes love, and poor lead abhorrence."

Many mythological and historical illustrations of the evil effects of love are also adduced. Lenio concludes his lengthy discourse by a song which he composed some days before in reproach of his foe.

He is answered by Thyrsis, who distinguishes between love and desire, which are different passions of the will. He divides love into three kinds: chaste love, useful love, and delectable love. He then proceeds to refute Lenio's arguments, saying that there is nothing praiseworthy in the world, however good it be, the use of which cannot be changed into evil. He then gives another interpretation of Cupid's form: "And as for the interpretation you gave of Cupid's form, I am going to say that you are almost as wrong in it as in the other things you have said against love. For to picture him a boy, blind, naked, with wings and arrows, means nothing but that the lover must be a boy in not having a double character, but one pure and simple; he must be blind to every other object that might offer itself to him, save that which he has already been able and yield to, naked because he must have nought save what belongs to her he loves, having wings of swiftness to be ready for all that may be commanded him on her part, while he is depicted with arrows, for the wound of the loving breast must needs be deep and hidden, and that scarce may be disclosed save to the very cause that is to cure it. That love should strike with two arrows which operate in different ways, is to show us that in perfect love there must be no mean between loving and not loving at the same moment, but that the lover must love whole-heartedly without any admixture of lukewarmness. Finally, Lenio, this love it is which, if it destroyed the Trojans, made the Greeks great; if it caused the works of Carthage to cease, it caused the buildings of Rome to grow; if it took away the kingdom from Tarquin, it brought back the republic to freedom." Like Lenio he closes with a song, but it is in praise of love.

This long episode of the fourth book of the *Galatea* affords an

almost complete treatise on Platonic love as it was understood in the sixteenth century, and will excuse the reader from the perusal of many more extensive disquisitions. It should be taken in connection with an episode of the third book, where four shepherds recite an eclogue which they themselves have composed on the occasion of their own griefs. One complains of the death of his beloved, another, the hardheartedness of his, another, the absence of his, and the fourth, that his beloved gives him cause for jealousy. The eclogue is really a *débat*, in which each party endeavours to prove that his sufferings are the greatest. A contest arises between many of the bystanders as to which of the four has pleaded his cause the best, and the opinion of all comes to agree with that which discreet Damon gives, saying to them that he for his part holds that, among all the distasteful and unpleasant things that love brings with it, nothing so much distresses the loving breast as the incurable plague of jealousy, and neither Orompo's loss, nor Crisio's absence, nor Marsilio's despair can be equalled by it. He then proceeds to prove his judgment by a long discourse on the passion of jealousy.

One of the few references to Parlor Games in Spanish literature occurs in the work of Cervantes just mentioned. It follows the long discussion on Love which has been quoted above. The company was joined by three shepherds, one of whom states that they have come to beg Damon and Thyrsis to be judges of a graceful contest that has arisen between the new comers, who found themselves in a company of fair shepherdesses, and in order to pass without tedium the leisure hours of the day amongst them, set on foot, amongst many other games, the one which is called "themes" (*propositos*). "It happens then, that, the turn to propose and begin coming to one of these shepherds, fate would have it that the shepherdess at his side and on his right hand is, as he says, the treasurer of his soul's secrets, and the one who is, in the opinion of all, accounted the most discreet and most in love. Approaching, then, her ear, he says to her:

Hope doth fly and will not stay.

The shepherdess, without being at a loss, goes on, and, each one afterwards repeating in public what he has said to the other in secret, it is found that the shepherdess has capped the theme by saying:

With desire to check its flight.

"The acuteness of this reply was praised by those who were present; but the one to extol it the most was the shepherd Lauso, and it seemed no less good to Francenio, and so each one, seeing that the theme and reply were verses of the same measure, offered to gloss them. After having done so, each one claimed that his gloss excelled the other's, and to have certainty in this, they wished to make me judge of it; but, as I knew that your presence was gladdening our banks, I counselled them to come to you, to whose consummate learning and wisdom questions of greater import might well be trusted."

It is not necessary to dwell on the decision. Our readers will easily recognize the game as an Italian one. It is, in fact, found in Girolamo Bargagli's *Dialogo de' Giuochi*, p. 22, "Giuoco del Proposito," in which a word or saying is whispered to one next you at table, and this one whispers the answer to the one next him, and so on around the circle, and then the questions and answers are told aloud so that it may be seen who has answered apropos and who not. This game with some modifications is found in Sorel's *Recréations galantes*, p. 71. It is also referred to in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Vol. II, p. 93, ed. of Shilleto. See Chapter VI, note 2 of this present work, also Chapter XI, note 12a.

There is no doubt that in Spain discussions on the subject of love like those mentioned above were frequent and formed a part of social diversions. We shall see frequent allusion to this in the novels describing entertainments after the fashion of those immortalized in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

I have, however, been unable to find even in the class of literary works just mentioned many definite allusions to parlor games, although such must have enjoyed some vogue in Spain. This is shown by the fact that references to them are found in the drama, and in one instance the game is minutely described. I allude to Guillén de Castro's play of *Los mal casados de Valencia*.¹⁴ It occurs in the first act, where the company of ladies and gentlemen are uncertain as to how they shall spend the afternoon. Don Alvaro asks: "At what shall we play?" Valerian replies: "Invent the game as you like." Don Alvaro: "The game of

¹⁴ I have seen the editions of this play in Ochoa, *Tesoro del Teatro Español*, Paris, 1838, Vol. I, and in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XLIII, *Dramáticos contemporáneos a Lope de Vega*, I.

letters will go well where there is so much learning." Doña Eugenia chooses A, Don Alvaro E, Valerian I, Hipolita C, Galindez T, the *criado* Pierris R, and Elvira D. Eugenia is the first to begin: "I departed from Aragon." Valerian: "Give me a forfeit." Doña Eugenia: "Why?" Valerian: "Because you have made a mistake. Aragon is a kingdom, not a place." Don Alvaro: "There is no doubt about that." Hipolita: "Give him a forfeit." Doña Eugenia: "I have; now I'll continue. I arrived at Almeria, where I entered an inn and found some guests (or host and hostess), one named Antonio, the other Ana, and a gallant, Alvaro, who was following me. They brought us for supper, first (Heavens! who will help me?) *alcachofas* (artichokes), then for *medios* a duck (*anadino*), for dessert almonds. Now I am coming to the most difficult part." Don Alvaro: "You mean to the gallant. What did you say to him?" Doña Eugenia: "I do not know what to say. Alas! he was as handsome as water (*agua*)." Valerian: "Is water handsome?" Doña Eugenia: "It is clear, which is the greatest beauty." Elvira: "That's better said of the dress than of the face." Hipolita: "She's right, by my life!" Don Alvaro: "She is rapacious—speak." Doña Eugenia: "I am calm." Don Alvaro: "You said to him?" Doña Eugenia: "I told him I loved him like my soul (*alma*)."

It is not necessary to continue, as each character who takes part in the game uses his or her opportunity to make veiled references to their love affairs, which are excessively complicated, as is usually the case in the Spanish drama.

The game consists, as we have seen, in the narration of a journey, on which the inns, food, persons, etc., must begin with the letter which the player has chosen at the beginning. This game is the well-known Italian parlor game of "Letters," and was also popular in France.¹⁵

I owe to Professor E. C. Hills of the University of Indiana another reference to a Parlor Game in the Spanish drama. It occurs in Agustín Moreto (1618-1669), *La Fuerza del Natural* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXIX, *Comedias*

¹⁵ See Bargagli, *Dialoghi de' Giuochi*, p. 27, X, "Game of Letters," where one feigns to have returned from a journey and all the things that he has seen and done must begin with a certain letter. This game was included by Charles Sorel in *Les Récréations galantes*, Paris, 1671, p. 92. For the above authors and games in general see Chapters VI and X of the present work.

escogidas de Don Agustín Moreto y Cabaña, Madrid, 1856, pp. 209-228), Act II, Scene IX, p. 221. The scene of the play is at Ferrara "y sus inmediateciones," and the game, as in *Los Mal Casados de Valencia*, affords an opportunity for the characters to reveal their love.

The game is introduced in a garden and the characters involved are the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, Aurora, Carlos, Camila, Julio, and Gila.

Duque.

En aqueste sitio ameno
Divirtirme solícito,
Depuesta la autoridad
En las manos del cariño.
Aquí entre discretos temas,
Variamente discursivos,
Divertida la fatiga
Hallará el ingenio avisos,
Y Julio acompañará,
Para mayor regocijo,
Las ingeniosas profías
A que agora os apercibo.
.....
Pues un juego sea ingeniosa
Profia en "quién mas sintió."
.....

Cárlos.

Y yo el juego compondré.

Julio.

Por mí, vaya: mas no sé
Sino a la pizpirigaña.^{15a}

Cárlos.

Los cuatro elementos son
En los que el juego se fragua;
Y así, tome Julio el agua.

Julio.

Eso es darme un torozón.

Cárlos.

Tome Alejandro la tierra,
A Camila el aire entrego,
Yo para mí tomo el fuego
(*Ap.* Pues tanto mi pecho encierra):
Y así, cuando se nombrare
Propriedad ó fruto, atento
Responda con su elemento
Aquel á quien le tocare.
Pague una prenda el culpado;
Y el que acierte ó yerre el pié.
Dentro de su afecto dé

^{15a} A children's game which consists in pinching each other's hands.

El razon que le ha obligado
 A errar ó acertar. Y sea
 De Icaro el caso funesto
 Materia al juego. (Ap. Con esto
 Diré lo que amor desea)
 Y sea Aurora discreta
 Quien le juzgue, pues atentos
 La adoran los elementos,
 Y no está á afectos sujeta.

Aurora then begins the story of Icarus, and as soon as she speaks of Icarus preparing wings and thus enjoying the privilege of birds, Carlos says "Aire," and explains why.

Aurora continues and when she describes Icarus' flight and Daedalus keeping nearer to the foam, Julio cries "Vino," and when told he should have said "Agua," claims that wine produces foam as well as water. He is, however, compelled to pay a forfeit, in his case to read some verses he has written.

The game goes on, and when Aurora describes Icarus mounting on high with "tan altos pensamientos," Carlos interrupts with "Fuego." He is reproved for speaking too soon. He excuses himself but has to pay a forfeit. This is to discuss a "problema," really a "question." The "question" is reserved until Alejandro also makes a mistake. The "question" is:

¿Cuál obliga mas amando
 Y hace su fe mas felice?
 ¿Aquel que su pena dice,
 O aquel que pena callando?

Cárlos and Alejandro debate the "question" and Aurora gives a rather dubious decision:

Aprobaré mi opinión
 De Alejandro la razón
 Y de Cárlos las razones.

The company then breaks up, but Carlos, detaining Aurora, makes her a fervent declaration of his love.

The game resembles somewhat Ringhieri's VIII., The Game of the Elements. It is also in Sorel's *Les Récréations galantes*, II. See Chapters VI and X of the present work. The "question" discussed in the game is one mentioned in the present work in Chapter I, pp. 10, 21.

I know of only one other reference to Italian forms of social diversion in the Spanish drama, which I owe to Ticknor's allusion to Calderon's *Secreto a Voces* as a witty exhibition of *pre-*

guntas.¹⁶ The scene of the play is in the north of Italy, Mantua or Parma, and the episode in question is undoubtedly nothing but a representation of the common Italian social diversion of Questions. The passage is as follows: Flerida, Duchess of Parma, is holding her court when she receives a letter from the Duke of Mantua asking her to shelter a near relative of his while he arranges a difficulty growing out of a love affair which has led to a challenge. Flerida grants the request and says she will reply at once to the Duke. Then addressing her guest (who is the Duke of Mantua himself in disguise) she says: "That you may be able to write the Duke about my diversions, for I do not doubt you have instructions to do so, let all be seated, now that the sun is covered with grey clouds, and let Arnesto propound a question." Arnesto replies that although his age might excuse him, nevertheless he will accept the task of diverting her, and so proposes the question: Which is the greatest torment of love? Flerida directs the newcomer Enrique to reply first. He answers that he enjoys two advantages, and to comply with them he chooses the torment which he himself is suffering—that of a lover who is disliked (*aborrecido*) by the object of his affections. Flora, the *criada*, thinks that greater pain consists in disliking one. Lisardo maintains that jealousy is the greatest torment; Libia, absence; Federico, hopeless love; Flerida, to love in silence without being able to reveal one's feelings; Laura, to love and be loved. Arnesto then calls on each to prove his contention. This is done, and the discussion is closed by Laura, who maintains that to love being loved is the greatest torment. Flerida declares that Laura's arguments are mere sophistry, and the company breaks up.

That parlor games were played in Spain is also shown by a rare work by Don Luis Milán, whose *El Cortesano* has been examined at length in Chapter IV of this work. The little book in question, of which but a single copy is known, that in the National Library at Madrid, is entitled *Libro de motes de damas y caballeros: Intitulado el juego de mandar. Compuesto por Don Luys Milán. Dirigido á las damas. Valencia, por Francisco Diaz, romano, 1635*.¹⁷

¹⁶ Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, II, p. 6, n. 5. I have used the edition of the play in *Comedias de Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca*, ed. Keil, Leipzig, 1829, Vol. III, p. 345, *Jornada I*.

¹⁷ This rare little work is printed at the end of Milan's *El Cortesano* in *Cojcción de libros españoles raros o curiosos*, Madrid, 1874, Vol. VII. The copy

After a prologue in fervent praise of women, follows "The way in which this game of commands is to be played." "A gentleman, holding the book closed in his hands, will beg a lady to open it, and when she has done so a lady and gentleman will be found depicted, each with a motto before him or her. The motto before the lady will be the command for the gentleman, who must be very obedient, since for the obedience which he must display in doing what the lady commands he has a motto suitable for him in the book; and the gentleman who is not obedient will be condemned by the ladies as they deem proper, and banished from the room. Afterwards another gentleman and lady will do as the first have done, and all the rest afterwards in order, until the ladies command the game to cease."

Each command is followed by an answer which the player apparently must recite with the performance of his task or command. Here are some of the commands, generally vapid enough:

Rise and dance,
For with such a disposition
You can easily dance without music.

I would not seem foolish
In dancing for you without music
If we should dance together.

Seeking among these ladies,
If there is any one named Mencía,
Greet her with beauty and joy.

Mencía,
He who made you well knew
That he had created two things in you,
Beauty among the beautiful
And among the melancholy joy.

Go and touch the wall
With your eyes shut
And ask me a favor.

The favor I ask you,
Since you have blinded me,
Is that you, lady, should guide me.

of the original edition in the Hispanic Society begins: Libro In- / titulado El Cortesa- / No Dirigido ala / Catholica, Real Magestad . . . don Phelipe . . . Compue- / sto por don Luys Milan . . . Then follows an *epistola proemial* [4 pp.]. Then Tornada primera / Del Presente / Cortesano. No pagination, but really ff. 1-237. At end f. 237 vo.: Fue impressa la presente obra en la insigne ciusad de Valencia, en casa de Ioan de Arcos, corregida a voluntad y contentamiento del Autor. Año M.D.LXI. Vt. Blasius Nauarro.

The very inane commands of this game compare unfavorably with the elaborate and difficult ones in Italian games, in which very often wit and a knowledge of good literature are required on the part of the players.¹⁸

The literary representation of the diversions of society in Spain is fortunately very extensive and includes a few works of unusual interest. Besides the usual forms of conversation and story-telling, a great mass of lyrical poetry is introduced (there is, of course, a considerable amount of poetry in the interludes of the *Decameron*), as well as the performance of complete dramas. This class of literature is evidently an imitation, more or less direct of Boccaccio's *Filocolo* and *Decameron*, both of which were early translated into Spanish.¹⁹ The imitation of Boccaccio, I may say at once, is largely confined to the frame in which the stories, poetry, and plays are set. The idea of a company of ladies and gentlemen retiring to a villa in the country and there amusing themselves with various diversions is so attractive and lends itself to such a variety of purposes that it is not strange that it became popular in all the literatures of Europe. The origin of this idea is to be sought, of course, in the Orient; but the complicated frame of the great number of Oriental story-books was employed largely for didactic purposes, and, besides, the great difference between the society of the East and West modified the frame in its European form. It was, of course, impossible to bring together in the Orient a company of ladies and gentlemen on a footing of social equality and describe their diversions, which had no aim beyond that of entertainment. One soon tires of the colorless individuals who divert each other, and who serve merely as the vehicles of the author's stories and plays.

The frame, as we shall soon see, is usually very simple, but in one of the most interesting works of this class, Tirso de Molina's *Los Cigarrales de Toledo*, it is extraordinarily complicated and involved with the diversions of the different days of the entertainment. The sombre background of the *Decameron* is not

¹⁸ In Ambrosio Bondia's *Cytara de Apolo*, Saragossa, 1650, p. 184, there is what is practically a parlor game. Each of the company takes a sentence of a philosopher and turns it into Spanish. The philosophers used are Seneca, Plato, Ovid, Ficino, etc.

¹⁹ See note 1 to this chapter. For the *Filocolo* see Chapter II of the present work.

imitated. In one case, *La Quinta de Laura* by Solórzano, the ladies retire to a villa on the Po during a state of war. Usually the company comes together for purposes of entertainment only and not to avoid a danger like the plague. In some cases the company meets to celebrate certain festal occasions, like Christmas or the Carnival. In Tirso de Molina's *Deleytar aprovechando* the company leaves the city and retires to a villa near Madrid to escape the license of the Carnival. Sometimes the object of the company is to beguile the long hours of the winter nights, as in Antonio de Esclava's *Noches de Invierno*. In most cases, however, the company, as in the *Decameron*, meets in a villa and under the guidance of some one of the members who distributes the tasks of the various days. In two cases the company meets in order to assuage the melancholy of one of their number (as in Solórzano's *Los Alivios de Casandra*), or to divert the period of convalescence (as in Añaya's *Las Auroras de Diana*). Sometimes a company of gentlemen form a sort of Academy and furnish entertainment for themselves and their friends (as in Salas Barbadillo's *Casa del Placer honesto* and Solórzano's *La Huerta de Valencia*). In two cases the stories are told during a journey (as in Solórzano's *Jornadas alegres* and Matías de los Reyes's *Para Algunos*).

The Spanish imitations of the *Decameron* differ from the original in one important respect. The entertainments of Boccaccio's company of ladies and gentlemen are simple and uniform. After the duties of the ten days are distributed among the company, each day is alike in its entertainments, which consist of singing and dancing and the telling of a story. In the Spanish works the entertainments are most elaborate, and, in addition to the telling of stories and music and dancing, plays, sacred and profane, are performed, together with masques. We are told of the careful arrangements made for these entertainments, the erection of a stage for the dramatic performances, and the decorations and disposition of the rooms and grounds.

The number of works of the class we are now considering is very large. I have seen over twenty and doubtless there are more not to be found in libraries in this country. It will be impossible to consider in detail all those which I have examined, and I shall mention only the most important and interesting, with brief references to the others for the sake of bibliographical completeness.

I shall begin with the most famous, if not the earliest, work of this class, which undoubtedly contributed largely to fixing the form, although, as we shall see, it was not original in one of its most curious features, the introduction of dramatic performances as part of the social diversions of a company of ladies and gentlemen. This work, which I shall proceed to examine at some length, is *Los Cigarrales de Toledo* by Gabriel Téllez, better known by his pseudonym of Tirso de Molina, and famous for his play *El Burlador de Sevilla y Combidado de piedra*, in which first appears on the European stage the figure of Don Juan.²⁰

Gabriel Téllez was born at Madrid, apparently in 1571, and became a member of the religious order of La Merced in 1601. He made a journey in 1615 to Santo Domingo on business for his order, in which he filled various offices, and died in 1648 as *comendador* or superior of the convent of Soria, a cheerless town in the north of Spain. He began his literary career as a playwright, but before he had accomplished fame in the field of the drama, he published at Madrid in 1621 his *Cigarrales de Toledo*, which appeared in six editions during the life of the author, and exerted great influence on this class of compositions.²¹ It is extremely difficult to give a satisfactory analysis of this work as the frame is so involved with the adventures and diversions of the different days of the entertainment. If my analysis seems disproportionately long I must offer the excuse that the work is the most interesting and influential of its class, and the only one which has received the compliment of a modern reprint.

²⁰ A sufficient account of Téllez will be found in Don Emilio Cotareto y Mori's *Comedias de Tirso de Molina* in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Madrid, 1906, Vol. I, pp. vii-lxxx. For the *Cigarrales de Toledo* see pp. xxv-xxxiii. I have seen in the Hispanic Society Library the editions of Madrid, 1630, and of Barcelona, 1631. For my analysis I have used the convenient reprint in the *Biblioteca Renacimiento*, Madrid, 1913. The original followed by the editor is not stated, but is probably that of Madrid, 1624. The three plays of the original are omitted, but may be found in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. II, *Comedias escogidas de Tirso de Molina*, and *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, Vol. I. I have also consulted for Téllez Don Pedro Muñoz Peña's *El Teatro del Maestro Tirso de Molina*, *Estudio crítico-literario*, Valladolid, 1889, of little value for the two works with which we are at present concerned. See also Ticknor, II, pp. 323-329, and III, pp. 139-140. Other bibliographical details may be found in the Spanish edition of Fitzmaurice-Kelley's *History of Spanish Literature*, Madrid, 1913, p. 544.

²¹ It was undoubtedly influenced in its form by Lope de Vega's *Peregrino en su Patria*, mentioned above, which is the first work, so far as I know, to insert dramas in a novel. The insertion of stories in the form of biographical episodes is as old as the romantic novel itself.

One night in summer a gentleman on horse, with a servant on foot and another on horse, approaches the neighborhood of Toledo. The gentleman, Don Juan de Salzedo, who has been an exile from his native city for three years, finds the environs of the city illuminated and signs of festivity everywhere. While wondering at this he hears in an almond grove near by the voices of a man and woman which he seems to recognize. The lady complains that her companion rejects her love although he cannot obtain the object of his affections; the gentleman addressed (whose name is Don García) replies to the lady (whose name is Serafina) that his will is not free, and he can do nothing but leave Toledo, especially since his friend Don Juan is absent, from whom he was wont to receive advice.

At these words Don Juan makes himself known and proposes to send his servants and horses to the nearest inn and to remain himself with his friends and celebrate in imitation of his city that happy night, sure that whatever may be the cause of the festivities it cannot be greater than his joy at seeing his friends again.

They take their seats under an almond tree and Don Juan asks his friends to explain to him how it is that he left them free from love and now finds them professing it. Don García tells his story beginning with an adventure during Corpus Christi in the city of Yepes. A dispute with some strangers over a game of cards led to a fight and Don García was wounded, but not seriously, and escaped to Toledo, seven leagues distant, with a companion who was also involved in the quarrel. He invited Don García to pass the night with him, but he declined, leaving, however, his servant and horse with his friend, in order not to disturb his parents. His intention was to go quietly to their house, obtain what jewels and money he might need in view of the affair at Yepes, and meet his friend the next day at the Hospital de Afuera, whose superintendent was a relative of his.

He made his way quietly to his apartment on the ground floor and was taking from his desk some jewels and money when he thought he heard a sound as of one breathing heavily in his bedroom. He entered the room carefully and to his great surprise found sleeping in his bed a beautiful woman, a neighbor of his, whom he had scarcely noticed in the past. He instantly fell madly in love with her, and, to excuse himself, gives his

friend a long and detailed description of her charms. Under her pillow was a necklace of diamonds and emeralds which Don García took and left in its place one which he had won at cards in Yepes the night before. He left his house quietly and as he was passing the home of the sleeping beauty near by, he found the servants moving furniture, etc., to a house opposite and learned that the carelessness of a servant had set fire to the house the very day Don García had set out for Yepes.

Don García then went to his companion's house and learned that there would be no disagreeable consequences of the quarrel at Yepes, as the two gamblers with whom they had fought had been arrested and taken to Madrid as notorious robbers. Don García often thought of what the confusion of the lady would be when she awoke and perceived the exchange of the necklaces. How great this would be appears from what Don García later learned from a servant, trusty depositary of her mistress's secrets and afterwards in the pay of Don García.

It seems that the lady, Irene by name, and a certain Don Alexo had loved each other for some time, and it was their marriage which gave rise to the festivities of that night which had caused Don Juan so much surprise. The couple would have been already married had not Don Alexo awaited the arrival of a rich inheritance left him by an uncle in Peru. Don Alexo and his father were summoned to Seville, and on parting from his betrothed Don Alexo gave to her the cross which Don García had found under Irene's pillow. Her lover had been gone a month, from the twentieth of May to the twenty-fourth of June, when her house was burned. Here ends Don García's preliminary explanation. He now proceeds with his story.

He returned later to his parents' house and learned from them of the fire, and was requested to visit Irene and her mother and express his sympathy and regret. He did so and wished to accompany them to their new quarters. He saw with regret that Irene was not wearing his jewel. The ladies did not allow Don García to accompany them beyond his house. On his return to his room he was unable to sleep during the siesta, and in the afternoon a cool breeze and cloudy sky invited him to visit *La Vega* (the fashionable promenade just outside of the city) and implore the advocacy of the saint there venerated. He thought his ladylove might come too; and in company with

his friend and dressed for the street (*de rua*) he descended into the plain, which was filled with ladies.

"Here," Don García says, "it is necessary to make a digression, without which it will be difficult to understand the complicated event, the principal part of which concerns the fair Serafina here present." She insists on telling her own story and proceeds as follows. She had lived opposite to Don García and was also from childhood an intimate friend of Irene. One night she heard Don García singing and conceived a violent love for him. The family of Serafina had a villa near Toledo whither they often went. One day (the tenth after Serafina had heard Don García singing) while her mother and brother were gone to the neighboring monastery of the Capuchins, two men suddenly entered bearing in their arms a man wounded and unconscious and laid him at her feet. They left him to seek aid for his soul and body and Serafina finally recognized Don García. While she was in this extreme of fear and sorrow, who should enter but Don Andres, with whom her mother and brother had arranged a marriage for her.

Don Andres, seeing the wounded man, imagined that some one interested in Serafina's honor had wounded him, and, carried away by sudden rage, wished to complete his task. While Serafina was defending him her mother and brother returned. Serafina supposed Don Andres was the one who had attacked Don García and cried out for his arrest. Serafina's brother supposed she had made an appointment with Don García and wanted to kill his sister. Don Andres was taken to prison, Serafina to the house of a widow to be kept in seclusion, and later Don García was also arrested and thrown into jail. When questioned by his father Don García declared that he had only come across two men who were quarrelling and intervened with the usual result.

Don Andres was finally set free and departed for Cordova with Serafina's brother. The mother died and Serafina was placed under the care of an uncle. She later managed to begin a correspondence with Don García, but soon found out that another possessed his love, and that one was Irene. The friends had an explanation and agreed to go the next day, St. John's Day, to La Vega and divert themselves. This they did and went to the Campo de Marçal, the famous square of the Hospital de Afuera, where

took place what Serafina says Don García can better describe.

Don García here takes up the narrative and relates his meeting with the ladies and their sudden withdrawal, occasioned, as he later learned, by the unexpected return from Seville of Don Alexo, and Irene's fear that he would be jealous if he saw her talking with Don García. The two ladies withdrew to a country-house near by and exchanged dresses in order to avert the suspicions of Don Alexo. The ladies returned later to La Vega and mystified Don Alexo and Don García, who were finally on the point of coming to blows. Their friends separated them and they afterwards met and an explanation followed, which, however, Don Alexo misunderstood and tried to make way with himself. His relatives took him by force to Irene's house, where his jealousy was removed by Serafina's narrative of what really took place. Irene afterwards wrote to Don García and asked him to return the jewel he had taken and reminded him of his obligations to Serafina. The bearer of the letter told Don García that the marriage was fixed for a fortnight hence, and that he was invited to the wedding.

The next day, Don García continues, was to be the wedding-day and in anticipation of it was made the illumination which has caused Don Juan's wonder. Don García, who had not recovered from his wound, insisted on leaving his bed and his parents' house. The servant whom he ordered to saddle his horse and follow him was in Serafina's pay and let her know of his master's departure. She left the villa of Buenavista where she had been with the bride, took a carriage, intercepted Don García, and persuaded him to leave his horse with her carriage at the inn and accompany her to the spot where Don Juan found them at the opening of the story, in order that she might pour her lamentations into the ear of her beloved.

Don Juan agrees to become the guest of Don García, and Serafina determines to return to the villa of the bride. Don García and his guest are received with rejoicing by the former's parents and lodged in the same room. Meanwhile Serafina receives a letter from her brother telling her that he has renewed the promise of her hand to Don Andres, declaring that the wedding will take place as soon as they arrive and that after it they will all return to live at Cordova. Serafina at once determines to return to the city and devise some means of avoiding the hateful marriage.

The two friends spend part of the night in mutual confessions, and Don Juan narrates how he was forced to leave Toledo by the fickleness of the fair Lisida. He is interrupted by Don García, who explains that it was all a mistake and that Lisida is still true to him and that he will be able to see her at the wedding of Irene. At this point a servant enters with a letter from Serafina enclosing her brother's and imploring Don Juan's aid. Don García, as soon as it appears that he will lose Serafina to another, feels a sudden affection for her and determines to marry her. The friends go to her uncle's who consents to the marriage, which is fixed for the following day.

The scene now shifts to the villa of Buenavista and the festivities attending the marriage of Don Alexo and Irene. A detailed description is given (pp. 90-104) of a naval tournament, with devices, etc., the whole ending with a display of fireworks. The next night a masquerade ball is given, at which are announced the wedding of Don García and Serafina and the return of Don Juan. Later his marriage with Lisida is arranged and it is determined by those present to celebrate at the villa of Buenavista for a week the three weddings by various entertainments. Don Melchor is the spokesman and proposes that for the forty days of the midsummer heat, the company shall seek their diversions in the various villas or *Cigarrales* of the neighborhood, choosing ten ladies and ten gentlemen, who will equal the half of the days of the heat. He proposes that the names of the ladies and gentlemen as well as of the *Cigarrales* be drawn from a vase. When the twenty days have passed the company can resort to the lots again. The result of the lots is given on p. 141, and afterwards the prizes for the tournament are awarded and the evening concludes with a masquerade "que los entretuvo hasta parte de la noche, y yo no refiero por dar principio a la primera fiesta, que cupo por suerte a don Alexo; pues della y las demás que se celebraron en los nombrados Cigarrales de Toledo toma el título este libro."

The next day at four o'clock the company assembled in the largest room of the villa, which was lighted by twelve candelabra, and listened to the comedy performed with general applause some years before, *El Vergonzoso en Palacio*. Before it appeared four men and two women who sang to the sound of various instruments. The author remarks here that he does not give here

or elsewhere "las letras, bayles y entremeses" in order not to increase the volume of the work and interrupt the pleasure of those who would like to read the plays consecutively. The *Loa* is printed in the Renacimiento edition, pp. 119-123, but the comedy is omitted, as is the case with the other plays.

The comedy is discussed at considerable length, and there is an interesting dispute about the three unities. The company then breaks up, Lisida being reminded that it had fallen to her lot to give the entertainment a week from that time in the *cigarral* which she had drawn by lot.

The intervening time is passed by the guests at Buenavista with Don Alexo and Irene. There is no exact account of the diversions of the company, which are said to consist in fishing, *cañas*, conversations, peaceful games, *estafermos y carreras*, balls in the evenings, "motes más agudos que satíricos y disputas tan curiosas como claras, que pudieran dar embidia a las Noches de Aulo Gelio, y Días saturnales de Macrobio." Don Luis arrives and finally consents to his sister's marriage to Don Juan, which takes place after the lapse of the week above mentioned.

The scene of the second *Cigarral* or entertainment is in the Cigarral del Rey, under the supervision of Narcisa, who had constructed a labyrinth at the entrance of the villa and a grove planted for the recreations, and a castle of "La Pretensión de Amor." This has various doors, some for those who are satisfied with their ladies, others for those who are jealous. The description of the Castle, its streets, devices, etc., and the adventures of the various guests in it fill pp. 133-157. The day closes with the recitation by Don Luis of the "Fábula de Siringa y Pan" by Don Plácido de Aguilar. After that Doña Dionisia enters as a pilgrim and Don Juan is made king of the third day by Narcisa placing on his head a crown of laurel. The company are all anxious to hear the story of the foreign lady (Dionisia), as well as the adventures encountered by Don Juan during the years of his absence; so they entreat him to make the entertainment of the next day consist of these, as they gather from what they have heard that the adventures of the two are connected. Don Juan consents, for he knows how difficult it will be to rival the costly and subtle festival of the lady who has been his predecessor.

The third entertainment takes place at the Cigarral de los Núñez, to which the company migrated in coaches and on horse, and where in the garden Don Juan relates his own story of what happened during his absence from Toledo (pp. 174-239). Then comes the *comida*, during which are sung, among other music, two Romances. It was three o'clock when they finished dinner, and after it they had an intermission, some of the company sleeping, some playing chess, billiards, and checkers (*tablas*), while some of the ladies gathered flowers and made them into wreaths, and others sang *letras*. About five o'clock Don Juan woke the gentlemen and Lisida the ladies. They met in the usual place and Dionisia took her seat in the principal chair and without waiting to be invited began her story, which occupies pp. 247-315.

When she ceased her story the ladies shed compassionate tears and the gentlemen lavished just praise upon the narrator's gifts of memory, order, and discretion. Then Don Juan took his guests to a pond in which was an island with tables for the repast. It was approached by a drawbridge and the food was served from floating sideboards. The banquet lasted three hours, and afterwards the company conversed on various and subtle matters until it was time to sleep.

The company was conveyed as usual in carriages to the new villa for the fourth entertainment. As it was a feast day they all heard mass in a hermitage at the entrance to the villa. After these religious observances it seemed too late to perform a play before dinner; so it was postponed until afternoon and what was left of the morning was spent in music and dancing. When the heat invited them to more quiet pastimes, they entered a beautiful garden, and Isabella commanded the company to repeat verses or poems which they remembered, beginning with Don Lorenzo, who recited a *canción* which had just been sent to him from Madrid. Then Don Fernando repeated a *glosa* with a commentary of his own, and the rest of the company followed with all sorts of poetical compositions and songs. The dinner was accompanied by music and a masque; then came the siesta and after it the play, in the garden where they had dined. Don Melchor acted the *Loa*, which was followed by the ballet (*bayle*), and the *Comedia famosa* of *Como han de ser los amigos*. Some interesting criticisms follow on the drama and the various causes of a play's failure. The day ends with the usual elaborate supper.

The fifth and last entertainment takes place under the rule of Don Fernando in La Huerta de la Encomienda. Two hours before dawn the ladies of the company arose and went to bathe in the Tagus. Don Fernando received them on their return and offered them sweets. Then he took them to a pleasant grove, where they found seats disposed around a fountain, and commanded Don Melchor to narrate the novel he had proposed the day before. This is the famous story of "The Three Deceived Husbands" (*Los tres maridos burlados*) so often reprinted. After the novel the discussion was prolonged until dinner, with the usual music, dancing, and games, followed by the siesta. In the cool of the day many ladies and gentlemen of the city joined them, invited by the king of the day to a comedy, which was performed in the open air. This play was the *Comedia famosa del Zeloso prudente*, preceded as usual by a *loa* acted by Don Miguel, and a ballet. The comedy was well received and the discussion prolonged until supper. After it Don Fernando took from his head his crown and placed it upon the discreet Anarda, and relinquished to her the government of the following day.

Her vassals were about to congratulate her when entered Carrillo, the old servant of Don Juan de Salcedo, saying: "Marco Antonio, your friend, and Don Garceran have arrived near Olías, and coming to Madrid in the company of the viceroy of Barcelona, my master, have wished to take you by surprise in Toledo. But as I do not consent to quarrels without challenges, I have hastened forward to warn you. Go forth to receive them, and if you have anything cold, give it to me to drink." The company took horses and coaches and met the strangers a little more than a mile from the city. Their reception, the festivals, novels, games, inventions, and comedies will be related to you, the author declares, in the Second Part of our *Cigarrales*, if this first part is received by you with the goodwill deserved by the one who has served you with it.

This second part, like so many other promised ones, never appeared, and, as we shall presently see, the similar work by the same author which was published some years later, cannot be considered as a continuation of the earlier one.

I have dwelt at length on the *Cigarrales de Toledo* as it is without doubt the best of its class. In 1635 Téllez published a similar

but much inferior work, *Deleytar Aprovechando*, or as it may be translated *Pleasure with Profit*.²² Like the first it contains novels and plays, but both are of a religious character, the plays being *autos sacramentales*, and the subjects of the novels being taken from early Christian history or from the lives of the saints. There is also a large amount of sacred poetry. Of far greater interest to us is the fact that the work contains three "questions," two of which are found in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*. I shall endeavour to make my analysis of the *Deleytar Aprovechando* briefer than that of the *Cigarrales de Toledo*.

Three gentlemen and their wives, Don Melchor, Don Luis, Don Francisco, Doña Manuela, Doña Beatriz, and Doña Estefania, all natives of Madrid, young, wealthy, and esteemed, determined from religious scruples to withdraw from the licence of the Carnival. These three couples were great friends and in the habit of meeting frequently in church and at each other's houses. One Thursday Doña Beatriz, at the instance of her husband, Don Melchor, invited their four friends to their house to a banquet. While they were talking at table of various things, Don Luis said that the first banquet had proved an unfortunate inheritance to mankind and that our disordered appetite had warred on us from the cradle to the grave. Don Francisco agreed with him and Doña Beatriz said they should oppose their lawful recreations to the blameworthy festivals of the worldly.

Among the different kinds of praiseworthy exercises for the repose of the mind and the health of the body the one which excels all others is ingenious and varied conversation, which delights while it profits, "que deleytando aprovecha." One of the entertainments of this kind, said Doña Estefania, has been introduced into our kingdom and is used in Italy; I mean story-telling (*novelar*), an exercise blamed by some and defended by others. In my opinion it should not be condemned absolutely, nor generally approved, for those novels deserve praise which, exemplary in their actions and decent in their words, satisfy good taste and do not deprave customs, the contrary being true of the opposite kind.

Doña Beatriz replied that there was little necessity for novels

²² I have used the edition of Madrid, 1677. For bibliography and important remarks on this work see Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xlviij–liij. Some very important prefatory matter of the first edition, 1635, is omitted in that of 1677, but is reprinted by Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, I, p. xlix, note.

as they had the lives of the saints, more remarkable in their miraculous character than fiction, which cannot equal them, no matter how much it tries. "Let us do one thing, then," said Don Luis; "since you have all displayed a desire to oppose our pastimes to those totally licentious ones of the people, from Sunday to Tuesday (called in Castile *la vieja de Antruejo*, i.e., Carnival) the end and limit of our profane Easter, if the people amuse themselves with ridiculous novels, let us amuse ourselves with devout histories, and if among the people they perform comedies which are in conformity with their banquets, let us represent our colloquies which celebrate the banquet that in most of the temples love offers freely to its disciples. They adorn theirs with *entremeses*, music, and dancing; let us clothe ours in poems, hymns, and sacred songs." Don Francisco approved the proposition and suggested that they cast lots to see which couple should have assigned to them one of the three days, on each of which, in the morning, the life of a saint, which should please on account of its mystery and wonder, should be related, and in the afternoon an *auto sacramental* should be performed. "It would not be difficult," he said, "to find persons to carry out this plan, and since it was ten days before the first day, Sunday, of the proposed entertainment, there would be time to commit the *autos* to memory."

Doña Manuela chose Sunday for her husband and herself. Don Luis proposed that the entertainments of the three days be printed so as to be accessible to those who could not be present. Don Francisco and Doña Estefania took Monday and Don Melchor and Doña Beatriz the third day, Tuesday.

The careful diligence of Doña Manuela and Don Luis prepared everything necessary for the purpose in a villa near the city of Madrid, on the banks of the dwarfish Manzanares, and invited there friends of different ages and sexes. The villa is described by the author in the usual manner and we are told that there was a theatre in a court of the dwelling. In this *semianfiteatro*, after music, Don Luis seated in an *autorizada cátedra*, began "La Patrona de las Musas" with a sonnet, and then continued his narrative.²³

Don Luis occupied an hour and a half with his *novela*, after which the guests partook of a banquet. Then the stage was

²³ This *novela* is based on the Life of Saint Tecla.

arranged to represent a village, and the afternoon's entertainment began with a poem in honor of the Holy Sacrament sung by three girls representing mountaineers and five shepherds. Then followed the *loa* and the *auto El Colmenero divino*.²⁴

The entertainment of the morning of the second day takes place in the garden of Juan Fernández. The day was threatening; so the theatre was erected in a salon, the stage for the play of the afternoon having been arranged in an interior courtyard of the villa. After music Don Francisco related the *novela* of "Los triunfos de la verdad."²⁵ This *novela* is interspersed with poetry, a considerable part of the story being in the form of versified dialogue. After the *novela* some of the guests remained for a banquet, the others departed to the city near by for their midday meal. At two o'clock the second session of the pleasant solemnity began with music and seven musicians, three women and four youths appeared and sang. Afterwards came the *loa* and the *auto*, *Los Hermanos parecidos*,²⁶ "performed some years before by Tomás Fernández between the two choirs of the cathedral of Toledo." After the *auto* is inserted a *canción* in honor of the Virgin, written by Téllez in 1615 when he was in the island of Santo Domingo.

The scene of Tuesday's entertainment is in the ample (*generosa*) garden of the Duke in the Prado, permission to use which was granted by its *alcayde*. The author refers to the time when this spot had been the scene of royal festivities, given by its late master for the diversion of the most pious king that Spain had ever had. The grass was covered with carpets and cushions and a large and splendid stage was there erected. Don Melchor there read the *novela* of "El Vandolero,"²⁷ which is also interspersed with poems, among which is the long *fábula* of *Thisbe and Pyramus*.

The most interesting thing, however, in the whole work is an episode of the *novela* (fol. 148 vo.) which takes place in Bar-

²⁴ This *auto* is reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. LVIII. *Autos Sacramentales*, pp. 283-292.

²⁵ This *novela* is based on the Christian romance known as *The Clementine Recognitions*.

²⁶ This *auto* is reprinted in Cotarelo y Mori's *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, II, pp. 709-719.

²⁷ This *novela* is the traditional life of San Pedro Armengol, one of the founders of the order of the Mercedarians, to which Tirso de Molina belonged. See *Acta Sanctorum*, September 1, and *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, article "Mercedarians."

celona, where certain characters of the story amuse themselves with entertaining games and conversation, now in one house and now in another.²⁸ One night, it was in the inclement month of February, they availed themselves of the house of Don Berenguel, which offered the convenience of a fireplace which invited "questiones, y platicas ingeniosas, que divertiessen la proligidad de las tinieblas."

"The king, Don Jayme, anxious to make trial in our Montañas of what fame proclaimed (since in the quality of courtier and sage it seemed as if his reputation were exaggerated), commanded the company to be seated, and ordered Saurina, Laurisana, Don Berenguel, and the Count to propose, each of them, a question concerning love, entertaining from its novelty and doubtful from its difficulty. The solution of these questions should be referred to Pedro Guillén, whom to animate the more the king appointed to preside. They all began to make excuses, but the king would not accept them; so in front of the king the defender (*el sustenente*) took his stand with the proponents (*arguyentes*) at his side and commanded Laurisana, in spite of her diffidence (*enagenación de sí misma*) to begin, and demanding a truce of her bold imagination, propounded in prose this difficulty, which I translate into verse."

The "question" stripped of its poetic verbiage is as follows: A lover in the presence of his mistress adores her in silence with his eyes; when absent from her he weeps, and absence is death. Another lover deems it the highest blessing to contemplate her in imagination and worship her only in his mind. Which of these two loves is the more perfect?²⁹

Montañas replies: That in his judgment there is greater perfection in contemplating than in beholding. The sight does not go beyond material beauty, but the mind penetrates and consumes (*abrasa*). There are two kinds of love: base (*torpe*) and pure (*honesto*); the former is the province of the bodily senses, the latter of the mind. Hence the latter is more perfect.

The king declares that the contrary seems to him more certain. Love consists alone in the sight, for he who does not see

²⁸ There is a curious resemblance between the framework of this episode and that of Solórzano's *Sala de recreación* mentioned later in this chapter.

²⁹ This question resembles the eleventh in the *Filocolo*: "Which is the greater pleasure for the lover, to behold his lady visibly, or not seeing her to think vain gly of her?" See Chapter II, p. 75, note 17.

does not desire. Those born blind do not love, although they enjoy other senses. Love never introduced its flames by hearsay. The perfect lover while he does not behold his mistress suffers, weeps, sighs, and loves only in her presence. Absence is the mother of oblivion, it never increases love, so that no love can be perfect without the sense of sight.

Montañes answers in a long poem ending: Painters are wont to depict the youthful god as blind, and he is necessarily so, for love should never behold as long as it can contemplate.³⁰ Hence it is patent that whoever always contemplates his fair lady without ever beholding her loves more perfectly. Then follows a discussion in the usual lines between the king and Montañes on the nature of love.

The second "question" is then propounded by the Count: Two lovers, equal in looks, in youth, in courtesy, manners, gentleness, discretion, and bravery love equally a fair lady. Each claims her preference, and finally they call on the lady to decide between them. They are in a garden and the lady's mother is also present. The lady wears a wreath on her head, and one of the lovers crowns himself. The mother allows her daughter to express her preference, and she places her wreath upon the head of one of her suitors and crowns herself with the garland of the other. This action on her part leaves them more in doubt than ever. The one whom she has crowned declares that he is preferred because he enjoys the first favor and the flowers turn to spring the January of his love. The second suitor declares that he is the chosen one, for who accepts his garland prefers the owner.³¹

Then follow three solutions in verse, the last by Montañes. The king cuts the discussion short and commands Saurina to proceed. She propounds a long "question" the substance of which is as follows.³² A lady grows up with a youth from her cradle and their acquaintance ripens into love, but he is bashful about declaring it. Meanwhile another youth falls violently in love with her at first sight and she returns his passion. The king orders the two youths to marry others from state reasons. They are obliged to follow the royal command. Thus are ship-

³⁰ See note 13 above.

³¹ This is the first question in the *Filocolo*. See Chapter II, p. 68, and note 12.

³² See Chapter I, p. 21.

wrecked the hopes of the lady, who, adored by both lovers, loses them both, more than ever enamoured. The loss of which suitor will cause the lady the greater suffering? There are the usual three answers, the last by Montañes, who decides in favor of the second lover, who revealed his love at once and did not delay in doubt like the first.

The entertainment for the afternoon of Tuesday consists of the usual music, a *letra* sung by six persons, then the *loa* and the *auto*, *No le arriendo la ganancia*, of which the author says that it was performed with great applause by Pinedo some years before at Madrid in the presence of Philip III.⁸³

From fol. 321 to the end, fol. 337, are given the lyrical poems which Téllez offered in 1629 as competitor in the *certámenes* in honor of St. Peter Nolasco, founder of the order of La Merced at the time of his canonization.

The author concludes as follows: "May this book obtain your approval, for if unseemly deeds in the romances of chivalry, futile love affairs in pastoral romances, useless events in novels, and allegorical transformations in fables, corrupt customs and dominate the times; enjoying the pleasure of the other works in the similar features of this, the wise, the religious, the lady, the recluse, the child, and the old man will be edified by tidings of the most victorious captains, and the most famous and fortunate beauties the channels of grace have conveyed, and stimulating their imitation will compel the thanks of readers. What has been begun in the first part will be continued in the second, as the author promises, if this work accomplishes what it insinuates in its title, viz., *Pleasure with Profit*."

A few years before the publication of the work we have just mentioned (which we did not wish to treat separately from the first book by the same author), another celebrated Spanish dramatist tried his hand at a similar one, in many respects the most curious of the class. Juan Pérez de Montalván was born in Madrid in 1602. His father was a bookseller, first at Alcalá de Henares, where he was born, and afterwards at Madrid, where he became the friend, publisher, and confessor of Lope de Vega. The son, who early displayed literary gifts, was encouraged by his father's famous patron to attempt a drama at the age of seven-

⁸³ Reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. LVIII, *Autos Sacramentales*, pp. 269-282.

teen, and afterwards to enter poetical contests on the occasion of the celebration of canonizations of saints. In these contests the poet won several prizes. He completed his theological studies at Alcalá and was ordained priest in 1625, later becoming one of the officers of the Inquisition. He published various prose and poetical works, one of the latter being ascribed to Lope de Vega, who is said to have allowed his young friend to reap the benefit of the work of a maturer mind. We are not at present interested in the fifty-eight dramas produced by Montalván in his short life (he died in 1638, at the age of thirty-six), but must confine our attention to his *Para Todos*, the first edition of which appeared at Madrid in 1632.³⁴

In the address to the reader the author explains the title as follows: "I call this book *For Everybody* because it is a collection of various matters in which the Philosopher, the Courtier, the Scholar, the Jurist, the Mathematician, the Physician, the Ecclesiastic, the Statesman, the Plebeian, the Gentleman, the Official, and the *Entretenido* will find combined utility, pleasure, learning and diversion, doctrine and amusement, recreation and instruction, morality and entertainment, profit and pastime, praise and reproof, and, finally, examples and jests, which, without offending morals, delight the mind and give zest to the understanding." He adds: "I also call it *For Everybody* because in it I speak of all the envious, proud, presumptuous, evil-speaking, lying, deceitful," etc.

At eleven o'clock one night while entering Madrid by the *calle de Alcalá*, with two servants who were accompanying him, Don Francisco de Bonilla, a gentleman born in Saragossa, saw at the principal door of a house some persons muffled in their cloaks, walking about, and further on others tuning three or four musical instruments, a sure sign that some lover was wishing by his verses to awaken the memory or the sleep of the lady he was courting. Although the fatigue of a long journey, and the desire of seeing Don Pedro de Vargas, his intimate friend, whose guest he was going to be, because they had been comrades

³⁴ A good account of Montalván may be found in G. W. Bacon's "Life and Dramatic Works of Doctor J. P. de Montalván." *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXVI (1912), pp. 1-474. See also Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, 451-453. The first edition of *Para Todos* is Madrid, 1632. I have used for my analysis the edition of Seville, 1645. I have also seen the editions of Alcalá, 1666, and Madrid, 1681.

in Italy for more than a dozen years, would seem sufficient reasons for hastening by, still, two things obliged him to stop. The first was vexation, because he had agreed to marry a lady, whose house was the very one where the serenade was taking place; the second was his natural inclination for music. So in order to obey his suspicion and inclination he dismounted and remained with a single servant. He was making his way toward the spot where the muffled gallants were, with the intent to recognize if he could some one of them, or at least discover whether the lady within responded to the attention which was being shown her in the street; but because the street was very narrow he concealed himself behind the open door of a neighboring house in order not to disturb the musicians.

When the musicians had finished their piece, it struck twelve and the lady approached the window and dismissed her friends. One of them, apparently the author of the festival, mounted his horse and with a servant behind him, began to ride up the street at a rapid pace. Don Francisco followed, determined to recognize him, since he was at a distance from those who could aid him. He was diverted from his plan by the sudden appearance of six men, who, attracted by the gold chain and brooch he wore, commanded him to give them up or die. Don Francisco and his servant drew their swords, and would have been victorious had it not been for the odds against them. Fortunately the gentleman of the serenade was not too far away to hear the sound of weapons. He hastened to place himself at the side of Don Francisco, and the robbers, recognizing in him Don Pedro de Vargas, whose bravery had no rival in Madrid, fled for their lives.

When the two gentlemen were alone, Don Francisco expressed his gratitude, and the other, noticing the sound of his voice and his figure, recognized him and made himself known to Don Francisco, embracing him many times and thanking heaven that he had arrived in time to aid him.

Don Francisco remained sad and joyful at the same time, joyful at having found his friend in such an occasion of need, sad, if perchance the lady whom Don Pedro was courting was the lady he had come to marry. Postponing an explanation to a later time he went with Don Pedro to his inn and tried to sleep. The next morning his friend called upon him and after talking

of various matters and giving an account of what they had done since they last met, the conversation, as is usual among young men, fell on love. Don Francisco to clear up his doubts said that love adventures had ceased for him, for he was married and with the duties of a married man the gallantries of youth had forever ceased. Don Pedro congratulated him, since his choice was doubtless advantageous. Don Francisco replied that it was if truth corresponds to fame, for they say, he added, that in family, beauty, and understanding, Doña Ana de Mendoza is one of the most noted ladies of the capital.

Scarcely had he uttered her name when Don Pedro embraced him with tokens of the greatest delight and told him that what report said was true. Moreover, she had a cousin who was the lady Don Pedro was serenading the night before and with whom he was violently in love. He said that the course of his love had been strange and he would relate it to his friend as he should not expect to see his betrothed until evening. Briefly, Don Pedro was in love with Doña María and had as a rival crafty Don Rodrigo. A fire broke out in Doña María's house and both lovers came to her aid, Don Pedro being really the one who saved her life, but Don Rodrigo made it appear that he was her rescuer. The deception caused Don Pedro great trouble, but he finally vindicated himself and was rewarded with Doña María's love.

That evening the two friends went to Doña María's house and met her cousin. Within a week the contracts for the two marriages were drawn up, and for their greater rejoicing they retired for an entire day to a villa on the banks of the Manzanares, where were gathered the most clever and witty men and the most beautiful and gracious women of the capital, together with the best musicians. Before and after the dinner and supper the company discussed matters involving great taste, skill, and understanding. Each one played the best piece he knew, and the entertainment concluded with a comedy which Tomás Fernández performed with the great applause of all present. The comedy was *El segundo Séneca de España*.³⁵

The afternoon of that day and the festival of the night were so famous that at the request of those who missed them and at the importunity of those who had enjoyed them Don Pedro offered

³⁵ Analyzed by Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. The source of the play is treated by Bacon in the *Romanic Review*, I, p. 64, "The Comedias of Montalván."

to furnish the guests with entertainment for a week. Doña María was chosen to distribute the subjects and days "as the muse of that courtly academy." After a vain effort to avoid this responsibility, she named for the seven days of the week seven gentlemen of the Court, studious and devoted to the reading of good literature, who could discourse of any science as if they had professed it, and gave to each one subjects which they were to treat in writing, as well as the entertainments which they had to give on the appointed day, with the rules and laws which are observed in academies, even to disguising their own names by other assumed ones. They all agreed to obey her and accepted the following assignment of duties, which were to begin within a week.

Fabio, to whom Sunday fell, was to report what God did on this day according to the Holy Scripture, to compile the fable of Apollo, write a discourse on Philosophy, and perform a comedy.

Silvio, to whose lot Monday fell, was to relate what God left for this day, to repeat the fable of the moon, to explain the mysteries and words of the Mass at the request of a devout lady, and prepare an exemplary and pleasing story.

Lisardo (Tuesday) to speak of the works of this day, to write the fable of Mars, compose an epilogue on war, and engage the best company of actors to perform a comedy.

Anfriso (Wednesday) to describe what God determined to do on this day, to recall the fable of Mercury, to sum up the matter of the angels, and invent a useful and entertaining novel.

Montano (Thursday) to declare what Moses said of this day, to offer the fable of Jupiter, to construct a perfect preacher, and to be responsible for the performance of two *autos*.

Celio (Friday) to ponder the ultimate perfection with which God adorned the earth, to undertake the fable of the planet which corresponds to this day, to treat of the liberal and mechanic arts, and to amuse the audience with an imaginary history.

Valerio (Saturday) to verify all that God did on this day, to introduce the fable of Saturn, to decide the best of all things, and to end the week with a comedy, which, to be perfect, should contain probability in its events, pleasure in its plot, suspension in its intrigue, greatness in its invention, and vigor in the verse.

The company was then dismissed to study the various tasks committed to them.

It is impossible to describe in detail the manner in which the above tasks were accomplished. The three plays and two *autos* were performed with applause, and the three novels also met with approval.³⁵ There was music and the usual supper. The seventh day beheld the marriages of Don Pedro with Doña Maria, and of Don Francisco with Doña Ana; the weddings were followed by a splendid banquet, the banquet by an excellent concert by a brilliant masquerade, after which the discreet guests gave the married couples an opportunity to consummate their chaste love, and the promised festival of the week ended with the sound of various instruments, the light of many torches, and the noise of numberless rockets and other fireworks.

The three works which I have analyzed above at length are the most conspicuous of their class by their own literary worth and the reputation of their authors. As has been said above there are many other similar works in Spanish, imitations to some extent of those already mentioned, which for the sake of completeness I shall now pass rapidly in review. It will be more convenient to classify these works according to their frames, and I shall consider first those in which the entertainment is in celebration of some particular religious festivity, as Christmas and the Carnival, or merely to while away the long nights of the winter. The second class will embrace the larger number, which, in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, describe the entertainments of a company of ladies and gentlemen at some country villa, at no particular season. Chronologically speaking most of these works were written in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

An exception to the statement just made is a very curious book, *Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento*, printed at Barcelona in 1605, by Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo, said by Nicolás Antonio to

³⁵ The plays are: *No ay vida como la honra* (printed in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XLV, *Dramáticos contemporáneos a Lope de Vega*, and analyzed by Bacon, p. 144); *De un castigo dos venganzas* (analyzed by Bacon, p. 228); *El Polifemo, auto sacramental* (analyzed by Bacon, p. 324); *Escanderbec, auto sacramental* (analyzed by Bacon, p. 312); *La más constante muger* (printed in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, ed. cit., and analyzed by Bacon, p. 132). The *novelas* are: "Al cabo de los años mil"; "Palacio encantado"; and "El piadoso vandolero." Among the works called forth by Montalván's *Para Todos*, I have seen Matías de los Reyes's *Para Algunos*, described later in this chapter. Juan Fernández y Peralta's *Para Sí*, Saragossa, 1661, I know only from Ticknor's reference, III, 141, note 28, to a copy he had seen in the Imperial Library of Vienna.

have been a native of Madrid.³⁷ Nothing is known of his life, and the only work by him that has been preserved is the one mentioned above. In the address to the reader the author says learned and holy men advise us to mingle pleasure and pastime with the labors of the world, which are so heavy that the shoulders of man could not support them if the weary way were not lightened by recreation and amusement. "For my part, I have noticed," says the author, "that time and occasion are careful to impart to us a large part of their griefs and troubles, and forget to offer us any alleviation. I have determined to make good a portion of this oblivion, presenting to the wearied mind this bit of pleasant entertainment, which because it is a matter of pleasure, and treated by five persons of good taste, I have called *Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento*. I confess that the subject is one of amusement, but it should not on that account be judged useless. Who is there in the theatre of this life who does not become weary of beholding its melancholy tragedies, unless between the acts he is diverted by the interlude (*entremés*) of a pleasing and seemly pastime? Let then the prudent reader accept this plaything (*juguete*), for he knows that at the right time and to the proper extent jests are as important as truths."

There are five interlocutors in the three dialogues: Doctor Fabricio and Doña Petronila his wife, Don Diego and Doña Margarita his wife, and a jester (*truhán*) named Castañeda. The scene is in the city of Burgos in the house of Don Fabricio, on the Sunday evening of the Carnival. Don Fabricio remarks to his wife that it is the first Carnival that he has spent in Burgos and asks what is the manner of spending it there. She replies that there are three ways, according to the three classes of society: common people, respectable and retired people, and prominent people of youth and frivolity. The first class amuse themselves in the streets by playing jokes on the passers-by; the second

³⁷ Hidalgo's work is reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXVI, *Curiosidades bibliográficas*. Ticknor, III, 134, note, mentions an edition of Barcelona, 1605, and says there are others of 1606 and 1618. He gives no details of the author's life. Fuller bibliographical details may be found in *Orígenes de la Novela*, II, pp. cxvii-cxxi. As to the author, Menéndez y Pelayo says only, "Su autor, Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo, vecino de la villa de Madrid, de quien no tenemos más noticias que su nombre." I have consulted in the Hispanic Society the edition of Barcelona, Sebastian de Cormellas, 1605. The same library possesses editions of Logroño, 1606; Barcelona, 1609; Brussels, 1610; and Madrid, 1618.

invite one another to their houses and spend the time before and after supper in sensible and cheerful conversation; the young gentlemen have the custom of arranging masquerades, *juegos de sortija*, in public and private, and other disguises with which they amuse themselves and enliven the streets of the city.

Don Fabricio proposes to send and invite their friend Don Diego to come and spend the evening in conversation with them. They have scarcely sent the messenger when Don Diego and his wife call, and shortly after Castañeda drops in. Then follow for the three nights a succession of short stories, jokes, some poetry, and each evening a supper.

The only resemblance between this work and the *Decameron* consists in the frame; the character of the entertainments is wholly different. The stories are in no sense *novelas*, but jests and local anecdotes. The tone of the work is most irreverent and it was placed on the Index by the Inquisition, but not until it had passed through a number of editions. Its influence was considerable, as we shall soon see from the many works of a similar nature turning on the Carnival and other ecclesiastical feasts.

The Carnival is also the season celebrated in the *Tiempo de Regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid*, Madrid, 1627, by Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, a work showing more plainly than Hidalgo's the influence of the *Decameron*.³⁸ Little is known of the author's

³⁸ All previous notices of Solórzano, as in Ticknor, III, 111, note 25, and in F. W. Chandler's *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899, and *The Literature of Roguery*, 2 vols. Boston, 1907, are incomplete and incorrect. The only satisfactory account of Solórzano is that by Cotarelo y Mori in his introduction to his reprint of *La niña de los embustes*, Madrid, 1906 (*Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas*, III). In the introduction to *Las Harpías en Madrid*, Madrid, 1907 (*Colección selecta*, VII) the editor reprints the notices of Solórzano's life given by Pérez Pastor in *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, and adds some details communicated by Don Eleuterio Fernández Torres. The original editions of Solórzano's novels are very scarce and Cotarelo y Mori has earned the gratitude of Spanish students by his reprint in the collection mentioned above of *La niña de los embustes* (Vol. III); *Noches de placer* (Vol. V); *Las harpías en Madrid* and *Tiempo de regocijo* (Vol. VII); *Tardes entretenidas* (Vol. IX); and *Jornadas alegres* (Vol. XI). For the other works of Solórzano mentioned in the text I have used the following editions: *Sala de recreación*, Saragossa, 1649 (Harvard University Library); *Los alivios de Casandra*, Barcelona, 1640 (Hispanic Society); *La quinta de Laura*, Saragossa, 1649 (Hispanic Society); *Huerta de Valencia*, Valencia, 1629 (Hispanic Society). I have also seen in the Ticknor Collection at Boston the rare original edition of the *Noches de placer*, Barcelona, 1631. Two of Solórzano's comedias have been reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXIII, *Dramáticos contemporáneos a Lope de Vega*, II, and five *entremeses*, edited by Cotarelo y Mori in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XVII, *Colección de Entremeses*,

life, although he was a prolific writer of *novelas* which enjoyed great popularity. He was born in 1584 at Tordesillas, a small town in the province of Valladolid. His father was in the service of the Duke of Alva. Nothing is known of the son's youth, and his education apparently was not completed at any university. He appears at Madrid in 1619 as a poet and entered the contests of 1622 in honor of the canonization of Saint Isidro and other saints, receiving the third prize, of which, for some unknown reason, he was immediately deprived. He was in the service of the Marquis of Villar as *gentilhombre*, and later fill a more important position, that of *maestresala*, in the household of a relative of his, the Marquis de los Vélez, viceroy of Valencia, and afterwards viceroy of Aragon. Solórzano resided in Valencia and Saragossa with his patron. It is not known whether he accompanied to Italy the Marquis, who was appointed ambassador to Rome in 1641, or later rejoined him there as secretary. Cota-

Vol. I. At the end of the *Tiempo de regocijo* Solórzano hopes that he may be encouraged to publish *La reina Cleopatra* and to finish *Los escarmientos de amor*. The first of the works just mentioned is probably the *Historia de Marco Antonio y Cleopatra, última reina de Egipto*, Saragossa, 1639, of which a second edition appeared at Madrid in 1736. The second work, *Los escarmientos de amor*, is mentioned by Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii. A copy, Seville, 1628, was sold at the Heredia sale, and Menéndez y Pelayo possessed a copy without title and preliminary matter. It is doubtful, however, whether these were Solórzano's work.

I have seen at the Hispanic Society several other works of Solórzano, which, as they are of the greatest rarity, I shall mention here. *Varios y honestos Entretenimientos. En varios entremeses y pasos apasibles, que dió a luz Don Alonso de Castillo Solórzano. En Mexico, 1625.* The *Aprobación* is dated Mexico, April 19, 1624, but the *Tassa* is Madrid, 1624. The work contains various compositions in prose and verse, several *entremeses*, sonnets, etc., of no great importance for the present work. There is inserted in the volume a letter from Pascual de Gayangos dated London, April 21, 1887, to a former owner of the book: "Dear Mr. Turner: I return your book, which after a careful examination seems to me to be the work of some Israelite of Amsterdam, who after the expulsion of their race from Spain, took refuge in Holland, and cultivated the Spanish language and literature. A rapid glance over the orthography and style of the writer will at once convince you that the 'Entretenimientos' are the work of some Jew of Amsterdam at the end of the XVII or beginning of the XVIII cent. Solórzano could write much better than that. Yours truly, Pascual de Gayangos."

I have seen at the Hispanic Society the original edition of *Tiempo de Regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid*, En Madrid, 1627; also, *Los Amantes Andaluces. Historia entretenida. Prosas y versos.* Barcelona, 1633. At the end the author says: "Conque da el autor fin a este libro, pidiendo perdon de sus yerros, y prometiendo sacar presto a luz el de *Las Fiestas del iardín*, hecho de variedad de divertimientos, con el favor de Dios."

Historia de Marco Antonio y Cleopatra, última reyna de Egipto. En Saragossa, 1639. At the end the author says that his short volume (pp. 150) is based on "Titolibio, Cornelio Tacito en su primero libro, Plutarco en su vida de Julio Cesar, Iosefo en el libro décimo de las antigüedades Lucano en el

relo y Mori says that all traces of Solórzano are lost after 1642, and that he was certainly dead in 1648. We know nothing of his domestic life except that in 1616 he was married to a Doña Agostina de Paz, whose residence is not known.

Like most other Spanish prose writers Solórzano dabbled in verse and his first works were two volumes of poetry published in 1624 and 1625, the first and second parts of *Donayres del Parnaso*. It was, however, in the *novela* that Solórzano excelled, and in order to dispose of his short stories it was necessary to combine them in collections, in which they formed part of the entertainment of a company of ladies and gentlemen, as in the famous prototype of this class, the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. I shall examine presently the half dozen or more works of Solórzano in this category which I have been able to see. Solórzano was also the author of four Romances of Roguery which were famous in their day and afforded material for subsequent imitators. I refer to *Las Harpías en Madrid* (1631), *La Niña de los embustes* (1632), *Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza* (1637), and *La Garduña de Sevilla* (1642). Solórzano also tried his hand—as what Spanish writer of the time did not?—at play-writing, and published seven comedies, an *auto*, and five *entremeses*. Some of these dramatic works are interspersed with the *novelas* in Solórzano's various collections of stories.

The scene of *Tiempo de Regocijo, y Carnestolendas de Madrid* is laid in Madrid during the Carnival. On Thursday of the

primero y segundo libro, Pineda y Pedro Mexia en sus Cesares." Considerable poetry by authors other than Solórzano is scattered through the volume, sonnets, octavas, etc. Were these written at Solórzano's request to be inserted in the work? A note in pencil on the flyleaf says: "Solórzano was also author of *Epítome de la Vida del inclito Rey Pedro de Aragon*. Zaragoza, 1636." A copy of the above, but with the date of 1639, is in the Ticknor Collection, which has the *Marco Antonio* of 1639, and also the edition of Madrid, 1736.

Escarmientos de Amor moralizados. Con Privilegio. En Sevilla, 1628. This very curious book begins with the meeting at an inn of Lisardo and Félix, old friends. Lisardo has left the court from jealousy of Gerarda. He relates his story to his friend. At the end (f. 25) of the first book is a chapter, ff. 25 vo.—26 vo., "Moralidad y aprovechamiento de lo que contiene este libro." Each incident in the preceding story is moralized. A brief extract will show the method. "En la curiosidad de querer ver Gerarda lo que avia en el aposento de Lisardo, da escarmiento para que no la tengan las donzellas. Pues querer averigar faltas ajenas, y flaquezas de otros, fuera de ser de su pecado, suele servir el mal exemplo de dar animo para imitarlas." There are seven books of the adventures of the two friends and each book has its "moralidad y aprovechamiento." The story ends with the happy marriages of Don Félix and Lisardo. I do not know of any other example of this moralizing of a story, although there is something of the same idea in the *Gustos y Disgustos del Lentiſcar de Cartagena* by Ginés Campillo de Bayle.

preceding week (commonly called *de las comadres*) Don Enrique, the eldest of three noble gentlemen who lived in the calle de Atocha, gave to the others a splendid banquet, at which were present six beautiful maidens, daughters of the three gentlemen mentioned above, and four youths, their brothers. Some of the maidens and youths had the gift of singing and composing poetry.

After the supper and before the games, dances, and entertainments began, Don Enrique addressed the company and proposed the following scheme of entertainment: "Since I see myself honored to-day by such noble guests, such beautiful ladies, and such clever wits, at a time when the Carnival permits less formality and greater freedom of diversion, it seems proper to me that we should spend the last three days of it in pleasant and seemly entertainments, the ladies forgoing for this year the silly occupation which custom allows of sprinkling with water from the windows those who pass on foot and horse in the street below, and who rarely enjoy such favors. And so (although I submit to the judgment of the others) I propose that next Sunday night we come together in this room, where I wish the first entertainment to take place in the following manner. At supper time I wish my son Claudio to relate a *novela* invented by his wit, which shall preserve the decorum due to such a discreet and distinguished audience; afterwards each of the company shall repeat the best poetry which he remembers, grave or jocose, the latter, if it does not violate propriety, being more suitable to the season. After the supper the entertainment shall conclude with dances or masquerades or some dramatic performance."

All agreed with Don Enrique, and it was settled that the first entertainment should be in his house, as he wished, the second in Don Sancho's, his cousin's, and the third and last, which was Mardigras, in Don Rodrigo's, a friend of the others. It was also arranged that the diversions should be planned each night for the next.

The programme proposed by Don Enrique was carried out exactly. The company met in a spacious room of his house, hung with costly tapestries and Turkish carpets, and brilliantly lighted. On one side was a large dais (*estrado*) with twenty-four cushions of crimson velvet, and on it two large silver braziers, as a protection against the cold, which was great. The

ladies took their seats, and near them their parents and brothers. After they had inquired about one another's health, Don Enrique, anxious for the festival to begin, asked them to listen to eight musicians who occupied a part of the room. With various instruments, to whose sweet sounds they sang in two choirs, the musicians sang a *romance* in praise of the remarkable beauty of Doña Ana, daughter of Don Enrique. Then Don Claudio, son of Don Enrique, took a seat in the midst of the company and after some excuses reads the first *novela*, "The Duke of Milan."

The *novela* was received with much applause, and while they were setting the tables for the supper, Don Fernando, son of Don Sancho, was asked to repeat some verses from memory. He consented, saying that the night before he had written for their entertainment "The Judgment of Paris" in the jocose style suitable to the season. When the poem was finished, they all sat down to supper, which was costly and tasteful, served with care and punctuality, and accompanied with music.

After supper the company took their seats again and conversed a while on various topics in order to give the servants time to sup themselves before they performed an *entremés*. Their haste to give the performance led them to shorten their repast. After a *letra* sung by three musicians, the servants performed the *entremés* of *El Casamentero*. All were entertained by the *entremés* and ballet, and while they were thanking Don Enrique, the actors changed their dress to perform a *masquerade-ballet*. This ended the entertainment, and the ladies and gentlemen went home by torchlight, having agreed that Don Lorenzo, the oldest son of Don Sancho (who had charge of the entertainment for the following night), should divert them with a *novela*.

The introduction to the second festival is like that of the first. The ladies sat on a broad dais, the gentlemen in chairs near it, trying to share the heat of two large silver braziers, "and the fragrance of two well prepared apples which were in them." Twelve skilful musicians, in two choirs, sang a *letra*, and after it Don Lorenzo, with the usual apology, recited the *novela* of "La Quinta de Diana."

The audience found Don Lorenzo's *novela* all too short; the tables were set for a sumptuous repast; more music followed; and while the servants were dressing for a masque, Don Claudio recited a *romance*, which, he said, he had made for a physician,

who at the same time was a manager of love affairs. Then followed a number of sonnets and *romances*, more or less satirical, and the entertainment ended with the masquerade. Before the company broke up it was agreed that Don Félix, son of Don Rodrigo, should entertain them on the last night with a *novela*.

The third and last festival begins with music as usual, followed by Don Félix's *novela*, "El Ayo de su Hijo." Don Claudio recited a long romance which he said he wrote for a friend whose story it contained. While the servants were dressing for the play, Don Lorenzo proposed that each one should repeat an epigram of a jocose character, and began himself. The comedy which was performed to the great delight of the company is not named. The play had hardly ended when the convent bells began to ring for matins, for it was already midnight, and the company hastened home in order to prepare for the ceremonies of Ash Wednesday. The author concludes by hoping that his book will satisfy the readers so that he may be encouraged to publish *La Reina Cleopatra* and finish the *Escarmientos de Amor*.

Another of Solórzano's works devoted to diversions of the Carnival is *Sala de recreación*, Saragossa, 1649, the scene of which is laid in Pamplona, the capital of Navarre. There lived Don Teobaldo and his wife Doña Brianda and their four beautiful daughters, the joy of the whole city. Pamplona is a mountain city and the winters are long and cold and tiresome, and the inhabitants have to wear furs and keep great fires burning on their hearths. One winter was more severe than usual on account of the snow; and Don Teobaldo, happening to be in church with other gentlemen and married friends of his one day, and pondering on how the cold and snow kept families from meeting, offered his house, which had a great *sala* (often used before for balls and other entertainments), to his friends for the celebration of the approaching Carnival. He further offered to arrange the *sala* so that it could serve for balls, masques, academies, poetic jousts, plays, and above all story-telling, in which the ladies should alternate with the gentlemen.

Don Teobaldo's friends were pleased with his proposition, and it was agreed that the first festival should take place on the Thursday before Lent, commonly called in Castile *De comadres*, and in Aragon *El lardero*. Don Teobaldo made all the necessary

preparations and he and his wife and daughters invited their relatives, friends, and acquaintances. The *sala* was more than three hundred paces long and half as wide, and was filled with stoves, which warmed without showing the fire, as in Flanders. There was the usual raised platform (*estrado*) and place for the musicians; the walls were hung with tapestry and there was no carpet to hinder dancing.

The company met on the appointed Thursday and after the music Don Frances, nephew of Don Teobaldo, a young and witty student, occupied an elevated position so that he could be heard by all, and related the first *novela*, "La Dicha merecida," which was followed by dancing. The subsequent *recreaciones* are of the same nature; during the second Doña Constanca tells the *novela*, "El Disfrazado"; on the third meeting Don Fermin recites the *novela*, "Más puede Amor que la Sangre"; on the fourth Doña Eufemia narrates the *novela*, "Escarmiento de Atrevidos," which is followed by a *torneo*, a dance with songs and other music.

On the fifth evening Don Jorge tells the *novela*, "Las Pruebas en la Muger," followed by a masque of the nations, in which bands of four persons sing and dance, brandishing hatchets.

The sixth and last entertainment consisted of the *comedia famosa*, *La Torre de Florisbella*, which ended with great applause. The bells of the churches were ringing for matins, a manifest sign that Ash Wednesday had begun. The company then rose from their seats and went home to the light of torches, planning with Don Teobaldo to continue after Lent those seemly and festive exercises. The author concludes with the usual words: "Si lo escrito en este pareciere bien, su autor promete la segunda parte, que saldrá presto a luz con el favor de Dios."

I have seen two other similar works devoted to the Carnival, mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Orígenes de la Novela: Carnestolendas de Saragoza en sus tres días* by Maestro Antolínez de Piedrabuena (1661), and *Carnestolendas de Cádiz* by Don Alonso Chirino Bermúdez (1639).

The first of these two works (both are in the Hispanic Society) is of no importance for my present purpose. There is no company, no telling of tales. The author merely relates in a pleasant way his own personal adventures during the Carnival, and his narrative seems often to be satirical. He, too, promises a second part, a promise never fulfilled.

The second work is of greater interest. Menéndez y Pelayo is mistaken as to the author. The full title is: *Carnestolendas de la Ciudad de Cadiz. Pruebas de ingenio de Don Alonso Cherino Bermudez. Por el Capitan Don Juan Ignacio de Soto y Aviles, Cavallero del Órden de Calatrava, y Alferez Mayor de la Ciudad de Cadiz en cuya casa se hizieron. Impresso en Cadiz, por Fernando Rey. Año 1639.* The book is dedicated to Don Nuño de Vilavicencio, Cavallero del Órden de Santiago, Regidor Perpetuo de la Ciudad de Cádiz. The author explains the origin of his work as follows: His friend Don Alonso Chirino y Bermudez came from Vegel, where he lived and was visited by all the friends of good taste. This was Saturday afternoon, March 5. The following evening there was a formal Academy. Don Vicente Frances, a gentleman of Aragon, to see if what was said of Don Alonso was true, proposed for a topic (*asumpto*) a sonnet to an absent lady whose lover feared that she would change with her removal. Don Alonso replied at once, and many other sonnets followed.

There was another session of the Academy on the 7th of March. The author asked a gentleman, who did not enjoy his lady's favors for fear of loving her less, for a romance. Then came other romances and sonnets. The next day a public scrivener was called in to take down what occurred that night. A long *oración razonada* was pronounced by Don Alonso, who presided over the Academy. He also dictated a Latin oration and Don Jacinto de Aguilar y Prado replied with an *Epístola suasoria ad nubendum*. To this Don Alonso replied at once. In the remainder of the session Don Alonso gave many other proofs of his poetical ability, and his example spurred on the other members to imitate him.

The book is of little value for this work, as the frame is uninteresting and the contents are in poetry with the exception of the orations mentioned above.

In order to follow up the imitators of Hidalgo I have disregarded the proper ecclesiastical order of the festivals of Christmas and the Carnival. I shall now return to the proper order and mention the works in which the entertainments take place at Christmas or the festivals immediately succeeding. I shall examine first a work by an author with whom we have become acquainted above, Alonso de Castillo Solórzano. His *Noches de*

Placer appeared at Barcelona in 1631 and was not reprinted until 1906, in volume five of Cotarelo y Mori's *Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas*. It has become one of the rarest of Spanish books, the editor of the collection just mentioned knowing of but one copy, in the National Library in Madrid. The scene is laid at Barcelona, the native place of Don Gáston Centellas, a widower and father of two of the most beautiful ladies of Europe, Laura and Andrea. On Christmas Eve Don Gáston invites his friends and kindred to a sumptuous repast. After the supper the question arose as to the mode of entertainment, and Laura spoke as follows: "It is my opinion that the four nights of the festival of Christmas with those of the New Year and Epiphany should be spent in the following manner: The present company should appoint each night a lady and gentleman to tell a *novela* original with them, and before and after the *novelas* there should be music and dancing."

Don Gáston invites them all to supper as before, and after the usual music Laura relates the first *novela*, "Las dos Dichas sin pensar." The second *novela*, "La Cautela sin Efeto," is told by Don Felix, and the evening closes with dancing. It is to be noticed that the author has prefixed to each *novela* a rather long dedication to a friend. The other five nights of the entertainment pass off in the same way. Twelve *novelas* are related, and the work ends with a masquerade in which twelve gentlemen dressed as Indians dance with tomahawks in their hands. The author promises a similar work for the approaching Carnival.

Two other collections of *novelas* supposed to be related for the amusement of a company at Christmas were written by ladies. Nothing is known of the life of one and little about that of the other. Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, author of *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, Saragossa, 1637, is styled on the title-page "natural de Madrid." Navarrete in a brief notice in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXIII, in which he printed (*Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, tomo segundo*) four of her *novelas*, says that from the time in which she flourished it is probable that she was the daughter of Don Fernando de Zayas y Sotomayor, knight of the order of Santiago, who was born in Madrid in 1566. She must have been a person of unusual education for her time. She is praised for her poetry by Lope de Vega in *El Laurel de Apolo*. She is said to have written comedies

and other works, but she is remembered now only by the collection of *novelas* mentioned above, which enjoyed great popularity, being reprinted in Madrid as late as 1814. The frame of the work is more interesting than usual and involves the fate of some of the company. As will be seen, it has many traits in common with other works of this class.

A company of ladies and gentlemen had come together in Madrid in December to entertain Lisis, who was suffering from an attack of quartan fever. As Christmas was so near, the company agreed to give a *sarao* (ball) as an entertainment for the period between Christmas and Epiphany. Lisis was elected to preside over the diversions and asked to issue orders to each for the part he was to take. Lisis excused herself on the ground of her illness, and begged to have her mother Laura substituted in her place. This was done and Laura proceeded to distribute the parts for the five nights which were to end with a sumptuous banquet given by Lisis, to which she invited the fathers of the gentlemen (their mothers being dead), and the mothers of the ladies (their fathers being dead). They were told to meet at the apartment of Lisis on Christmas night, where they found a room adorned with flowers, with a rich *estrado*, many seats covered with velvet and little stools (*taburetes*), so that the gentlemen seated on them could enjoy the warmth of the silver braziers.

The company began arriving at three in the afternoon and were cordially received by Laura and her daughter Lisis, who reclined on a cot as it was the day for her fever. After some dancing there was a torchlight procession of the ladies and gentlemen. Then Lisis sang a *romance* and Lisarda narrated the first *novela*, "Aventurarse perdiendo."

It is not necessary to continue in detail; between the *novelas*, there was music by Lisis or the musicians, and in some of the *novelas*, as in the fourth, much music was introduced in the course of the narrative. The last *novela* gave rise to much discussion, in which was spent a part of the night, "and because it was not the time to perform the comedy, it was left for the festival of the Circumcision, when was to take place the marriage of Don Diego and the fair Lisis; and so they went to supper with great pleasure, ending the fifth night, and I my entertainment, promising a second part, and in it the punishment of Don Juan's ingratitude, the change of mind of Lisarda, and the wedding of Lisis."

The second part is divided into ten nights and the introduction continues the story of Lisis, whose illness was increased by her grief at the love of Don Juan for her cousin Lisarda. Don Juan knowing this determined to comfort her, but as Lisarda was always present his resolutions came to naught. Lisis's illness had lasted more than a year when an aunt gave her a female slave, a Moorish girl, for whom Lisis formed such an attachment that she gradually forgot her sickness and convalesced. Don Diego renewed his suit and Lisis accepted him; it was determined that they should celebrate the Carnival, beginning on Sunday, and that the marriage should take place on the last day of the festival.

Lisis arranged the entertainment as follows: first, it was to be the ladies who related the *novelas*; second, these should embody true events, and be termed *desengaños* (disillusions). The slave Zelima asked to be allowed to sing the poetry and tell the first *novela*, and Lisis retained the last for herself.

Place was kept for the wedding and a marriage license obtained. The rooms were properly adorned and when the guests were present and ready Zelima arose and sang a *romance*. Then she disappeared for a moment and returned so beautifully dressed that she seemed a queen of Fez or Morocco or a sultana of Constantinople. She said that she had been commanded to narrate a *desengaño* in order that the ladies should be made acquainted with the wiles and deceits of men, who are always accusing women of such. She said she was going to reveal her own misfortunes as a warning to others. Then she relates the first *desengaño*. It may be remarked that although there are only three days involved in the entertainment, the ten stories are related as if they occupied ten nights.

It is not necessary to pursue in detail the rest of the *novelas*; they are more or less interspersed with poetry, and between the various *noches* or stories there is music, either by the musicians or by one of the company. In the interval between the eighth and ninth *desengaños* there is a hint of how the frame-story is going to end. The fair slave has turned out to be a Spanish lady of highest rank and birth. At the beginning of the ninth *desengaño* Lisis, Isabel (Zelima), and Estafania appear in the garb of the religious order of the Conception.

After Isabel has sung a long poem, Doña Estefania tells the

ninth story, and Doña Isabel again sings, this time a sonnet to a lady whom the writer had never seen, but with whom he had fallen in love by report of her beauty. The last story is related by Lisis, and when she has finished Isabel sings to the accompaniment of a guitar. Lisis then sums up the defence of women, which had been the object of the second part of her entertainment. She concludes by saying: "Since the day which gave rise to this entertainment, which was the Tuesday of Carnival of the present year of 1637, I have seen that in the city of Madrid have occurred many scandalous events, and I am so timid that, like one who has committed a crime, I am going to take refuge in a sanctuary and find protection in the retirement of a convent, whence, as if from a bulwark, I intend to see what happens to the others; and so with my beloved Doña Isabel, whom I shall have as my companion as long as I live, I shall save myself from the deceits of men."

Saying this she arose, and taking Doña Isabel by one hand and Doña Estefania by the other, with a polite bow and without waiting for any answer, all three withdrew to another room, leaving her mother, who knew nothing of her intention, in confusion, Don Diego in despair, and all in wonder at her determination. Don Diego, ill pleased and feeling like death, left without taking leave of anyone. It was said that he went to serve the king in the war in Catalonia, where he exposed himself to the greatest dangers and was killed. The others congratulated Laura on her daughter's discretion and went home.

The next day Lisis and Isabel with Doña Estefania went to the convent, where Isabel took the veil and Lisis remained a secular. Laura arranged her affairs so as to be with her beloved daughter Lisis; likewise Isabel's mother taking the veil entered the convent. A few months later Lisarda married a rich gentleman, leaving Don Juan unhappy and confessing that Lisarda had paid him as he deserved for his disloyalty to Lisis. He afterwards fell ill of a dangerous sickness and ended his life in a frenzy.

Of the second lady mentioned above as a writer of stories for a Christmas entertainment, Doña Mariana de Caravajal y Saavedra, I can find no account, except that she was the author of *Navidades de Madrid y Noches Entretenidas en ocho Novelas*, Madrid, 1663. Ticknor (III, 166) says she was a native of Granada and descended from the ancient ducal families of

San Carlos and Rivas. The edition Madrid, 1728, which I have used, in the Ticknor Collection, Boston, is entitled simply *Novelas Entretenidas*, and its plot is as follows.

There lived in Madrid a lady named Doña Lucrecia de Haro, married to Don Antonio de Silva. They had a son of the same name, polite and understanding and attractive to all who knew him, and very obedient to his parents. His mother possessed many houses but owing to her husband's indisposition she lived in one near her father in order to avoid scandal. It had five principal rooms and a large garden with fruit trees, two fountains, etc. Doña Lucrecia occupied an inner room in order to give those looking on the street to her noble tenants. In two of these rooms lived two beautiful and prominent ladies, Doña Lupercia and Doña Gertrudis. In the other rooms lived two Biscayan gentlemen, Don Vicente and Don Enrique. In the front room a lady, Doña Juana de Ayala, widow of an officer, was spending the time of her mourning with a beautiful daughter, Doña Leonor.

A fortnight after she had left off her mourning, it seemed proper to Doña Lucrecia and her neighbors to call on her and welcome her. Don Antonio escorted his mother, and while they were there the Biscayan gentlemen also called. Don Vicente was in love with Doña Gertrudis and Don Enrique with Doña Leonor, whose hand he had asked of Doña Juana, who answered that she did not wish to marry her until she had ended a suit and received, as she hoped, the favor of an ecclesiastical office (*un ábito*). Besides this she did not wish to marry her daughter to a stranger and thus lose sight of her while she was in the flower of her age.

Don Enrique pays an artist to go to a church frequented by Doña Leonor and paint her portrait. Leonor in turn falls in love with Enrique. All the above parties were accustomed to visit Doña Lucrecia to divert the illness of her husband, the ladies with music and the gentlemen, sometimes by playing cards, sometimes by relating the news which they heard at the Palace. They had lived in this manner for two years, when during the winter Don Antonio died, leaving great wealth to his daughter and large estates to his wife.

At the end of October her friends and neighbors were present with the disconsolate widow in order to bear her company during the many visits paid to her, and likewise the Biscayans and other

gentlemen to accompany her son. After the first outbreak of sorrow, all being one night in the room of Doña Lucrecia, Doña Juana, anxious to gain her good will, said to the others: "It is a week before Christmas, the eve of which falls on a Sunday, and as the cold is great and we have in the house a *tribuna* [apparently a gallery opening into a chapel], it seems to me that during the five days of the Christmas festivities and the remainder of the holidays, our widow should not be left alone, but we should all celebrate the season together, distributing among us the five days and their diversions. I will take Christmas Eve and give a supper to all, and since we are free from the criticism of our neighbors and this room is remote from the street, we will have a little music and afterwards some dancing." She assigned charge of the first day to Doña Gertrudis, of the second to Don Vicente, the third to Doña Lucrecia, and the last to Don Enrique. It was understood that each would be obliged to relate some occurrence (*suceso*) the night that fell to him. They all agreed, and Don Enrique prepared a present to be sent to Doña Juana for Christmas. Doña Lucrecia did not wish to receive her guests in mourning and had a room opening on the garden adorned with carpets, candelabra, and silver braziers.

When Sunday came they ascended the *tribuna* to hear Mass and then had chocolate. They thanked her for her gift and begged her not to anticipate them as it was their duty to serve her those days. In the afternoon they entered the room which had been prepared, and were amazed at its richness. After they had regarded it attentively, Doña Juana said: "As this night falls to me these ladies must enliven the festival with music." They consented, but first Don Enrique's present prepared by his aunt, a nun in the convent of La Concepción Gerónima, was brought in, consisting of four platters of food elaborately prepared. After they had admired the gift they seated themselves around the odoriferous braziers and Doña Lucrecia asked Leonor to begin the festival. Her mother gave her consent and Leonor borrowing Gertrudis's harp touched it skilfully and sang a *letra*, after which Marcela, a servant of Gertrudis, danced with great applause. As it was late the supper was in order. Doña Juana mentioned the two presents which had been sent to her and distributed the dishes among her guests. After the tables had

been removed the company played checkers (*damas*) until the hour of matins and then retired to rest.

The next day because Doña Getrudis was in charge, Don Vicente sent her presents on a curious tray consisting of little jars of sweet smelling earth, perfumed gloves, purses, and other trifles. Then Don Enrique and Don Vicente played a practical joke on the company, pretending to have been wounded in a quarrel outside of the house. The wounds are later explained as caused by love. After supper Doña Getrudis tells the first *novela*, "La Venus de Ferrara."

The following day it was Don Vicente's turn to send presents, and Doña Lucrecia asked that there should be singing until supper. She herself, skilful on the guitar, sang a *letra*. Doña Leonor followed with a *verso*, and after supper Don Vicente related the second *novela*, "La Dicha de Doristea."

It is unnecessary to continue the analysis of the book in detail. There is much poetry, among it the *fábula* of *Euridice and Orfeo* recited by Leonor. The marriages of Don Enrique with Doña Lucrecia, and Don Vicente with Doña Getrudis were arranged and the betrothals celebrated with great display and profusion of poetry, Don Enrique singing *The Judgment of Paris*. The company then breaks up and withdraws to their homes. The author makes the usual promise of a second part: "Dejando sus esperanzas prevenidas, para el día de sus velaciones, en que se prometían nuevos festejos, y tan plausibles, que espero en Dios, nos han de dar motivo para hacer la segunda parte de este libro."

Before passing to the considerable number of works of this class which are frank imitations of the *Decameron*, I shall mention briefly one in which the stories are told to while away the long nights of winter. It is one of the earliest of the class, having appeared in 1609, three years after Hidalgo's Carnival stories. It is, however, of little interest for the present work, as the scene is laid in Italy and nothing can be gleaned from it for Spanish social observances. Although it passed through several editions and was translated into German, I do not find any traces of its influence in Spain. The author of the work in question was Antonio de Eslava, termed native of the town of Sangüesa (in the province of Navarra) in the title of his collection of stories: *Parte primera del libro intitulado Noches de Invierno*, Pamplona,

1609.³⁹ Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Orígenes de la Novela*, II, p. cxxi, gives no personal details of the author, and remarks of the work: "Everything about Eslava's book shows its Italian origin. No one would say that it was composed in the province of Navarra. The scene opens on the quay at Venice, where the loss of a vessel coming from the island of Candia and the destruction by fire of a galley of Pompeyo Colonna at Messina are the topics of conversation. The four old men who amuse themselves during the winter nights while roasting chestnuts, drinking malmsey wine, and relating marvellous stories, are named Silvio, Albanio, Torcato, and Fabricio. None of the *novelas* is on a Spanish subject, and the two which belong to the Carolingian cycle (the birth of Charlemagne, and the birth and youthful exploits of Roldán) are not taken from French texts, but from a well known and popular Italian compilation, *I Reali di Francia*." Besides the *novelas*, some seven in number, the book contains various historical and moral digressions, an apology for the female sex, and an allegorical story of the birth of Queen Telus of Tartary, said by the author to be translated from the Flemish of Juan de Vespure.

Eslava's book, which is scarce, would have been entirely forgotten by this time were it not that some have seen in the fourth chapter, "Do se cuenta la sobervia del Rey Nicifero y incendio de sus naves, y la arte magica del Rey Dardano," a possible source of Shakespeare's *Tempest*.⁴⁰

³⁹ Eslava's work is very scarce. Mr. Ticknor owned only the German translation of Nuremberg, 1683. I have seen three editions in the Hispanic Society: Pamplona, 1609, Barcelona, 1609, and Brussels, 1610. No biographical details are given by Menéndez y Pelayo in his notice of Eslava's book in *Orígenes de la Novela*, II, pp. cxxi et seq. The *Diccionario enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* says he was born about 1570, and attributes to him a rare novel published in 1604, *Los amores de Milón de Aglante y el nacimiento de Rolán*. This is the same subject as the eighth chapter of the *Noches*, Do se cuenta el nacimiento de Roldán y sus niñerías: and it is probable that there has arisen some confusion between this *novela* and the work attributed to Eslava.

⁴⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.* (1907), p. cxxxiii, says: "Dr. Garnett and other modern English scholars have believed that the germ of Shakespeare's fantastic drama *The Tempest* was to be found in Eslava's fourth chapter." In a note on the same page, the editor says: "I know only by references these works of Garnett and I cannot even remember exactly where I have seen them cited." Menéndez y Pelayo was mistaken. Dr. Garnett and other modern English scholars have not been acquainted with Eslava. The first reference to the *Noches* as a source of *The Tempest* is by a German scholar, Edmund Dorer, in an article, "Die Quelle zu Shakespeares Sturm," in *Das Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes*, Vol. 107 (Jan. 31, 1885), p. 77. The article fills only one column, and begins: "Eine alte spanische Novellen- und Märchensammlung: 'Las Noches de Invierno por Antonio de Eslava, 1609,' enthält

But I must hasten to the works which, although imitations of the Italian prototype, are Spanish in character; with three exceptions the scene is in Spain, and they undoubtedly give us a true picture of the social observances of Spanish society in the first half of the seventeenth century. The frame is rather monot-

neben anderen Sagen eine Erzählung welche einigermaßen an Shakespeares Schauspiel 'Der Sturm,' dessen Quelle noch nicht ermittelt ist, erinnern mag. Wir teilen in kürze den Inhalt derselben mit." He then gives a brief analysis and concludes: "Die Novelle von dem Zauberer Dardanus ist wohl wie andere der genannten Sammlung, z. B. die bekannte Sage von Klein Roland und der Königin Bertha, von Eslava neu bearbeitet worden und beruht auf einer älteren Erzählung, welche auch Shakespeare bekannt geworden sein kann. Möglich ist es ebenfalls, dass der englische Dichter das Buch von Eslava gekannt hat, da dieses seinerzeit sehr beliebt war und in verschiedenen Sprachen übersetzt wurde. Ins Deutsch übertrug das Werklein M. Drummern unter dem Titel Die Winternächte." In 1902 H. R. S. Anders in his thesis *Shakespeare's Books*, gave a brief account of Eslava's story. Anders's thesis was printed in enlarged form in *Schriften der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Band I, Berlin, 1904, *Shakespeare's Books*, 8vo, pp. xx, 316, p. 74, Appendix to Chapter 2, Three Chimerical Sources. These are Mendoza's *Lazarillo*, Diego Ortúñez's *Espejo de Principes* and Antonio de Eslava. The last named is very briefly treated on p. 75, III. "Edmund Dorer in *Das Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes*, 31 Jan. 1885, draws attention to a narrative which has greater affinity with the plot of *The Tempest* than any tale yet discovered. It is contained in a Spanish collection of stories entitled *Las Noches de Invierno por Antonio de Eslava*, 1609. The narrative, which may, like others of the collection, be based on an older tale, is briefly this." Then follows in eleven lines only a résumé of the story. Anders concludes with these words: "The resemblances are obvious, but it is by no means certain that the tale is Shakespeare's source, as Dorer thinks." In 1907 Miss Porter, Shakespeare, First Folio Edition, in *The Tempest*, Sources, pp. 86-92, referred to Dorer and Anders, and then gave a condensed translation of Eslava's story from the German translation, a copy of which (1683) is in the Ticknor Collection.

An extensive discussion has arisen in regard to the relation of Eslava's story to *The Tempest*. This is not the place to go into this matter in detail, but it is proper to mention anything that has made Eslava better known. The first complete translation of Eslava's story in recent times was into German by Dr. Gustav Becker, who published in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1907, pp. 158-168, an article "Zur Quellenfrage von Shakespeares Sturm," in which he gave, pp. 156-163, a German translation of Eslava's Fourth Night. This translation was used by Professor H. E. Greene in his edition of *The Tempest* (Tudor Shakespeare), New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913.

In 1905, Professor Joseph de Perott of the Clark University printed in *Publications of the Clark University Library*, Worcester, Mass., Vol. I, Oct., 1905, No. 8, pp. 209-216, "The Probable Source of Shakespeare's *Tempest*." The author thought he had found the source of *The Tempest* in the Spanish romance, *Espejo de Principes y Caballeros*, Saragossa, 1562, which was translated into English under the title *Mirror of Knighthood* and printed in nine volumes at different dates from 1578 to 1601. At the time Dr. de Perott published this paper he had not seen Eslava. Since then he has printed various papers containing references to, and quotations from, Eslava's tale. See especially: *Cultura Española*, Nov., 1908, and Aug., 1909, with extracts from the Spanish *Espejo* and parallel passages from Eslava; *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1911, "Die Magelonen- und die Sturmabel," with

onous, the scene being laid usually in the garden of a villa at no particular season, except of course when out of door life was possible. In a few cases the stories are told to enliven a journey, and in two the stories are related in a sort of literary academy. The object of the entertainment is usually the amusement of the company in general, but sometimes it is to assuage the melancholy, or divert the convalescence of one of the ladies. If I attempt to make any classification of my material it will be along the above lines.

I shall begin with a rare work by an author otherwise entirely unknown to me, the *Cytara de Apolo*, Saragossa, 1650, of Maestro Ambrosio Bondia.⁴¹ Four ladies: Solina, Mavorcia, Gardira, and Fenix, pay a visit to a *casa de recreo* near Saragossa. Next to this villa is another where happen to be Gustileo, Gardira's brother, and three other noble gentlemen. These are invited to the ladies' villa, where they enjoy music and poetry. The ladies decide to spend the day in the villa, and the gentlemen leave them, determining to return in the evening. The ladies discuss the plan of appointing a meeting at a *casa de recreo* with the gentlemen for four days in order that each may have an opportunity to display his accomplishments. Lots are drawn to determine who shall have charge of the entertainments for each day, and the time is fixed for four festivals of the Church: Ascension, Whitsunday, Sunday after Corpus Christi, and St. John

extracts from the English version of the *Mirroure of Knighthood*; Magyar Shakespeare-Tár, 1911, containing further extracts from the English *Mirroure*; *Studi di Filologia Moderna*, VII, 1914, with extracts from the Italian version of the *Espejo*; and *Romanic Review*, July-Sept., 1914, "Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly and the Source of Shakespeare's *Tempest*." In a letter of March 17, 1918, Dr. de Perott says: "My present ideas on the subject are as follows: Both Shakespeare and Eslava borrowed the same story in the *Mirroure of Knighthood*, broken off at one place in the novel and continued at another, a very common proceeding in the novels of Chivalry."

⁴¹ I have used the copy in the Hispanic Society. Mr. Ticknor saw a copy in the Imperial Library at Vienna. He refers for biographical details to Latassa, *Biblioteca nueva*, III, 132. In the new edition of Latassa, *Biblioteca antigua y nueva de escritores aragoneses de Latassa aumentadas y refundidas en forma de diccionario bibliográfico-biográfico por Don Miguel Gómez Uriel*, Saragossa, 1884-1886, 3 vols., Bondia is mentioned Vol. I, p. 230. He is also mentioned in the *Diccionario enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, III, 771. The dates of his birth and death are not known. He flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century. He studied philosophy and theology, obtaining the degree of doctor. He was ordained and became chaplain to the Count of Monterrey, whom he accompanied to Italy in 1653. Besides the *Cytara de Apolo*, which contains two plays, Bondia was the author of *Triunfo de la verdad sobre la censura de la elocuencia*, Madrid, 1649, which appeared under the name of Don Gonzalo Pérez de Ledesma, canon and dignitary of Leon.

the Baptist's Day. The entertainment for each day is divided into three parts and consists of music, poetry, dramatic performances, etc. The company pass from one villa to another as in *Los Cigarrales de Toledo* and other similar works. On the first day a tragic comedy, *De Amor en la Nobleza y en la Muerte la Fineza*, is acted with discussions of the play and a masque between the acts. There is also what is practically a parlor game: each takes a sentence of a philosopher, Seneca, Plato, Ovid, Ficino, etc., and turns it into Spanish. The fourth day contains, among other things, praises of certain cities: Huesca, Jacca, Taragona, etc., a comedy, *La discreta Aragonesa*, and some curious laws of Parnassus about external appearance. The work possesses no originality and is not marked by any literary merit.

Better known is the author of *Teatro popular*, Don Francisco de Lugo y Dávila, who was born in Madrid near the close of the sixteenth century.⁴² He was in the service of the Duke of Maqueda, through whose favor he probably received the appointment of governor of Chiapa in Mexico. He was abroad some ten years, and it was during his absence that a brother saw through the press the work in which we are now interested. The date of his death is not known, but he was alive in 1659 according to Nicolás Antonio. The singular title of the work was given by the author "because it embraced diverse facts and episodes common to all classes of the people, even the lowest." In the address to the reader the author, as is so usual, promises a second part "dealing with the weighty actions of princes worthy of the buskin of Sophocles, as Virgil said." The object of the work is a moral one, and each *novela* is preceded by a careful statement of what it intends to demonstrate. In other words the *novelas* are exemplary ones in the sense of the term as used by Cervantes, whom Francisco de Lugo imitates in several of the stories of his collection. He differs, however, from Cervantes in connecting his *novelas* by a frame, the least interesting of all we shall examine. It is as follows. One afternoon of a spring day three friends, Celio, Fabio, and Montano, meet in Celio's garden.

⁴² The *Teatro popular* was published in the first volume of the *Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas*, Madrid, 1906, with a prologue by the editor of the series, Don Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, from which I have taken the biographical details in the text. I have seen the original edition, Madrid, 1622, at the Hispanic Society.

After some discussion on the flight of time, Montano proposes that they shall spend the afternoons relating *novelas*, "explicando el lugar curioso que ocasionare la conversacion, pues así conseguiremos el precepto de Horacio, acertando en mezclar lo útil con lo deleitoso." Before beginning Fabio desires Clelio to explain the origin and rules of the *novela*. He does so with a great show of erudition, citing Aristotle, Horace, Celio Rodiginio ("en sus *Lecciones antiguas*"), etc. Boccaccio is mentioned: "y para la práctica, hartos os dará el Boccaccio en su *Fiameta* y en el *Decameron* de sus novelas."

The title of the first *novela*, related by Fabio, is "Escarmentar en cabeza ajena" (To take warning from another), and it gives rise to a preliminary discussion on proverbs. After each story there is a brief discussion among the friends, with frequent quotation from the classic poets, etc. There is no other entertainment than the *novelas*, and the work ends abruptly with the last (eighth) *novela*.

Far more interesting are a number of works by the popular writer, Solórzano, some of whose books have been examined above. I shall now consider very briefly the others, keeping them together and not distributing them according to subject. The first is *Tardes entretenidas*, Madrid, 1625, the plot of which is as follows.⁴³ Two noble families determine to pass the month of May in the neighborhood of Madrid, on the banks of the Manzanares. These families consist of two widows, each with two beautiful daughters. These with two maids, two squires, and two pages determine to take the "steel cure," a fashionable remedy of the day, on which is based the plot of Lope de Vega's famous play, *El Azero de Madrid*. It also occurs in another work of the class we are now examining, *Auroras de Diana*, by Don Pedro de Castro y Añaya.^{43a} In the company of the ladies above

⁴³ The *Tardes entretenidas* is published in the ninth volume of the *Colección selecta*, Madrid, 1908.

^{43a} Little is known of this author (his name is frequently given without the *tilde*) who terms himself on his title-pages "natural de Murcia." The *Enciclopedia Universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana* gives the following notice: "Poeta español del siglo XVI cuya vida es apenas conocida. Lope de Vega hace grandes elogios de él y cinco de sus novelas que se publicaron con el título de *Las Auroras de Diana* (1640) obra de la que se hicieron numerosas ediciones y por la que Castro y Añaya figura en el *Catálogo de Autoridades de la Academia*. En el tomo xlii de la *Biblioteca de Rivadeneyra* han publicado algunas de sus composiciones." Ticknor mentions four editions: 1632, 1637, 1640, and 1654, the last printed at Coimbra in 12mo. I have seen all these in the Hispanic Society, and in addition: Madrid, 1634, Málaga, 1640, and Mad-

mentioned is also a certain Octavio, who seems to be a professional entertainer, supported by the gifts of noble families. After their arrival at the villa, while they are proposing to take the cure, Octavio addresses them in regard to the division of their time and occupations. The cure will fill the mornings and he offers to come in the afternoons and amuse them. Each is by lot or command to tell a story, then two enigmas are to follow, and finally Octavio is to sing or improvise. Each *Tarde* has a brief descriptive introduction, and in the first afternoon Octavio sings a romance on the subject of Aeneas abandoning his wife Creusa. Doña Angela then tells the first story, "El Amor en la Venganza." After the *novela*, Doña Laura repeats the first enigma and Dona Lucrecia the second and Octavio ends the afternoon with a song. For the next day it is ordered that Doña Laura tell the story and Costanza and Angela the enigmas. There are six afternoons and as many *novelas* and twelve enigmas. At the end of the sixth afternoon the doctor, who, thanks to the healthy condition of Madrid has leisure, offers to tell the story for the next afternoon. The author states that he will end the book here in order not to increase its bulk, and promises the usual second part, which never appeared.

The scene of two of Solórzano's collections is laid in Italy, and consequently have less interest for us than the others. In the first, *Los Alivios de Casandra*, Barcelona, 1640,⁴⁴ the daughter of the Marquis Ludovico of Milan, Casandra, falls into a melancholy as result of the efforts and importunities of family and friends to marry her. The physicians advise withdrawal to a villa near the Po, where six ladies, two of them Spanish, accompany her and endeavor to entertain her. One afternoon while these six ladies were in a pleasant garden near a cool and beautiful fountain, after they had treated various subjects and raised some questions in which wits display themselves, the Spanish lady, Gerarda, proposed that each lady in turn should entertain her mistress, and this entertainment is to consist of story-telling: "tan usado in Italia, y aun en España, pues me certifican los

rid, 1806, in two volumes. In the Prologue to the last edition the editor says: "Esta obra fué impresa la primera vez en Málaga en 1640, y despues se hicieron varias ediciones, teniendo todas singular aceptación del publico por lo singular de su mérito, etc." The first edition was, as we have seen, Murcia, 1632, not Malaga, 1640.

⁴⁴ I have used the copy in the Hispanic Society.

de allá que me corresponden que los ingenios españoles usan aora desto mucho, descubriéndose en el novelar su buena inventiva, su galante prosa, y el artificio que para esto se requiere."

The day closes with poetry as in the *Decameron*. Then follow the six days or *Alivios*, consisting of novels and a play, *El Mayorazgo figura*. Each day begins with verses and ends with dancing. At the conclusion of the work it is said that Casandra found alleviation in the diversions provided by her friends, and the author promises, as usual, a second part with an account of the marriage of Casandra and the festivities accompanying the wedding.

The scene of *La Quinta de Laura*, Saragossa, 1649,⁴⁵ is also laid in Italy near Valencia del Po, famous for its villas. Laura, daughter of Count Anselmo, has retired to a villa during one of the local wars so frequent at that time, with six ladies, all Spanish, brought up with her from childhood. She proposes to pass the time with music, dancing, and story-telling: "exercicio mui usado en Italia, diganlo los Vandelos, Sansovinos y Bocacios, que tantos tomos han impreso dellas, y aora en España los han excedido con grandes ventajas, pues esto se haze con mas primor y propiedad para entretenimiento de los lectores."

The story-telling begins on Monday. Each day opens with music and ends with singing. Six *novelas* are told, and at the conclusion of the work the author again asks pardon for his faults, and promises a second part with an account of the inevitable wedding festivities.

Another work of the same prolific writer is *Jornadas alegres*,⁴⁶ Madrid, 1626, in which, quite unusually, the stories are told during a journey. Don Alvaro de Toledo, who is unable to leave Madrid, sends his wife, Doña Lorenza, to visit his estate at Talavera. She is accompanied by her two sisters, Doña Clara and Doña Luisa, and her two brothers-in-law, Don Gómez and Don Carlos, one a layman (*seglar*), the other and younger, a student at Salamanca. They arrived at Talavera towards the end of September and remained there until the middle of December, when Don Alvaro commanded them to return to Madrid. The order was brought by Feliciano, a lively frequenter of Don

⁴⁵ I have used the copy in the Hispanic Society.

⁴⁶ The *Jornadas alegres* is printed in the eleventh volume of the *Colección selecta*, Madrid, 1909. The original edition is not to be found in the Ticknor Collection or in the Harvard University Library or in the Hispanic Society.

Alvaro's house. They prepared for their return, and as Doña Lorenza was in an interesting condition, it was necessary to make the journey slowly, distributing it over five days. The winter days were short, but pleasant for travelling, as the weather was settled and bright. They therefore determined not to start early and not to make any stop at noon, but push on and arrive in good season where they were to spend the night.

Feliciano proposes that they shall travel six in a coach, and each day one of the six should entertain the others for an hour by relating an occurrence "con su moralidad, porque se mezcle lo provechoso con lo deleitable," and he will sing some of his verses before and after the stories, the ladies aiding him with the music.

There are six *Jornadas*, with brief accounts of the journey prefixed, music, and five *sucesos*, or occurrences. The sixth *Jornada* is wholly occupied by Feliciano, who sings a *romance*, and relates the "Fábula de las Bodas de Manzanares," a prose pastoral interspersed with poems. The author concludes with these words: "The well-sung romance and the pleasant journey ended at the same time. They entered the ancient Mantua [Madrid], and on their arrival at the home of Don Alvaro were joyfully welcomed by him. They found the supper prepared and when it was finished they went to rest. Here the author ends this book, and if it pleases the taste of the readers, he promises another entitled *Tiempo de regocijo*, which will shortly appear." This promise, as we have seen above, was fulfilled.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Another book of this class, the framework of which involves a journey is Matías de los Reyes's *Para Algunos*, Madrid, 1640, a copy of which I have seen in the Hispanic Society. A sufficient account of the writer may be found in Cotarelo y Mori's prologue to his edition of Matías de los Reyes's *El Menandro* in the tenth volume of the *Colección selecta*, in which (Vol. XII) is also reprinted the same author's *El Curial del Parnaso*. Matías de los Reyes was born in Madrid about 1575 and studied at Alcalá. He obtained while still young an administrative position in the Order of Alcántara which obliged him to reside at Villanueva de la Serena in Extremadura. In spite of his business and remoteness from the capital he cultivated letters and wrote six plays, which were not published until some time after their composition and public performance. In 1624 he printed at Madrid *El Curial del Parnaso*, an imitation to a slight extent of Boccacini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, part of which was translated into Spanish in 1640. After the publication of his *Para Algunos* at Madrid in 1640, nothing further is known of the author's life. The framework supposes two friends travelling from Madrid on a vow to Our Lady of Guadalupe. They stop for the night at the house of a friend of one of the travellers. There is read the play of *El Agravio agrado* which is connected with a discussion of questions of magic, involving two long stories. The next day the journey is resumed. The work is divided into *Treze Discursos* and is quite elaborate.

In several of the works mentioned above the social diversions centre around a wedding which is the culmination of a series of adventures. This is the case with another of Solórzano's works, *Fiestas del Jardín*, Valencia, 1634, the plot of which is as follows: The ladies and gentlemen of Valencia have gone to the seashore, "la playa del Grao," near the city to take the air. A vessel from Genoa lands a passenger, a handsome young man, who attracts the attention of two ladies in a carriage, one of whom falls in love with him at first sight. The stranger has scarcely landed when two men disguised as women attack him and wound him in the arm. He stretches his assailants on the ground, mounts the

In view of the rarity and curious character of de los Reyes's *Para Algunos* a more extended analysis will be welcome. The writer finds himself at Casarrubios, which was crowded on account of a journey a great prince was making to the principal cities of his state. He succeeded in finding an abode, which he had to share with an ecclesiastic, whose ability and good qualities are described at length. They found that they were bound in the same direction, to Madrid and Guadalupe. They agreed to journey together, and the ecclesiastic turned out to be an Italian and native of Naples, by name Acrisio.

The next day they started together and visited a curate, one of the author's friends, and spent the night with him talking about their college days at Alcalá. The author goes into his friend's library and finds there his own comedias, as well as the *Curial del Parnaso* and *El Menandro*. After some discussion they all hear mass said by the curate and after breakfast in the garden the author reads his *Comedia famosa, El Agravio agradecido*. After the comida the friends discuss the subject of magic which arises out of the fact that the comedy just read is an imitation of Plautus's *Amphitruon*, in which occurs the magical transformation of Jupiter and Mercury. The first discourse on witches (*magias*) and reprobation of their superstitions occupies ff. 31-43, and leads up to a story by the ecclesiastic which forms the second discourse and is continued in the third and ends the discourses of that day.

The next day Acrisio narrates in the fourth discourse the *Historia de la Peña de los dos Enamorados de Antequera* which is continued in the fifth. After the comida comes the sixth discourse on the superstitious words used by magicians (*magos*) and the strength and power which they possess. After this discourse comes supper.

The next day the interrupted story is continued in the seventh and eighth discourses, which fill up the day until supper. The story goes on the following day in the ninth and tenth discourses. After dinner they are interrupted by a call for the curate to "sacramentar un enfermo," but Acrisio continues his story in the eleventh discourse. The continuation of the story is then postponed for some days, when it goes on in the twelfth discourse, and is ended in the thirteenth discourse on the following day.

When Acrisio finishes they prepare to resume their journey, and thanking the curate for his hospitality the two friends together with the curate reach Guadalupe and visit the Sanctuary. The author asks Acrisio for permission to publish his story and he grants it. Near the end the author gives an explanation of the title of his book: "Que aunque por escribirlos (los discursos de nuestra conversacion) yo no podré prometerme serán *Para Todos*, me contentaré de que sean *Para Algunos*."

With the exception of the *comedia* and the first discourse, all the rest of the book consists of Acrisio's story. The fourth discourse seems a digression. The story turns on the transformation of a woman into a serpent. The whole work is very curious and deserves to be reprinted.

horse which they had in readiness for their escape and rides in haste to Valencia. Near the city he approaches a country house, at the entrance to which sitting on a stone bench he sees an old man. The latter perceives the condition of the wounded youth and takes him into his house and sends for a physician.

Presently the daughters of Don Jayme (the old man) return and prove to be the two ladies who had seen the stranger, Don Carlos, land and the attack on him. One of the sisters, Angela, had conceived a passion for the stranger at once. The name of the other sister is Dorotea. In the course of Don Carlos's convalescence he falls in love with Angela and as she seems to think there was some woman concerned in the attack upon him, he deems it best to relate his story to the father and daughters. The story is the hackneyed one of his friend's mistress, Teodora, falling in love with him. His regard for his friend, Don Lope, prevents him from reciprocating Teodora's passion. She hates him for this, and stirs up Don Lope's jealousy, who attacks Don Carlos and is killed by him. Don Carlos is thrown into prison and when released returns to Spain, where Teodora has prepared an attack on him.

The story of Don Carlos overcomes the suspicions of Angela and she returns the love of Don Carlos. The latter sends for his father, a widower, his two brothers, and a sister. After their arrival one of the brothers falls in love with Dorotea, and Don Jayme has a nephew whom he marries to Don Carlos's sister Blanca. The three weddings take place with balls and other festivities. The relatives and friends resolve to celebrate the marriages in the garden of the Patriarch Don Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia. They draw lots to determine the turn of each, and the first lot falls on Don Ramón Centellas, who displays his magnificence on a Sunday in the following manner. After a splendid supper the guests all enter the garden, where a theatre has been erected lighted by a dozen candelabra. The guests take their seats on scaffolds covered with rich draperies. After music and singing comes the comedy, *Los Encantos de Breñaña*. The play is followed by a dance of seventeen gentlemen bearing torches in their hands.

The second fiesta was given by Don Bernardo. After a splendid banquet offered by Don Jayme, a joust took place in the street. This lasted until dark, when the guests returned to

the garden, where Don Bernardo had prepared a collation. The stage was arranged to represent a castle, and after music, Don Galceran, Don Bernardo's brother, entered the gate and occupying a seat in the middle of the stage recited the story of *Anteon*, written by Don Sancho de Molina Cabeça de Baca. Then followed a ball, and Don Bernardo took his seat on the stage and narrated the *novela*, "La Buelta del Ruyseñor." The *novela* was followed by a masque.

The third fiesta was under the charge of Don Leonardo Boyl. There was a joust in the street followed by a banquet and later a collation. A romance was then sung by eight musicians and the comedy, *La Fantasma de Valencia*, was performed.

The fourth fiesta was given by Don Grao. After the banquet there was a masque by mounted performers in the street. Then Don Grao took his seat on the stage and narrated the second *novela*, "La injusta Ley derogada." The fiesta wound up with a ball.

The fifth fiesta was given by Don Melchor, with banquet and masque as usual, then the comedy, *El Marques del Zigarral*.

The sixth and last fiesta was under the charge of Don Cotaldo and Don Carlos, with banquet, and dances and joust in the street as usual. Then the company adjourned to the theatre where Don Cotaldo narrated *novela* third, "Los Hermanos parecidos." He was followed at once by Don Carlos who recited the fourth *novela*, "La Criança bien lograda." The *novela* was much applauded and the bridal parties were accompanied to their houses in the city, and it was planned to celebrate many other fiestas in honor of the marriages. The book end with the words: "Con que el Autor dá fin a las que en el jardin se hizieron, desseando ayan sido al gusto de los letiores, para ofrecár presto sacar a luz el libro del *Bachiller Trapaza*, con el favor de Dios."

There is a curious group of novels of the class we are now considering which, like Montalván's *Para Todos*, examined above, are made the excuse for a pedantic display of erudition. The form of these novels is that of an "Academy," or reunion of several friends, who, to entertain themselves and their friends, relate stories, perform plays, recite poetry, and discuss all sorts of subjects connected with natural history, geography, theology, etc. The scene of this group is laid sometimes in a city dwelling, sometimes in a villa in the country. In Solórzano's *Huerta de*

Valencia, Valencia, 1629, five gentlemen retire to villas on the seashore belonging to them, and form an "Academia," entertaining each other with four *novelas*, and a comedy, *El Agravio satisfecho*. The five days or *divertimientos* are spent alternately in the different villas and are interspersed with the usual elaborate music and plentiful poetry.

The introduction of the *Huerta de Valencia* opens at Valencia, where five gentlemen of different professions set out in a coach to drive for pleasure to the seashore: Don Leonardo, who had studied Latin, rhetoric, and history, could also write verses; Doctor Eusebio, the best physician and philosopher; Micer Ortensio, jurist; Don Guillén, a student of arts and philosophy, twenty-two years of age; and Maestro Laurencio, a recent graduate in theology and a poet. It was a quiet day and the sea was still. The coach stopped at the brink of the sea and the friends gazed at its peaceful surface. Don Leonardo addressed the others and called their attention to the season and the calmness of the sea, remarking that every exercise wearies, every daily occupation tires unless relieved by some proper recreation. Since the sea is quiet and the sun in the midst of the stormy winter imparts its serene light, they may also in that season, which is that of Epiphany, suspend their studies and throwing off the burden of business, amuse themselves. He proposes therefore that they should celebrate this vacation with a pleasant entertainment, and since the five owned villas in the *Huerta de Valencia*, their diversions should take place in these villas in the following form. Each day it should fall to the lot of one to hold the fiesta on his own estate, and it is to be in the form of an Academy, not like the famous ones of Italy, but an imitation in so much that each one of the five, since they could write verses, should do so on subjects distributed among them. The one in whose villa the fiesta is celebrated is to give the subjects and himself write a *novela* or recite it from memory. The festival is to end with music in order to divert the guests, for each of the company is to invite his friends and relatives, who are to bring their wives and daughters.

Don Leonardo's plan meets with approval and each promises to do his share. Leonardo as the author of the scheme assigns the subjects of the first day and receives his own from one of the others. They then return to the city anxious to carry out their undertaking.

The fiesta of Don Leonardo takes place in his garden at two o'clock and he welcomes the guests very pleasantly, and addresses the company, saying that it has fallen to his lot to entertain the company that afternoon and he shall do so by relating a *novela* which he has composed for the occasion, entitled "El Amor por la Piedad." After the *novela* the five friends repeat poetry of various kinds, the subjects for the next fiesta in Doctor Eusebio's villa are assigned, and the company breaks up.

On the occasion of the second entertainment, Doctor Eusebio relates a *novela*, "El Sobervio Castigado," followed by poetry as on the first day. The endings of each day are very brief: "Acabaronse los versos con mucho gusto del auditorio, sazónó esto después la música, y para el futuro día se le encargó la fiesta al Maestro Laurencio en su alquería, combidando el desde allí a todos los que en la del Doctor Eusebio se avían hallado. Dieronse los asuntos, y todos volvieron a la ciudad, esperando no ser menos esta fiesta que las pasadas."

In the course of the third entertainment Maestro Laurencio related the *novela* "El Defensor contra sí," which was followed by poetry, in this case of a satirical nature. The fourth entertainment consisted of a *novela*, "La Duquesa de Mantua," related by Micer Ortensio, with poetry interspersed in the *novela*, and following it.

Don Guillén announces that the diversion of the fifth day is to differ from the others by having instead of the *novela* a *comedia* which he has written, and which will be performed by a company greatly applauded in the city. First, however, comes the poetry by the five, and then the play, *El Agravio satisfecho*. The play is adorned with excellent dances and *entremeses* and performed with great care; and the author, Don Guillén, is much praised for this his first play. He returns thanks and promises to do better in another play. Here the diversions of the "Academias de la Huerta de Valencia" ended and the guests returned to their homes. The work concludes with the usual promise, in this case fulfilled, of other productions: *Las Noches de Plazer* and *El Coche de las Estafas*.

This form, it will be easily seen, is an imitation of the academies so fashionable in Italy in the seventeenth century. The Spanish imitation is less formal, and I have found no use of disguised

names and no employment of parlor games.^{47a} There are three works of this class which deserve extended treatment, and I shall begin with the most interesting, the *Casa del plazer honesto*, by Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, Madrid, 1620.⁴⁸

This prolific writer of poetry, plays, novels, and satirical compositions, was born in Madrid, July 29, 1581. His father was an agent for the business of New Spain, which he seems to have visited, and which office the son later inherited. Alonso received his education in his native city and afterwards at the University of Alcalá. The family accompanied the court to Valladolid when in 1601 that city again became for a short time the capital of Spain. His father died there about 1603 and Alonso relinquished his studies and assumed his father's business.

^{47a} Some account of the imitation of Italian Academies in Spain will be found in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, Tomo I, Cuaderno I, Febrero de 1914, pp. 4 *et seq.*, "La Fundación de la Academia Española y su primer director D. Juan Manuel F. Pacheco, Marqués de Villena," by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. The author gives an account, pp. 5-17, of a number of Spanish academies in the sixteenth century at Valencia (Los Nocturnos), Saragossa (Los Ociosos), Huesca (Los Anhelantes), Toledo, Seville, and Madrid (Los Humildes, La Imitatoria, El Parnaso, La Selvaje, Le Peregrina, and La Mantuana). In all these academies the Italian imitation was complete, both as to assumed names and general subjects of discussion.

Some further notices of the academies just mentioned by Cotarelo y Mori will be found in *Los Españoles en Italia (Estudios sobre la grandeza y decadencia de España)*, by D. Felipe Picatoste, Madrid, 1887, two vols., Vol. I, pp. 98-106. The author says, p. 100: "Tanta afición se despertó en España a las academias, que esta palabra tomó en nuestra lengua una significación popular, designándose con ella durante el siglo XVII toda reunión literaria, aunque fuese de breves horas."

"De aquella cultura provino la costumbre de celebrar con academias o veladas literarias todos los actos o sucesos notables de la vida. Las victorias de nuestros ejércitos, las muertes y nacimientos de reyes y grandes hombres, las fiestas religiosas, los sucesos de familia, se celebraban en todas las casas un poco distinguidas con reuniones literarias a que solían asistir, siendo rogadas para ello, las eminencias en ciencias, letras y armas, e inmenso el número de recuerdos impresos que todavía se conservan de esta culta costumbre."

See also the very interesting book by Julio Monreal, *Cuadros viejos. Colección de pinceladas, toques y esbozos, representando costumbres españolas del siglo XVII*. Madrid, 1878. In Chapter X, pp. 349-387, is described an academy of los Tenebrosos. Two other chapters are especially valuable: IV, p. 133, "La ocupación de un caballero"; and VIII, p. 285, "Un día de visatas."

⁴⁸ There is an extremely interesting life of Barbadillo by Cotarelo y Mori in the prologue to the *Obras de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo*, Madrid, 1907 (*Colección de Escritores Castellanos*); a few additional biographical details from Pérez Pastor's *Biografía madrileña*, III, 466-469, are given in the second volume of the *Obras*, Madrid, 1909. The documents in the famous quarrel with the member of the Persian Embassy are printed in *Dos novelas de Don Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, reimpresas por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles*, Madrid, 1894, pp. x-xxxiii. In the same volume, pp. xxxiv-xlvii, may be found an extensive bibliography of Barbadillo's works, twenty-one in number.

His poetical career began at the same time with a sonnet introductory to the *Viage entretenido* (1604) of his friend Agustín de Rojas. Alonso returned with the court to Madrid in 1606 and there completed a long poem in honor of the Virgin of Atocha.

In 1609 Alonso became involved in a quarrel with a former member of the Persian embassy sent to Spain in 1599. This and a satire on some respectable ladies of Madrid led to his banishment for two years, which, however, by the efforts of his relatives and friends was shortened to six months. For reasons now unknown Alonso was again in 1611 banished from the court and took up his residence in Saragossa until his return to Madrid in 1613.

He had previously published in Saragossa in 1612 a picaresque romance, *La Hija de Celestina*, which appeared later in a longer version under the title of *La ingeniosa Elena*, and furnished Scarron with the plot of his *nouvelle*, *Les Hypocrites*. From 1614 on Barbadillo published at Madrid volume after volume of novels, poetry, and satires. In a single year, 1620, he published five novels, a play, and wrote a sixth novel, printed in the first half of the following year. The work which we shall soon consider was written during this marvellously prolific period. It is impossible to mention here even the titles of the works of most varied character which Barbadillo composed and published until his death at Madrid, July 10, 1635, a month and a half before that of his friend Lope de Vega.

Barbadillo has received scant notice outside of his native country, and only one of his works, *El necio bien afortunado*, has been directly translated into English.⁴⁹ Another came into English indirectly through Scarron's *nouvelle* just mentioned. But it is time to return to the only one of Barbadillo's works which concerns my present purpose.

The *Casa del Plazer honesto* was first published at Madrid in 1620, although the two copies which I have consulted in the Ticknor Collection and the Hispanic Society bear the erroneous date of 1602. The second and last edition appeared at Barcelona in 1624. I have made use of the first edition in the following analysis.

⁴⁹ *The Fortunate Fool*, written in Spanish by A. G. de Salas Barbadillo. Translated into English by P. Ayres, London, 1670. A copy is in the Ticknor Collection and also another edition, "Now rendered into modern English by a person of quality," London, 1760, sm. 12mo. The original is not in the Ticknor Collection nor the Hispanic Society.

One afternoon in April the Tormes (the river which flows about Salamanca), famous for the arms and blazons of the ancient knights, citizens of Salamanca, and no less renowned for the writings of so many happy wits who have been the wonder and glory of Europe, gave shelter in its pleasant meadows to four gentlemen of Andalusia, first-born of their families, whose names were Don Fernando, Don Próspero, Don Garcia, and Don Diego, students of law, more from their parents' ambition than from necessity.

Of these Don Diego spoke first, imbued with humane and divine letters, subtle theologian and profound canonist, universal in languages and master of Greek. He was deeply grieved at having lost to an unworthy competitor a professorship in the university. He addressed his companions as follows: "No kind of folly is more worthy of blame than ours, who in a time when the rewards of letters are seen so buried in slumber, weary ourselves with such protracted studies." He further says that they are under no necessity of doing so. He praises study for the sake of knowledge, but blames making servile and mechanical these intellectual branches. They should leave this field clear for those who were born without wealth. "Let us proceed to the Court and there live with the means which our parents must send us, in peaceful joy free from scandal. Let us establish a house which we shall name *Casa del Plazer honesto*, the laws of which we shall determine among ourselves, observing them inviolably, and compelling those who desire to remain in our company to do the same."

This discourse of Don Diego was so acceptable to the others that the next day they hired a coach and set out with four servants on mules for Madrid, leaving letters for their parents informing them of their determination and asking their aid, threatening, in case they refused, to borrow money on usury and consume their wealth in a short time. For fear of this and lest the reputation of their sons should be tarnished at the court, the parents resolved to give them generous support. They hired in common a house near the Prado, in which there was an apartment with rooms on the upper and lower floors, an inner garden with fountains, about which ran a wide gallery, which they filled with all their books, forming a varied and curious library of all the sciences and faculties. In a lower room they deposited all the

musical instruments which are played by the hands alone; as well as those played by the mouth and hands. One of these rooms they called "Armory of the Mind," and the other "Recreation of the Senses."

They hired a coach and driver for their service and a cook for the kitchen. Each of the company occupied two rooms, one to receive visitors in, the other for sleeping. The first two days they spent in arranging matters, and the following day met in the room called "Armory of the Mind," where they made these laws and ordinances:

The four and those who desire to serve (*militar*) under the doctrine of this modern philosophy are not to be married nor have mistresses, nor be occupied with love affairs.

Lawyers are excluded and poets "who write plays for the public stage, because they are a people who write for the taste of the crowd and are subject to having their plays hissed, which grieves them so deeply that for many days they are inconsolable and so might greatly disturb the Republic."

The company are not to attend bull fights in Madrid, except private and domestic ones, for the public ones take place in the season of the great heat. They may attend "juegos de cañas, porque la mucha frialdad dellas modera el calor del tiempo, y con esto viene a estar la plaça templada y conversable, y tan conversable que sin salir de la materia del mismo juego, del propio se puede hazer juego y risa."

Admission as lay-brothers (*por donados*) may be granted to physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, barbers, sacristans, and gravediggers, because they are so far from living in sorrow that their pleasure is based upon the griefs of others. Also musicians, for they please themselves while pleasing others.

The very rich and the very poor are excluded.

The members must not attend weddings or betrothals, for these are very vulgar pleasures which are followed by great sorrows.

The occupation of the company is to visit widowers and widows, who were unfortunately married, the day of their widowhood, and celebrate with them the joy and pleasure of such a festive and long-desired occasion.

The money received is to be deposited in the treasury of the community and expended by a confidential steward.

The members are to lay aside all the passions and affections which disturb the mind, because with them there can be no firm and certain pleasure.

These regulations and others to be added according to necessity, are to be kept inviolate, under penalty of dismissal from the company.

To publish these rules they invited all the men of the court of good accomplishments and particular taste to meet in the hall called "Recreación de los Sentidos," and proclaimed the rules with applause and music, adding two new ones:

The *Casa del Plazer honesto* could not admit boarders of any condition or quality, even if related to the founders of the community.

As the four founders were eminent in the three poetic, oratorical, and musical arts, so those admitted to the company should possess the same qualities, for the *Casa del Plazer honesto* had to deal more with the pleasures of the understanding and admiration of the mind than with the gross recreations of the body.

The establishment of this new order of life (*instituto de vida*) was admired, and to arouse greater desire in the minds of those who heard of it, the care for the entertainments of the first Sunday was distributed as follows: Don Diego to relate a *novela* in prose; Don Garcia to sing all that was to be sung by voice alone or rendered with instruments; Don Fernando to repeat a *silva*; and Don Próspero to perform an elegant and lively dance. When this was settled, the meeting broke up and the founders made arrangements to carry out their plans.

They first turned three moderate-sized rooms into one large one and constructed a stage in the middle of it raised a yard and a half above the floor; this was surrounded with wooden steps, and on the right of the entrance was placed a chair and on the left a throne of equal height. They made search in the city for rich hangings, and because it was still spring they covered the floors with roses and fresh herbs. The windows looked upon a garden and in front of them were two fountains of wonderful artifice and no slight discharge of water. The rays of the sun were everywhere excluded and the fountains made the air cool.

At four o'clock some hundred persons, who, according to a new rule, came without linen collars and cuffs, in shirt only, with jacket and breeches of taffety. It was also ordered that all

who entered should show one of the accomplishments which he possessed, as well he could, because they did not wish to admit idle spectators, who enjoyed the entertainments and afterwards criticized them. Don García, in whose charge the music was, then took his seat on the left, and after the clarions had sounded, sang a solo in an agreeable voice.

The company excited by his example took their places in turn in the chair and sang alone or in chorus. This lasted for an hour, and then Don Fernando took his seat and sang the verses of a *silva*. The company followed suit and there was hardly anyone who did not repeat at least a sonnet. After this Don Próspero took his place on the stage and performed a dance, and others imitated his example.

More than three hours having been spent in this fashion, Don Diego took his seat to the sound of instruments and thus began: "Of the *novela* assigned for the entertainment of this day, I am the author, composing it at the same time that I relate it. Hardiness did not put me in this place, but obedience, for which I hope that I shall obtain liberal excuse and pardon for my errors from your minds. The title is 'Los Cómicos Amantes,' and it begins as follows."

The first day ended with the *novela*, and the founders of the company took a ride in their coach, avoiding the crowd in the Prado, and driving out into the country.

Two gentlemen, Don Juan and Don Alonso, desired to join the company of the founders and were duly examined, Don Juan singing a *romance* in a bass voice and another in falsetto. The founders retired and voted to admit Don Juan at once. As to Don Alonso, they assigned him a subject (after the fashion of the universities "quando se toman puntos"), on which he was to write a *novela*; the subject and basis were in these words, which were also given to him as a title for the aforesaid *novela*: "El coche mendigón, envergonzante y endemoniado." He accepted at once, and at the appointed time the next day he returned with much briskness and no little confidence, as if he were more superior than dependent upon the criticism of the judges. He then recited his *novela*, part of which was in the form of a dialogue, and also a *silva*. He was thereupon admitted a member of the company and assigned the charge of the entertainments in the approaching month of June. The day chosen was the festival of St.

John the Baptist, and the arrangements were as follows: Don Juan to have charge of the adornment of the room; Don Próspero to prepare a masque of a dozen performers; Don Diego, a domestic comedy in prose, so short that its performance should not last over an hour, and its subject be amusing; Don Fernando to narrate a *novela*, which should be partly jocose and partly true, reproofing some vice lately introduced into the Republic, and conveying instruction.

These directions were carried out. The walls of the room were covered with tapestries representing the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, Loves of Jupiter, Deeds of Mars, and Wonders of Hercules. When the day of St. John arrived an altar was set up and many courtiers of rank were present. At five the masque began, followed by the comedy, "*doméstica y breve*," *El Busca Oficios*. The actors had scarcely left the stage when Don Fernando recited the *novela*, "El Curioso maldiciente, castigado y no enmendado," and received a crown of laurel as a reward of his pains.

A president was elected for the month of July, and Don Fernando was chosen, who, as a good Spaniard and true knight, selected the day of Santiago for his festival and distributed the duties of the company as follows: Don Próspero to adorn the hall; Don Ricardo, already admitted as academician, and Don Diego, to prepare the festival of a tournament, not to exceed an hour and a half in length. Both these gentlemen had come into possession of large funds and they determined to employ them for something more splendid than risking their loss again. Don Alonso was to give a domestic comedy in verse, brief and entertaining and not over half an hour in length; Don Juan to recite a serious *novela*, whose doctrine should teach the Republic useful customs. It was further proposed that women should be admitted as hearers, but the president opposed it and the others supported his opinion. His argument in brief was that bad women disturb men and men disturb good women, and where there is disturbance (*inquietud*) there can be no pleasure. If the women are good they lose credit with us, if bad we with them.

On the day of Santiago the hall was adorned with an image of the saint on horseback, with a great variety of Latin and Spanish verses. There were no tapestries, but the walls were covered with boughs and leaves of trees. The festival began with the tournament, which pleased by its splendor and entertained by

its mottoes. It was scarcely over when the actors occupied the stage with the comedy *El Caprichoso en su Gusto y La dama setentona*. After the play Don Juan took the chair and recited "El gallardo Montañés, y Filósofo Cristiano."

At the conclusion of the entertainment Don Próspero was chosen president for August and assigned the festival of St. Bartholomew. Don Juan was charged with the music and verses to be sung to it. Don Ricardo was to display varied and elegant examples of agility in which he was most skilful. Don Diego was to recite a *novela*, more entertaining than serious; Don Fernando a dialogue pleasing by its witty jokes, and in verse or prose at his option; and Don Alonso was to take charge of the theatrical representation.

The *sala* was made to represent a beautiful room, with the image of the Apostle appearing in a cloud hanging from the ceiling and descending to occupy the place intended for it with the accompaniment of music. Don Juan had placed in the hall a fountain which represented a rock down which the water flowed as soon as the image of the saint reached its place; then the rock opened and displayed in a seat a youth of tender years clothed in a tunic and representing a nymph of the fountain who sang various poetical compositions.

Don Feliciano was received as academician and given a seat among the others. Then Don Ricardo occupied the stage and danced with great skill to the delight of all. After this four youths, none over twelve, appeared and recited the dialogue which had been assigned to Don Fernando, the title of which was *Los Morones de la Corte, Diálogo en prosa*. Don Ricardo then sang some verses and Don Diego narrated the *novela*, "El Pescador venturoso." Don Diego, carried away by the applause which he received, recited a *silva* in token of his gratitude. A large collection was taken up to defray the expenses of the entertainments and after some hesitation and two meetings of the company it was accepted.

For the month of September Don Próspero was elected president and the day of St. Matthew chosen for the celebration. To Don Feliciano was assigned the music; to Don Diego a dialogue in verse; to Don Alonso a *novela*; the adornment of the stage to Don Ricardo; and to Don Fernando a tragic *canción* on the death of a beautiful lady who had died in the royal palace in the service of the King and Queen.

When the appointed day arrived the room was seen adorned with *aparadores* (tables used in the service of the Mass) of silver and gold, the image of the saint likewise of silver-gilt, and the ornaments of the altar of the same. The ceiling was filled with stars made of the glass used for false diamonds, and in the midst a moon of the same. The room was sprinkled with perfumes and jars of it stood roundabout. The music played and then thunder was heard and it lightened and a hail of sugar and fine rain of perfumes fell. When this peaceful tempest was over Don Feliciano touched his instrument and sang.

Then the stage was occupied by two youths who recited the dialogue *El Tribunal de los Majaderos*, one of the lads taking his seat in a chair on an eminence, and the other with his hands full of petitions. The dialogue was in verse and the interlocutors were Monseñor Cesar and his servant Ganasa. After the dialogue Don Alonso narrated his *novela*, which was the sixth in order, "El Majadero obstinado." The *canción* on the death of the lady in the royal service was then repeated by Don Fernando with many tokens of grief.

Here ended a most famous day and the company were planning to meet the next day and elect a head and master for the month of October, when their plans were frustrated by the sudden illness of Don Garcia, who was carried off in five days by a severe fever (*tabardillo*). His friends and companions, disturbed by their fear of contagion, gave up their entertainments and determined to retire to their homes.^{49a}

The author ends with the usual promise of a second part, not fulfilled, and in order to console the reader for the death of Don Garcia, winds up his book with a *romance* celebrating an act of bravery on the part of Don Rodrigo de Tapia, performed in the sight of the King in the Plaza de Madrid during a bull fight.

Another work in the form of an "Academy" which I shall mention is the *Academias del Jardín* by Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina, published at Madrid in 1630.⁵⁰ The author, famous in his day as a poet, satirist, and moralist, was born in Murcia

^{49a} It is interesting to note that the *Sei giornate* of Erizzo (see Chapter V, p. 260) end in a similar way with the illness of one of the company.

⁵⁰ I have seen the edition of Madrid, 1630, in the Hispanic Society. For my analysis I have used the edition of the *Academias* in *Obras en prosa y verso de Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina*, Saragossa, 1670, a copy of which is in the Ticknor Collection.

in 1607. He received his early education in his native city where he soon displayed his literary ability in writing poetry, and his fondness for the stage by acting in private theatrical companies. He was influenced in poetry by Góngora, and in satirical prose by Cervantes and Quevedo. He went to Madrid in 1630 to continue his studies and eight years later had, like so many other Spanish writers, become an ecclesiastic. He wrote a large amount of lyrical poetry of a humorous and satirical character, two burlesque *fábulas*, *Apolo y Dafne* and *Pan y Siringa*, a prose satire, *El hospital de los incurables*, in imitation of Quevedo's *Sueños*, a didactic work, *Gobierno moral*, and the *Academias del Jardín*. He died shortly after the publication of his *Gobierno moral* in 1657. The only one of his works which concerns us here is the *Academias del Jardín*, the plot of which is as follows.

Anfiso is in love with Filis who does not return his affection. His friends share his sorrow and to divert him choose for their meeting place the Garden of Espinardo, a villa half a league from the city of Murcia to the north. The villa is elaborately described as usual. One of its features is the marble tablets inscribed with verses, sonnets, etc., on various flowers and plants, which are hung about the garden.

The palace has twelve gates crowned by galleries and balconies, with mirrors opposite the doors to reflect the garden. The tapestries contain the stories of Icarus, Venus and Adonis, Birth of Venus, Aurora, etc. In the halls of this palace, "estrado de las Musas y Consejo real de Apolo," the discreet companions of Anfiso sought rest from the torture of memories and misfortunes. They spent the first afternoon in arranging the display with which such festive *Academias* have to be celebrated, Anfiso assigning the topics which they had to write about, different for each, so that their diversity should be more entertaining. The first day ends with a splendid supper.

The friends rose early next morning to enjoy the garden, and after the repast they spent some time in praising what they had seen. Then, to the accompaniment of six instruments, Don Antonio, Don Silvio, Don Lauro, Don Pedro, Don Alvaro, and Don Luis began the First Academy with a *romance*.

Then Jacinto drew some slips of paper containing eight subjects: What does the Dawn do when it is born? Some say it weeps, others that it laughs. A Poet and Physician offer to

cure the judgment of any poet who will enter the Academy. A Master graduated at the Tower of Babel teaches all languages at a moderate price—Poets gratis. Poets are commanded to learn “casos de conciencia” in order to know what to do when poets ask them for ardent love-letters to conquer ladies with. Two religious Poets have arrived here to convert to the Catholic language heretical and “cultivated” Poets. Let the company aid them with alms, and thus fulfill what the pictures of souls in purgatory beg: “Sácame de aquí, que mañana será por ti.” A certain poet has been converted to his God, abandoning “la mala secta culta,” in which he had lived, and asks the company to pray God to preserve him in his enlightenment, and not to fall into temptation themselves. There has come to Parnassus a “Pesquisidor [judicial examiner] contra los Poetas de Sol” to command them to leave to good nights their *coplas*, which, since they make so much use of the Sun, are most of them “coplas solecismos.” Finally, Poets are commanded not to dare to “traer sarna, salpullido, ni sabañones, porque es gente que come y son ayuda de hambre como de costa, que le basta a cada uno la suya.”

Then to the end of the first Academy follow poetical compositions by the members of the company: sonnets, *romances*, *silvas*, etc., which are made the subject of discussion.

On the second day there was a *torneo burlesco*, and at four o'clock in the afternoon trumpets summoned the company to a *grandioso cenador* and four choirs of musicians sang a *romance*. Then followed a sort of masque and the usual poetry of all varieties to the end of the second Academy.

On the third day there was a *fiesta de toros y cañas* in the city to which Anfiso and friends are invited and return to the villa at night. In the morning there is a splendid breakfast, and for dessert Jacinto sings a long (pp. 34-47) *romance* alluding to the *fiesta de cañas*. In this Academy there is a sort of historical sketch of the city of Murcia (the same sort of thing occurs in other books of this class) and a long discourse on Free Will.

In the afternoon of the fourth Academy the company met on the banks of a broad canal, “because parlors give no opportunity for certain inventions.” The usual music of four choirs then followed, and clouds descended and opened and Jacinto read a paper which, he said, had been brought to him from Par-

nassus. It contained commands of Apollo and the nine of his Council against "la herética culticidad y apostasia castellana," and is one of many attacks by Polo on the affected style of the day known as "Cultismo," which had its origin in Spain in the poetry of Góngora, who was, however, an object of Polo's admiration.

After the paper was read there was a masque on the water with swans, Sirens, and Orpheus. During this Academy a letter was received calling attention to a ceremony in the church of Cartagena attending the obsequies of Don Pedro Requesenes y Pimental. The ceremonies are elaborately described. It seems that the death of this personage leaves Filis free, and Anfiso's hopes revive. He departs at once to the city, visits Filis's father, who consults his daughter. She leaves the answer in his hands and he informs Anfiso of this and the wedding is fixed for as soon as the festivities can be prepared. Filis displayed such affection "ya que le consentia la seguridad de esposo," that Anfiso was recompensed for the ages of her disdain.

At last the happy day arrived, with its festivities, which were so many and great that the author is obliged to postpone them to the second part, mentioning in this only the epithalamium which Jacinto composed and read in public after the wedding supper. The company of friends discussed the poem and Anfiso rewarded the author by the gift of a diamond ring. The company then broke up and the work ends with the usual promise of a second part.

The last work of this kind which I shall mention is a curious combination of Christmas entertainments with the form of an Academy. The author, Antonio Sánchez Tórtoles, flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century and was the writer of *El segundo ramillete de divinas flores*, Madrid, 1671. He is better known by the work I am about to mention, which went through several editions. I have used the one of Madrid, 1729, the title of which is: *El entretenido. Repartido en catorce noches, desde la víspera de Navidad hasta el Día de los Reyes, celebradas en metáfora de Academias de prosa y verso, en que se obstentan varios assumptos muy provechosos y entretenidos*.⁵¹ The work begins with a declaration of the benefit of occupation "which is the

⁵¹ I have used the copy in the Ticknor Collection. The Hispanic Society has the edition of Madrid, 1715.

mother of virtue as idleness is the mother of vice." Recognizing this truth, four young gentlemen esteemed for their family, praised for their learning, and respected for their heroic deeds, met on the 24th of December, 1672, and determined, as the vacations were beginning and the courts closed, to hold some entertainments and seemly *conversaciones* in each of the fourteen nights between the 24th of December and Epiphany, holding during this time "Academias de versos y prosa."

A proper place to hold these meeting seemed to them to be the house of Dona Feliciana Sarmiento, a lady of accomplishments, envied for her beauty, famous for her virtue, and praised for her admirable conversation. At her house met also a number of ladies of like gifts. They arranged that on the next day, which was Christmas Eve, the first academy should be held, and elected Doña Feliciana president. She thanked them, accepted the office, and assigned the topics for the first night as follows: Don Diego to recite a *loa* on the Birth of the Son of God; Don Pedro a comedy on the same subject; Don Juan an *entremés* for it; Don Antonio to explain the Government and Republic of Bees; Doña Catalina to declare the many injuries arising from excessive drinking of wine; Doña María to proclaim the virtues and qualities of the Pilgrim; Doña Fabiana to explain some secret of Nature; Doña Feliciana assuming for herself a *glosa* on the *redondilla*,

Para hacer al hombre bien,
A un tiempo venido se vió
La Rosa de Jericó
Con el Trigo de Belén.

The company met as agreed at the house of Doña Felician, in a *sala* adorned with tapestries, paintings, and other ornaments. The entertainment began with the singing of a *letra* and then followed the programme outlined above.

Only ten Academies are held, the last on January 2, containing a huge hodgepodge of all sorts of useless learning about everything in heaven and earth: volcanoes, fire, Hermaphrodites and whether there are any, the life and death of Judas Iscariot, the fable of Apollo and Daphne, eclipses, hail, earthquakes, love stories in verse, etc., to the end of the work, which contains 404 pages.

This tiresome work was continued by José Patricio Moraleja

y Navarro, who was born in Madrid in 1711, and died there in 1763.⁵² He displayed decided fondness for the study of mathematics, astronomy, and geography. He filled the office of notary to the King and to the hospitals of Madrid. He composed and published from 1744 to 1752 the illustrated almanacs entitled *Piscatores* and was the author of other curious works and continued the book of Tortoles described above. The continuation bears the following title: *El entretenido. Segunda parte. Miscelánea de varias flores de diversión y recreo, en prosa y verso, adornada de diversas relaciones serias, burlescas, y seri-jocosas, entremeses, novelas, seguidillas, y otras muchas noticias curiosas, para el gusto de los aficionados*, Madrid, 1741.

This second part is quite like the first; it begins with the praise of "honesta conversación," which is the "vida feliz de la amistad, el mejor empleo de el hombre," etc. As in the first part, a company of four gentlemen and two ladies were meeting near Christmas, 1740, in the house of Don Ricardo del Rey, who calls their attention to the "academias del Entretenido" of Antonio Sánchez Tórtolos and proposes that the present company hold similar entertainments for seven days from January 3. Each evening a president is to be chosen to assign tasks for the next night. Don Ricardo is made president and the topics assigned are not different from those in the first part: Don Crisanto is to relate a *novela* based on his own life; Don Calixto to advise a person how to behave with a lady; Doña Eusebia to give a soliloquy on Love (it is really a "question," *Si se debe, o no, amar*).

There is a table of the rising and setting of the sun, and Don Antolín describes the greatness and antiquities of Madrid. At the end of the work the author promises other curious entertainments which followed those described in the present work.

I shall conclude this already too lengthy chapter with a brief mention of a work, the plot of which is extremely ingenious. I allude to the *Gustos y Disgustos del Lentiscar de Cartagena*, Valencia, 1689, by the Licenciado Ginés Campillo de Bayle, a native of the city of Elche.⁵³ He is termed a priest in the title-

⁵² I have used the copy in the Ticknor Collection.

⁵³ I have used the copy in the Ticknor Collection. The *Enciclopedia Universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana* says: "Escritor español nato en Elche (Alicante) en el siglo XVII, conocido por sus obras *Gustos y disgustos* (Valencia, 1689 y 1691) . . . y la comedia *El mejor pastor descalzo San Pascual Bailón* (1691)." Neither the play nor the novel is in the Hispanic Society.

page and I have not been able to discover any other biographical details. The plot of the book is as follows.

Pudenciana, a nun in the Convent of the Conception in Cartagena, induces her brother to place his daughter Filomunda in the convent at the age of ten. She is carefully educated and at the age of sixteen is most accomplished and begins to doubt her vocation. Her aunt argues with her in vain. She determines to leave the convent, but is in doubt a year and falls ill from anxiety and grief. This state continues two years and is attributed by her parents to natural causes. At last a friend, Doña Leandra, calls the attention of Filomunda's parents to her serious condition and they have a conversation with the Abbess, whom they unjustly suspect of hiding their daughter's state of mind and body. The Abbess consents to her leaving the convent and Filomunda's father plans how he can divert her. He speaks with Don Garcés, who every spring goes to his villa in the Campo del Lentiscar, and celebrates there the Day of St. John, and asks him to accept his family as his guests. Don Garcés consents and the two families agree to go on the eve of St. John, a fortnight thence, Monday, June 23, 1670.

They start in two coaches at six o'clock, after two boats with the servants and provisions had been dispatched to the Lentiscar. The nuns of the convent take leave of Filomunda, but her aunt will not witness her departure, fearing the result of her exposure to the temptations of the world. The Lentiscar, so called from the profusion of mastic trees which it possesses, is elaborately described in the fourth chapter, together with the villa, grounds, fountains, etc. On her arrival Filomunda makes herself acquainted with the place, accompanied on her tour by the servants, workmen, shepherdesses, and others.

After supper they sit on the portico of the villa enjoying the cool evening and witnessing the diversions of the laborers. A page of Don Ortensio's sings a *letra*, after which the company retire.

The next day is most elaborately described (pp. 1-27), with the games of the rustics, a sort of joust, with its devices and colors. In the course of one of the diversions, the very cruel baiting of a cat, Brito, one of the laborers is drowned in a stream by his horse falling on him.

The second *Gusto y Disgusto* relates the diversions on the following Sunday, consisting of a tournament in due form, with

judges, arms, devices, etc., elaborately described. There are also "Adventurers," or challengers, familiar to the readers of *Don Quixote*, who take part in the tournament in disguise. In the course of the battle Lorino, one of the "adventurers" is badly wounded, and this *Gusto*, too, ends in *Disgusto*.

The third festival takes place on Sunday, the sixth of July, with elaborate balls, singing, and dancing; but there is a riot on the part of the laborers and the pleasure of the day ends in sorrow.

There is no need to continue in detail; each of the day's diversions or adventures ends in grief, and finally Filomunda recognizes how bitterly her pleasures have turned out and returns to her convent undeceived. Some idea of the contents may be formed from the headings of the chapters, of which I shall mention one only. I should say that running all through the book is a love adventure, the hero of which is Don Joseph Faxardo. *Gusto y Disgusto duodécimo y último*, p. 290. "How the women-laborers tried to amuse Filomunda, and she gratefully rewards them, of which rewards an ingenious description is given, each gift bearing some relation to the perfect features of Filomunda's beautiful countenance, and how, as a bitter end of their pleasure came the unhappy news of the unfortunate death of Don Joseph Faxardo." P. 317: "Death of Don Joseph Faxardo in the battle which took place when the galleys of Spain captured a *polacra* of the arrogant Turks."

There is a most elaborate description of the funeral of Don Joseph, which was celebrated in Cartagena, with all sorts of poetical compositions. In the chapter, not numbered, in which Filomunda resolves to return to her convent, she recapitulates, pp. 378-384, the various *gustos* and *digustos* she has experienced, and expresses her determination to return to the convent. Her father at once proceeds to Cartagena to arrange for her reception in her former abode. The Abbess and nuns are in doubt about the sincerity of her repentance, but conclude that it was true, as the proverb says: "*Gusto fiel tiene de llegar al puerto, el que sale náufrago de la tormenta peligrosa del sobervio mar.*" Aunt Pudenciana is the most pleased, for she was found true in all the advice she had given to Filomunda. "In the same coach in which she set out in pursuit of vanities, thoroughly repentant and warned, Filomunda returned to the safety of the

convent, to the joy of all the nuns, where she lived with much spiritual delight, and led a very exemplary life, leaving the false pleasures of this world for the sure contentment of glory."

From the present chapter, which, although lengthy, is doubtless quite incomplete, it can be seen that the influence of Italy upon the social forms of Spain was extensive and deep. The Spanish forms, however, are not mere imitations of those of Italy; they are, on the contrary, more diversified, and in some respects, more interesting. In Italy the framework of this class is usually very slight and unimportant, with the exception, of course, of the immortal introduction to the *Decameron*. Even there the plot is very simple and does not involve to any great extent the narrators of the stories. There is nothing, so far as I know, in Italy or elsewhere, like the *Cigarrales de Toledo* and the *Deleytar Aprovechando* of Tirso de Molina, and the *Para Todos* of Montalván.

Parlor games, as we have seen, are almost wholly wanting, and the discussion of love-questions is greatly restricted. On the other hand, more emphasis is laid upon the employment of the most diversified poetical compositions. Many works of the class we have examined seem to be mere anthologies of verse. In addition to this, the national passion for the drama is reflected in the frequent use of comedies, *autos*, and *entremeses* as a means of diverting the company. More elaborate, too, are the descriptions of localities, such as palaces, gardens, etc., and of the interminable banquets and masques.

In spite of much that is extravagant and tiresome, one cannot help drawing a contrast between these ideals of diversion in polite society and those which have prevailed in modern society. Broadly speaking, music and literature have played an inconspicuous part, and the sole diversions of modern polite society have been dancing and dining.

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- Daniel, Samuel, translator of Giovio's book on Devices, 184, n. After the present work was in print my attention was called by Professor J. Q. Adams to a "question" in one of Daniel's *Occasional Poems*, Vol. I, p. 273 of the *Complete Works* edited by A. B. Grosart. The "question" was propounded to the poet by the Earl of Hertford and is as follows: "The passion of a distressed man, who being in a tempest on the Sea, and having in his Boate two Women, of whom, he loved the one that disdained him, and scorned the other who affected him, was by commandement from Neptune, to cast out one of them, to appease the rage

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- work was in type, Professor J. Q. Adams called my attention to several interesting references in Gascoigne. As they occur in the volume entitled *The Posies*, containing mainly lyrical poetry and drama, they had escaped me. The first reference, p. 47 of J. W. Cunliffe's edition in the *Cambridge English Classics*, is to Riddles and Purposes, *q.v.* in this Index. The other references to "Questions," Commands, and choice of King or Queen to preside over social diversions, *q.v.* in this Index, occur in the curious story of *The Pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Velasco*, translated out of the Italian riding Tales of Bartello, ed. cit., pp. 393, 427, 428. Richard Henning, *George Gascoigne als Uebersetzer italienischer Dichtungen*, Inaug. Diss. Königsberg i. P., 1913, has shown that the story in question is not translated from any one novella of Bandello, but contains reminiscences of several.
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